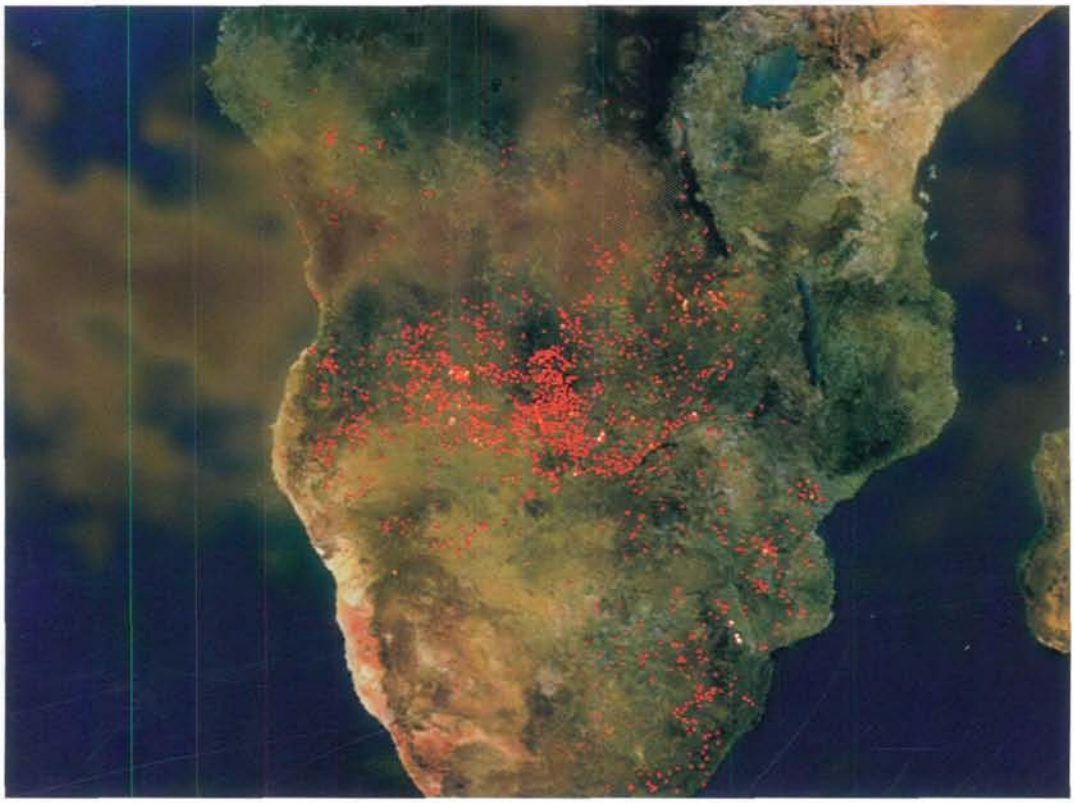
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The American Historical Review



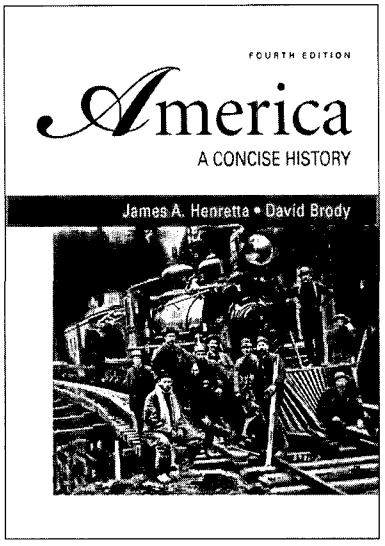
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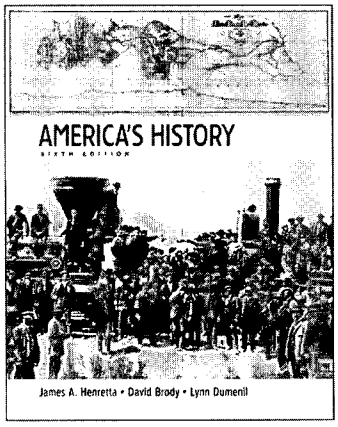
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In This Issue

In the last issue of the *AHR*, we revisited an important historiographical debate, "the crisis of the seventeenth century." The December issue engages in a similar exercise in retrospection, this time to one of the most important and influential articles ever published in this journal: "Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis," by Joan W. Scott, which appeared in December of 1986. The issue also contains an article dealing with the modern history of human rights in the European context. It concludes with the third annual *AHR* Conversation, "Environmental Historians and Environmental Crisis." As always, we have our extensive book review section, which leads with several featured reviews.

Article

The issue's sole stand-alone article, "From the Vienna to the Paris System: International Politics and the Entangled Histories of Human Rights, Forced Deportations, and Civilizing Missions," is by Eric D. Weitz of the University of Minnesota. Weitz argues for a fundamental shift in political conceptions in the last third of the nineteenth century: from traditional diplomacy to population politics, from mere territorial adjustments to the handling of entire population groups defined in terms of ethnicity, nationality, or race (or some combination thereof)—in short, from the Vienna to the Paris system. He examines two transnational regions, the borderlands of Eastern Europe and Africa, as the main sites of this transition. The history he recounts shows that the origins of new standards of human rights were more problematic than we normally assume, for thinking about populations in terms of protecting threatened groups and their rights also entailed the very same kinds of thinking that enabled and indeed promoted forced deportations. He concludes that while post–World War II human rights have largely been individualistic in orientation, the widely touted notion of self-determination, based on the concept of population homogeneity, points to the aftereffects of the Paris system continuing into the twenty-first century.

AHR Forum

The *AHR* Forum, "Revisiting 'Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis,'" contains six essays that consider the enduring influence of what is undoubtedly one

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of the most widely read and cited articles in this journal's history. Five of the essays are by historians from different fields; the sixth is a response by the author of "Gender," Joan W. Scott. Joanne Meyerowitz, who teaches at Yale, looks at Scott's piece in the context of U.S. history in "A History of 'Gender.'" Heidi Tinsman, from the University of California, Irvine, approaches it from the field of Latin American history in "A Paradigm of Our Own: Joan Scott in Latin American History." A response from the perspective of Eastern European history is provided by Maria Bucur, of Indiana University, in "An Archipelago of Stories: Gender History in Eastern Europe." A consideration from a European historian of the Middle Ages, Dyan Elliot, of Northwestern University, is offered in "The Three Ages of Joan Scott." And Wang Zheng, of the University of Michigan, and Gail Hershatter, of the University of California, Santa Cruz, give us an Asian perspective in "Chinese History: A Useful Category of Gender Analysis." The Forum concludes with "Unanswered Questions," by Joan W. Scott, of the Institute for Advanced Study.

AHR Conversation

The *AHR* Conversation, now in its third year, is an experiment in the publishing history of this journal. Its aim is to assemble a group of historians and others to discuss a topic of general concern using the technological means at our disposal to create a set of give-and-take exchanges that capture as much as possible the liveliness and openness of a conversation. In 2006 the topic was "Transnational History." Last year's subject was "Religious Identities and Religious Violence." For 2009, "Environmental Historians and Environmental Crisis" was the theme of the Conversation. The *AHR* Editor served as the moderator of the e-mail exchanges, which began in June and continued into October among five environmental historians: Richard C. Hoffmann, an early modern and medieval historian at York University, Toronto; Nancy Langston, a U.S. historian at the University of Wisconsin–Madison; James C. McCann, an African historian at Boston University; Peter C. Perdue, a specialist in China at Yale University; and Lise Sedrez at California State University, Long Beach, whose field is Latin American history.

February's issue will include, among other things, the Presidential Address by Gabrielle M. Spiegel and Part 1 of an *AHR* Forum on "The International 1968."

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Armin Wegner was a German medic assigned to the Ottoman Empire in World War I. He secretly took photographs of the Armenian deportations and killings and managed to smuggle them out despite the opposition of his superior officers. This photograph of Armenian refugees is one of the iconic images of the Armenian Genocide. It also illustrates the population displacements that have constituted a key feature of the Paris system. Armin T. Wegner © Wallstein Verlag, Germany. All rights reserved.

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From the Vienna to the Paris System: International Politics and the Entangled Histories of Human Rights, Forced Deportations, and Civilizing Missions

ERIC D. WEITZ

THE TWENTIETH CENTURY WAS AN EPOCH of extreme violence. Yet it was also the era of human rights and humanitarian protection of civilian populations, at least on the level of international conventions and a thick web of institutions designed to implement them. There is a common, perhaps universal, way of explaining this paradox. The commission of atrocities inspires a reaction that leads to the expansion of human rights and humanitarian measures. Stimulus, response. Point, counterpoint. The spraying of poison gas over the trenches in World War I resulted in the 1925 Geneva Protocol banning gas as a weapon of war; the Holocaust led to the Nuremberg Tribunal and the legal and moral consecration of the concept "crimes against humanity."

True enough—but also not deep enough. Inscribed in both the atrocities and the human rights columns of the ledger are two items that developed in tandem in the latter third of the nineteenth century and received full-blown articulation as part of the Paris peace settlement from 1919 to 1923: forced deportations and minority protection. These were, and are, two sides of the same coin (to change the metaphor)—an entirely new way of conceiving of politics focused on discrete populations and the ideal of national homogeneity under the state. The emergence of minority protection, with its quick slide into a concept of minority rights, was not just a reaction to various massacres and other atrocities that attracted increased public attention and the interests of the Great Powers over the course of the nineteenth century. Stimulus and response is not the appropriate metaphor, because deportations and protection ran together—they emerged chronologically at roughly the same point in time, the 1860s, and were both legitimized by bilateral and multilateral treaties that the Great Powers either signed or blessed. And they sit at the epicenter of an array of words and policies that also marked the shift to a politics focused on

I am grateful to the Harry Frank Guggenheim Foundation and the Arsham and Charlotte Ohanessian Chair in the College of Liberal Arts, University of Minnesota, for the research support that made this article possible. For their very helpful critical commentary, I would also like to thank the organizers and participants at the various lectures and colloquia where I first presented this work: the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences at Stanford University, Westfälische Wilhelms-Universität Münster, Universität Koblenz-Landau, Freie-Universität Berlin, Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität Munich, the American Academy Berlin, Princeton University, the University of California at Berkeley, the University of Minnesota, the University of Puerto Rico, the human rights conference organized by the Wissenschaftszentrum Berlin and the Zentrum für Zeithistorische Forschung in Potsdam, New York University, and Columbia University. Finally, I appreciate greatly the close critical reading provided by Peter Holquist, Brigitta van Rheinberg, and the anonymous reviewers for the *AHR*.

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populations, both within Europe and in the larger European imperial world: civilizing mission, self-determination, minorities and majorities, mandates, and genocide.

At the international level, this tectonic shift in political conceptions and policies can be described as the move from the Vienna system to the Paris system. Vienna centered on dynastic legitimacy and state sovereignty within clearly defined borders. Paris focused on populations and an ideal of state sovereignty rooted in national homogeneity. The move from one to the other marks the shift from traditional diplomacy to population politics, from mere territorial adjustments to the handling of entire population groups categorized by ethnicity, nationality, or race, or some combination thereof.[1] "The Vienna system" is a common term; "the Paris system" is a phrase we do not use, probably because of the rank failures of the post–World War I settlements. But arguably, the Paris system has had as great an impact on the course of the twentieth and even the early twenty-first century as the Vienna system had on the nineteenth. The Paris system has partitioned territories along supposedly ethnic, national, and religious lines; legitimized forced deportations; consecrated civilization and humanitarianism as express political goals; and moved the protection of rights from the purely national to the international level. At the same time, the abject failure of the Paris system truly to protect minorities—evident most clearly in the genocide of Jews—resulted after World War II in the partial reformulation of rights as inhering in individuals, not in groups.[2]

There is much to be learned by locating the origins and determining the core principles of the international system that succeeded Vienna, even when they might not have been crystal clear to the participants sitting around elegant conference venues in London, Berlin, Paris, and Lausanne, nor completely and uniformly implemented. How, within a brief one hundred years, did the international system move from the acceptance and promotion of multi-ethnic and multi-confessional societies and states to a system in which the state was the presumed representative of one nation, with both humanitarian and lethal consequences for populations great and minor? It will be helpful to suspend any sense of the nation-state and population homogeneity as natural and inevitable political forms.

The Paris system was the consequence of two preeminent factors: the liberal principles that had risen to domination over the course of the nineteenth century, and European imperialism, both formal and informal. As their influence expanded into the Ottoman Empire and Africa, the European powers, collectively and individually, had to learn how to manage populations more diverse and more unruly than those they had encountered previously. They confronted rebellions by Bulgarian peasants and cattle-herding Herero, demands issued by Armenian activists and Arab nationalists, and power plays by individual European states in the eastern Mediterranean and the Congo basin. All of these unforeseen and conflict-laden situations

[1] Here I would differ with Charles S. Maier by arguing that the defining feature of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries was not just a "rescaling" of territoriality, but a profound emphasis on distinctive populations within clearly demarcated territories. See Maier, "Consigning the Twentieth Century to History: Alternative Narratives for the Modern Era," *American Historical Review* 105, no. 3 (June 2000): 807–831.

[2] See Mark Mazower's important article "The Strange Triumph of Human Rights, 1933–1950," *Historical Journal* 47, no. 2 (2004): 379–398, although I shall argue below that group rights continue to be a constituent element of the post–World War II human rights regime.

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presented entirely new challenges to the state system brought to life at Vienna in 1815. The Paris system emerged not as some kind of natural unfolding of liberalism, but as the consequence—at least in part—of popular challenges to imperial rule both in Eastern Europe and in Africa, and of the excessive ambitions of particular states.

The situation became even more complex and problematic in World War I. The ever-expansive aims that states developed in the course of the war—a German-dominated Mitteleuropa extending into the Urals; a revived Ottoman Empire purged of Armenians, Greeks, and Assyrians; a world of self-determining nations—placed populations, not just borders or sovereign rulers, at the core of politics.[3] By 1917 at the latest, all sorts of self-appointed movements and spokesmen were demanding national independence; right after the war, the cry of self-determination spread far beyond Europe. The result was the creation of an international system that prized the homogeneity of populations under the state—even if the new system was imperfectly implemented, even if numerous anomalies remained—rather than the acceptance of multi-ethnicity as the preeminent form of society under dynastic rule.

To be sure, prior to the nineteenth century, states of all sorts had often focused their energies on particular populations that were typically defined in religious or ethno-religious terms. They had also moved around entire groups. Toleration, protection, and humanitarianism had been proclaimed in international treaties from the Peace of Westphalia in 1648 (and even before) to the Vienna Treaty in 1815. But the sea change in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries—the great distinction between the Paris system and everything that came before, including Vienna—involved two critical points: the connection drawn between populations conceived in national and racial terms and sovereignty, and the development of the civilizing mission into a comprehensive program.[4] It is this profound transformation that has led in the modern era to both the great intensification of forced deportations (sometimes leading into genocides) and the concept and practice of minority rights (later leading into human rights).

All of this makes the history of human rights a great deal messier than many accounts in this newly burgeoning field suggest. Typically we read of a fundamentally linear, upwardly soaring history that begins (mostly) in the eighteenth century with new conceptions of the self and the great Enlightenment-based emancipatory documents of the American and French revolutions. There may be a few blips in the line, but we get quickly and directly from August 26, 1789, and the Declaration of the

[3] For an important argument on the transformational moment of 1914–1923 that links social revolution and national development with the critical impact of the Bolshevik Revolution, see Geoff Eley, "Remapping the Nation: War, Revolutionary Upheaval and State Formation in Eastern Europe, 1914–1923," in Howard Aster and Peter J. Potichnyj, eds., *Ukrainian-Jewish Relations in Historical Perspective* (Edmonton, 1990), 205–246.

[4] For effective and interesting treatments of the huge topic of sovereignty, see James J. Sheehan, "The Problem of Sovereignty in European History," *American Historical Review* 111, no. 1 (February 2006): 1–15; and Jeremy Adelman, "An Age of Imperial Revolutions," *American Historical Review* 113, no. 2 (April 2008): 319–340. For an important argument concerning the way colonialism shaped the development of international law, concepts of sovereignty, and the civilizing mission, see Antony Anghie, *Imperialism, Sovereignty and the Making of International Law* (Cambridge, 2004). See also Martti Koskenniemi, *The Gentle Civilizer of Nations: The Rise and Fall of International Law, 1870–1960* (Cambridge, 2002); and Gerrit W. Gong, *The Standard of "Civilization" in International Society* (Oxford, 1984).

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Rights of Man and Citizen to December 10, 1948, and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.[5]

But the origins of human rights standards are not so pristine and pure, nor so completely and clearly the result of intentional political action. A major part of their history lies in a way of thinking about populations—group protection and group rights—that entailed the very same thought patterns that enabled and promoted forced deportations, one of the most egregious violations of both individual and collective rights. It is not an accident, nor mere hypocrisy, that leading statesmen such as the Czechs Thomas Masaryk and Eduard Beneš and the Greek prime minister Eleutherios Venizelos (let alone Winston Churchill and Franklin Delano Roosevelt) could move without missing a beat from strong advocacy of democracy and human rights to active promotion of compulsory deportations of minority populations.

Two global areas, rarely if ever considered together, constituted the critical sites for the emergence of the Paris system: (1) the borderlands region of Central, Eastern, and Southeastern Europe, which stretched from the Baltic to the Black and Caspian seas and into Anatolia and was the meeting point of the Russian, German, Habsburg, and Ottoman empires; and (2) the zones of imperial influence outside of Europe, the formal colonies and informal spheres of influence, Africa and Anatolia in particular.[6] In these two areas especially, the Great Powers proclaimed great principles and had to learn how to manage difficult populations. The results—minority protection and minority rights, deportations and genocides, civilizing efforts and stark repression—were not necessarily planned or preordained. Historians have completely distinct literatures for these regions: one for Central, Eastern, and Southeastern Europe, which sometimes (but by no means always) includes Ottoman and Republican Turkey, and still another for Africa. Yet their histories are intimately linked, as the statesmen and experts who developed the Paris system clearly recognized.

INTERNATIONAL SYSTEMS ENABLE AND CONSTRAIN POLITICS. They make possible, and they limit, certain kinds of agreements, certain types of interventions, certain ways of thinking.[7] They are never totally fixed and solid and are always subject to challenge. Moreover, whatever particular label one places on an international system—

[5] See Paul Gordon Lauren, *The Evolution of International Human Rights: Visions Seen* (Philadelphia, 1998); Micheline Ishay, *The History of Human Rights: From Ancient Times to the Globalization Era* (Berkeley, Calif., 2004); and Lynn Hunt, *Inventing Human Rights: A History* (New York, 2007). Other histories take World War II as the jumping-off point for the human rights "revolution." See, for example, A. W. Brian Simpson, *Human Rights and the End of Empire: Britain and the Genesis of the European Convention* (Oxford, 2001); and Elizabeth Borgwardt, *A New Deal for the World: America's Vision for Human Rights* (Cambridge, Mass., 2005).

[6] On the importance of the borderlands region, see the Project Overview of the research project "Borderlands: Ethnicity, Identity, and Violence in the Shatter-Zone of Empires since 1848," http://www.watsoninstitute.org/borderlands/ (accessed November 16, 2008).

[7] See Kenneth N. Waltz, *Theory of International Politics* (Boston, 1979), esp. 69–73, 99; Andreas Hasenclever, Peter Mayer, and Volker Rittberger, *Theories of International Regimes* (Cambridge, 1997), esp. 8–22; Torbjorn L. Knutsen, *A History of International Relations Theory*, 2nd ed. (Manchester, 1997), 208–286; and Paul W. Schroeder, *Systems, Stability, and Statecraft: Essays on the International History of Modern Europe*, ed. David Wetzel, Robert Jervis, and Jack S. Levy (New York, 2004).

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Westphalian, Pax Britannica, Vienna, Paris—these are ideal types that designate predominant trends. Within each system, there were contradictions and elements of new formations that would fully emerge only later. Moreover, as European power expanded over the course of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries into Anatolia, the Middle East, and Africa, the Great Powers would have to determine how the principles enunciated for the European state system would apply—if at all—to the imperial realms abroad. Conventions such as the London Protocol of 1830 and the Berlin Congress of 1878 would prove to be relevant also for Europe's formal colonies and informal spheres of influence.

State interests as codified at Vienna were quite simple. According to the historian Paul Schroeder, they signified peace, security, and territorial integrity for all the members, and participation in a European state system built on independent states. In Schroeder's unreservedly positive evaluation, the Vienna system meant restraint, commonly agreed-upon norms, and commitment to a lasting peace.[8]

The Vienna Treaty, like many others before it, had its humanitarian provisions. The Great Powers affirmed the right of Poles to use their own language and to exercise some degree of autonomy. In an ancillary declaration attached to the treaty, the signatories also declared that the slave trade was morally repugnant and "in principle" should be abolished.[9] Many treaties prior to 1815 had provided protection for religious minorities. But in none of these cases was it ever contemplated that Maronite, Orthodox, or Armenian Christians in the Ottoman Empire, Russian Empire Jews, or Catholics in Protestant territories could be the source of sovereignty; nor did any of these treaties seriously envisage a civilizing process in which the state, over time, would foster the transformation of Christians into Muslims, or Jews into Christians. Diversity under the state was an accepted fact of life (despite anomalies such as Spain under Ferdinand and Isabella).

The London Protocol of 1830 was different. By establishing the territorial and political contours of independent Greece, it marked the first time that the powers clearly linked a specific population and sovereignty—that is, the Greek state considered as representative of the Greek people. Notably, the Great Powers affirmed the rights of Muslims in Greece and Christians in the Ottoman Empire to pursue their livelihoods and religious beliefs. In sharp distinction to the Lausanne Treaty nearly one hundred years later—the last of the post–World War I Paris system treaties—the London Protocol affirmed the multi-ethnic and multi-confessional character of Greece and the Ottoman Empire.[10] The recognition of an independent Greece thus stood on the cusp of two worlds, the one of population diversity, the other of population homogeneity.

The truly critical transitional period from the Vienna to the Paris system came

[8] Paul W. Schroeder, *The Transformation of European Politics, 1763–1848* (Oxford, 1994); for his concluding comments on Napoleon, see 394–395, and generally for his appraisal, see 575–582.

[9] Text of the Vienna Treaty in Augustus Oakes and R. B. Mowat, eds., *The Great European Treaties of the Nineteenth Century* (Oxford, 1918), 32–33, 98.

[10] Articles 5 and 6 of the London Protocol, ibid., 121. None of the following major works in diplomatic history recognizes the significance of these clauses: M. S. Anderson, *The Eastern Question, 1774–1923: A Study in International Relations* (London, 1966), 73–77; Charles and Barbara Jelavich, *The Establishment of the Balkan National States, 1804–1920* (Seattle, 1977), 48–52; Schroeder, *The Transformation of European Politics*, 662–664. In contrast, see Dan Diner, *Das Jahrhundert verstehen: Eine universalhistorische Deutung* (Munich, 1999), 30–31.

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FIGURE 1: "The Congress," by Johann Michael Voltz (1784–1858). Alexander I of Russia, Franz I of Austria, and Friedrich Wilhelm III of Prussia divide up Europe while Napoleon looks on in the distance from the island of Elba. The three dynastic rulers point at the map of Europe spread out before them on the table. The Vienna Congress was primarily about dynastic sovereignty within clearly demarcated territorial boundaries: it gave little attention to populations. Reproduced by permission of Bildarchiv Preussischer Kulturbesitz/Art Resource N.Y.

not with the revolutions of 1848, but in the twenty-five years between 1860 and 1885, an era most often noted as the high-water mark of domestic liberal reform and of state- and constitution-building in a wide variety of regions and countries—the British Reform Act of 1867, the unification of Germany and Italy, the Austro-Hungarian

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Ausgleich, and further afield the reconstitution of the American republic in the Civil War and Reconstruction, Russian reforms, and the Meiji Restoration.[11] This was also the period when population politics became inscribed at the international level through the Berlin Congress of 1878, the Berlin West Africa Conference of 1884–1885, and bilateral treaties involving population exchanges. Even though these developments did not yet have the encompassing character they would attain after World War I, the various agreements laid out the contours of a system that defined majorities and minorities in ethnic and national terms. Depending on the category to which they were assigned, populations could be protected, deported, or civilized.

Historians almost never consider the two Berlin meetings together. Diplomatic histories of Europe refer to the Berlin West Africa Conference only in passing, if at all.[12] Historians of Africa almost never discuss the Berlin Congress.[13] Studies in international legal history reproduce this division.[14] Yet the documents that ultimately emerged out of the two meetings, the Berlin Treaty of 1878 and the General Act of 1885, were intimately related, as the participants and their successors after World War I understood.

Both meetings were the result of entirely unanticipated events to which the Great Powers were forced to react: peasant rebellions against Ottoman suzerainty in Bosnia-Herzegovina, Serbia, and Bulgaria; and the excessive ambitions of Russia in Southeastern Europe, and Britain, with the minor power of Portugal in tow, in Africa. The negotiations at both conclaves were rife with competing interests and agendas. All sorts of matters came into play, and the outcomes were hardly preordained.[15] The German chancellor, Otto von Bismarck, convened both meetings to assert the power of a newly unified Germany within the international system and to restore the vaunted balance among the major states that everyone understood as the key to stability. Much that transpired at these gatherings evoked all the elements of the "old diplomacy" of the Vienna system. The Great Powers drew boundaries in Southeastern Europe and Anatolia and in Africa—notably rolling back Russia's excessive

[11] See Eric Hobsbawm, *The Age of Capital, 1848–1875* (London, 1975). Notably, this is also the period when international law rose to prominence and articulated a powerful progressive optimism. See Koskenniemi, *The Gentle Civilizer*.

[12] See especially Stig Förster, Wolfgang J. Mommsen, and Ronald Robinson, eds., *Bismarck, Europe, and Africa: The Berlin Africa Conference, 1884–1885, and the Onset of Partition* (Oxford, 1988); and the earlier study by S. E. Crowe, *The Berlin West African Conference, 1884–1885* (London, 1942). Some important documents are collected in R. J. Gavin and J. A. Betley, eds., *The Scramble for Africa: Documents on the Berlin West African Conference and Related Subjects, 1884/85* (Ibadan, 1972). The diplomatic histories and the histories of Germany cited below in n. 16 largely ignore the Berlin Conference and fail to see its intimate connection to the Berlin Congress. Otto Pflanze, for example, in *Bismarck and the Development of Germany*, vol. 3: *The Period of Fortification, 1880–1898* (Princeton, N.J., 1990), devotes all of one-half of one paragraph to it (131).

[13] For example, there is no mention of the Berlin Congress in Roland Oliver and G. N. Sanderson, eds., *The Cambridge History of Africa*, vol. 6: *From 1870 to 1905* (Cambridge, 1985).

[14] For example, Anghie, *Imperialism, Sovereignty and the Making of International Law*; Gong, *The Standard of "Civilization"*; and Koskenniemi, *The Gentle Civilizer*, discuss only the West Africa Conference, while Simpson, *Human Rights and the End of Empire*, discusses only the Berlin Congress.

[15] Germany in 1878, for example, was embroiled in difficulties with Romania over failed investments in Romanian railroads. Bismarck used Romania's appalling treatment of Jews as a club to win recovery of these investments and other commercial advantages for Germany. See Fritz Stern, *Gold and Iron: Bismarck, Bleichröder, and the Building of the German Empire* (New York, 1977), 350–393, for a very thorough discussion. See also Carole Fink, *Defending the Rights of Others: The Great Powers, the Jews, and International Minority Protection, 1878–1938* (Cambridge, 2004), 3–38, for an excellent account of the various state interests at play at the congress.

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gains at the expense of the Ottomans in the Russo-Turkish War of 1877–1878 and Britain's efforts to establish exclusive hegemony in West Africa—encouraged commercial relations, and designated the rulers of new states and territories.

But both meetings also went well beyond the limited politics of the Vienna system. In a ringing assertion of the connection between liberalism and the political form of the nation-state, the Great Powers, in the Berlin Treaty of 1878, mandated religious freedom and civil and political rights for all citizens of the new Balkan states constituted by the treaty—Bulgaria, Serbia, Montenegro, and Romania—and of the Ottoman Empire as well.[16] Most renowned, in part because they were so often ignored and violated, were articles 44 and 61. The former ensured the Jews of Romania civil rights; the latter forced the Sublime Porte to guarantee the security of Armenians, carry out "improvements and reforms" of their situation, and submit periodic reports on their status to the Powers.[17] The General Act of 1885, the final document of the Berlin Conference, provided for protection and support of subject African populations in a humanitarian (certainly not a human rights) sense. It enshrined a new language at the international, not just the individual state, level: the language of civilizing mission. The act required the signatories to work to suppress slavery and slave trading, limit the sale of alcohol, and disseminate Christianity and civilization for the improvement and well-being of native populations. Like the Berlin Treaty, the General Act also mandated the protection of all religious or charitable institutions and religious toleration and freedom of conscience.[18]

Overwhelmingly, the articles of the Vienna Treaty had addressed states, territorial borders, and the proper titles for rulers ("His Highness [the King of Prussia] shall add to his titles [that] of Duke of Saxony" (among others); "His Highness the Duke of Saxe-Weimar shall assume the title of the Grand Duke of Saxe-Weimar").[19] In sharp contrast, the articles of the Berlin Treaty and the Berlin General Act dealt in significant part with populations as well as states and boundaries. When the Great Powers denoted Bulgarians, Romanians, Serbs, and so on, they were clearly thinking of them as nations or even races (to use common nineteenth-century parlance), and not as religious communities. They were admissible to the community of civilized

[16] Diplomatic historians and historians of Germany have largely failed to draw out the significance of the Berlin Treaty's focus on populations. See A. J. P. Taylor, *The Struggle for Mastery in Europe, 1848–1918* (Oxford, 1954); Anderson, *The Eastern Question*; and Jelavich and Jelavich, *The Establishment of the Balkan National States*. Fink, *Defending the Rights of Others*, 3–38, and Stern, *Gold and Iron*, 351–393, recognize the pathbreaking character of the Berlin Congress, but both focus only on Jews and neglect the discussions on the fate of the Armenians and other Christians in the Ottoman Empire. Historians of Germany interpret the meeting as an example of Bismarck's artful statecraft, but miss the larger significance of the congress. See, for example, Otto Pflanze, *Bismarck and the Development of Germany*, vol. 2: *The Period of Consolidation* (Princeton, N.J., 1990), 415–441; and Klaus Hildebrand, *Das vergangene Reich: Deutsche Außenpolitik von Bismarck bis Hitler 1871–1945* (Stuttgart, 1995), 34–65.

[17] See Oakes and Mowat, *The Great European Treaties*, 332–360, for the text of the Berlin Treaty, especially articles 4, 5, and 12 (Bulgaria), 335–336, 339; articles 27 and 30 (Montenegro), 345–346, 348–349; articles 35 and 39 (Serbia), 350, 352–353; articles 43 and 44 (Romania), 353–354; article 61 (Armenians), 358; and article 62 (Ottoman Empire), 358–359. See also Donald Bloxham, "Introduction: Genocide and Ethnic Cleansing in Europe's Long Twentieth Century," in Bloxham, *Genocide, the World Wars and the Unweaving of Europe* (London, 2008), 1–16.

[18] See Horst Gründer, "Christian Missionary Activities in Africa in the Age of Imperialism and the Berlin Conference of 1884–85," in Förster, Mommsen, and Robinson, *Bismarck, Europe, and Africa*, 85–103; and L. H. Gann, "The Berlin Conference and the Humanitarian Conscience," ibid., 320–331.

[19] Text of Vienna Treaty in Oakes and Mowat, *The Great European Treaties*, 37–98, quotes from article 16 (44) and article 36 (57).

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nations, but only if they adopted the practices of civilization—in short, the prevailing liberal principles of the nineteenth century. In this fashion, the Berlin Treaty provided international sanction for a politics of individual national sovereignties and a civilizing process of East Europeans.[20]

Armenians and Jews stood at the nodal points of the emerging system. By their very existence, they posed most acutely all of the issues of sovereignty and rights. Both groups lived dispersed over large territories; both looked to the Great Powers as lifelines of support. Articles 44 and 61 made their protection a constituent element of the international system, not the cause of an individual state, but in fact it entangled them in the vicissitudes of Great Power politics.[21] Armenians and Jews would experience both sides of the new population politics—protection and rights, as well as forced deportations and genocide.

The European powers never thought of Africans as sovereign peoples. Instead, the General Act in essence rooted sovereignty not just in ethnicity or nationality (the tendency of the Berlin Treaty) but in race, in the domination of Africans by settler colonists and administrators dispatched from the European capitals. However, the entire logic of the civilizing mission implied that at some distant point in the future, Africans would become developed enough to exercise sovereignty, with the result that the political map of Africa would more closely resemble that of Europe.[22] Even the deliberations and pronouncements at the Berlin Conference, focused on international law and humanitarianism, foreshadow the Paris Peace Conference and the League of Nations much more than they resemble the Vienna Congress and the Holy Alliance.[23]

To be sure, neither international agreement created a halcyon period of liberty and progress in the Balkans and Africa. For decades, Romania blatantly discriminated against Jews in open violation of the civil and political provisions of the Berlin Treaty. Even before the genocide of 1915–1916, Armenians suffered pogroms in 1895 and 1909 that were far more deadly than those endured by Jews in the Russian Empire. Colonial rule brought with it immense violence directed at African populations, and Africans were deprived of huge stretches of territory. Many of the eminently liberal and humanitarian provisions enunciated at Berlin, including free-

[20] Again, it is the sovereignty issue that marks off these provisions from all sorts of previous treaties that provided for the protection of religious populations and secured rights of property and person for Europeans abroad, as in the capitulations treaties with the Ottoman Empire and other extraterritorial treaties that the European powers more or less imposed on Asian states. Gong, *The Standard of "Civilization,"* 64–69, 140–146, and Simpson, *Human Rights and the End of Empire*, 108–117, overemphasize the continuities from these treaties into the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries, as do the older works of C. A. Macartney, *National States and National Minorities* (London, 1934), and Ernst Flachbarth, *System des internationalen Minderheitenrechtes* (Budapest, 1937).

[21] On the Armenian issue in international politics, see especially Donald Bloxham, *The Great Game of Genocide: Imperialism, Nationalism, and the Destruction of the Ottoman Armenians* (Oxford, 2005).

[22] See especially Anghie, *Imperialism, Sovereignty and the Making of International Law*, who argues that only by positing "cultural difference" could Europeans sustain the commitment to the universalism of law and deprive the colonized of sovereignty; at the same time, the civilizing process would move Africans toward sovereignty. See also Koskenniemi, *The Gentle Civilizer*, 71–78, 126–135; Alice L. Conklin, *A Mission to Civilize: The Republican Idea of Empire in France and West Africa, 1895–1930* (Stanford, Calif., 1997); and Gong, *The Standard of "Civilization."*

[23] See H. L. Wesseling, "The Berlin Conference and the Expansion of Europe: A Conclusion," in Förster, Mommsen, and Robinson, *Bismarck, Europe, and Africa*, 527–540, here 527.

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dom of trade, remained dead letters.[24] Bismarck's attention to the plight of Romanian Jews, Ottoman Armenians, and African slaves was remarkably fickle; probably the only difference between him and his counterparts was that he expressed his disparaging views so baldly and dramatically.[25]

Still, it does not suffice to dismiss the rhetoric of liberty and civilization or the provisions delineating political and civil rights as mere window dressing or hypocrisy.[26] Both Berlin agreements established new standards that made populations, not just territory, the central object of the international system and provided statesmen, reformers, and revolutionaries with powerful rhetorical tools.

As additional signs of the emergence of the Paris system, forced deportations in Europe intensified in number and scale between 1860 and 1885. Hundreds of thousands of Muslims, anticipating that their life circumstances would be drastically reduced in a Bulgarian or Serbian national state, made their way in long refugee columns to Ottoman domains. Moreover, beginning in 1862 and 1863, the Russian and Ottoman empires agreed on a series of population exchanges of Christians and Muslims in the Caucasus, probably the first bilateral agreements of this sort. These actions were driven primarily by security and religious concerns; they were not total in character, the way the deportations of the twentieth century would be, and they were not yet geared toward creating ethnic, national, or racial homogeneity as an intrinsic aspect of state- and nation-building.[27] In that sense, they bear all the hallmarks of traditional politics. But the fact that the Ottoman and Russian empires concluded treaties legitimizing the compulsory removal of populations was a harbinger of things to come.[28] Indeed, following the Balkan Wars, treaties among Greece, Bulgaria, and the Ottoman Empire led to new rounds of deportations, each designed to make the respective states more homogeneous.[29] Tens of thousands of Muslims were forced out of their homelands and fled to Anatolia, and some 100,000 Pontic Greeks were compulsorily removed beginning in 1913. The deportations con-

[24] Crowe, *The Berlin West African Conference*, 3–5, emphasizes the failures of the liberal provisions and does not even deign to write about the humanitarian articles, which she considers completely irrelevant. On free trade, see Immanuel Geiss, "Free Trade, Internationalization of the Congo Basin, and the Principle of Effective Occupation," in Förster, Mommsen, and Robinson, *Bismarck, Europe, and Africa*, 263–280. But note Anghie, *Imperialism, Sovereignty and the Making of International Law*, 97, who argues correctly that the expansion of commerce in the colonies was considered part of the civilizing mission.

[25] Bismarck wrote: "I care for the Rumanians *as I do for my glass when it is empty*" (emphasis in original). He was similarly disparaging about Jews, whom, he said, "I need to coddle, win over and who can be very useful to me in Germany and whom I like to pay in Rumanian money." Quoted in Stern, *Gold and Iron*, 383.

[26] For one study that takes the civilizing mission very seriously and shows its evolution over time, see Conklin, *A Mission to Civilize*.

[27] For an analysis of the modern character of subsequent deportations, see Fikret Adanir and Hilmar Kaiser, "Migration, Deportation, and Nation-Building: The Case of the Ottoman Empire," in René Leboutte, ed., *Migrations et migrants dans une perspective historique: Permanences et innovations* (Brussels, 2000), 273–292.

[28] See Kemal H. Karpat, *Ottoman Population, 1830–1914: Demographic and Social Characteristics* (Madison, Wis., 1985), 60–77. I thank Peter Holquist for first pointing out to me the existence and importance of the Russian-Ottoman agreements. See also his chapter "To Count, to Extract, and to Exterminate: Population Statistics and Population Politics in Late Imperial and Soviet Russia," in Ronald Grigor Suny and Terry Martin, eds., *A State of Nations: Empire and Nation-Making in the Age of Lenin and Stalin* (New York, 2001), 111–144.

[29] Stephen Ladas, *The Exchange of Minorities: Bulgaria, Greece, and Turkey* (New York, 1932), 15–16, 18.

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tinued during World War I.[30] The deportations of Pontic Greeks were but one aspect of a burgeoning policy of demographic engineering undertaken by the Young Turks, which would ultimately affect virtually every group in the empire, most lethally Armenians and Assyrians.[31]

Moreover, in the two decades before World War I, colonial violence intensified as Europeans repressed numerous revolts. In the most deadly campaign, the German army carried out a genocide of the Herero and Nama in Southwest Africa (present-day Namibia)—the first genocide of the twentieth century. In many ways, the Namibian War announced the opening of the violent twentieth century. Its suppression was not just another chapter in the long catalog of European brutalities abroad. The German army that carried out the genocide came armed with the formal ideology of race. To Lieutenant General Lothar von Trotha, the commander of the German troops in Southwest Africa, the suppression of the revolt was part of an epic, global struggle between the races, a position he articulated with dutiful references to Charles Darwin.[32] In the aftermath of the genocide, which killed somewhere between 60 and 80 percent of the Herero and 40 to 60 percent of the Nama, Germany established an apartheid system in Southwest Africa, its first explicitly racial state and society.[33]

WORLD WAR I WAS A WATERSHED that concentrated and expanded all the tendencies toward population politics. What had started as a war between states swiftly became also a war among peoples.[34] In the course of the conflict, the goals of the belligerents

[30] Adanir and Kaiser, "Migration, Deportation, and Nation-Building," 280, 283–284; Fikret Adanir, "Ethnicities in Thrace: From Imperial Core to National Periphery, 1850–1950s" (paper presented at the Borderlands Final Conference, Herder-Institut, Marburg, Germany, May 17–20, 2007), cited by permission. See also Dzovinar Kévonian, *Réfugiés et diplomatie humanitaire: Les acteurs européens et la scène proche-orientale pendant l'entre-deux-guerres* (Paris, 2004), 195–207.

[31] See the recent pathbreaking work of Taner Akçam, *A Shameful Act: The Armenian Genocide and the Question of Turkish Responsibility*, trans. Paul Bessemer (New York, 2006); Füat Dündar, "L'Ingénierie ethnique du Comité Union et Progres et la turcisation de l'Anatolie (1913–1918)" (Thèse de Doctorat, École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales, 2006); and David Gaunt, *Massacres, Resistance, Protectors: Muslim-Christian Relations in Eastern Anatolia during World War I* (Piscataway, N.J., 2007).

[32] See the notable quotes assembled by Isabel V. Hull in *Absolute Destruction: Military Culture and the Practices of War in Imperial Germany* (Ithaca, N.Y., 2005), 26–33, 47–69; and by Gesine Krüger in *Kriegsbewältigung und Geschichtsbewußtsein: Realität, Deutung und Verarbeitung des deutschen Kolonialkriegs in Namibia 1904 bis 1917* (Göttingen, 1999), 52–53, 65–66 (the Darwin quote), and 78–79. On a theoretical level, see Anghie, *Imperialism, Sovereignty and the Making of International Law*, 103, on how Africans' lack of sovereignty meant that the European powers placed no limits on the conduct of colonial wars. However, Anghie connects even these actions with the civilizing mission. But if populations could not be civilized, which was certainly Trotha's view, the only response was removal or annihilation if they challenged European rule.

[33] Even more than the orders issued in Berlin, the communiqués of local colonial administrators demonstrate the realities of the apartheid system, which involved building separate settlements for each tribe (as defined by the Germans), requiring passports for all Africans with the exception of the mixed-race Reheboth Bastars, administering "rational" rather than arbitrary corporal punishment, and closely supervising even the Boers. See documents in the National Archives of Namibia relating to the districts of Okahandja and Reheboth: BRE 14/B.10.3/4, 4RS, 9RS; BRE 14/B.10.a/1; BRE 22/E.1.c/10; BRE 26/E.1.8.1/7; DOK 29/E.4.a, Bd. 1/ 4, 5, 25, 17, 31; DOK29/E.4.d, Bd. 7/17RS. See also Jürgen Zimmerer, *Deutsche Herrschaft über Afrikaner: Staatlicher Machtanspruch und Wirklichkeit im kolonialen Namibia* (Münster, 2002).

[34] See George L. Mosse, *Fallen Soldiers: Reshaping the Memory of the World Wars* (New York, 1990).

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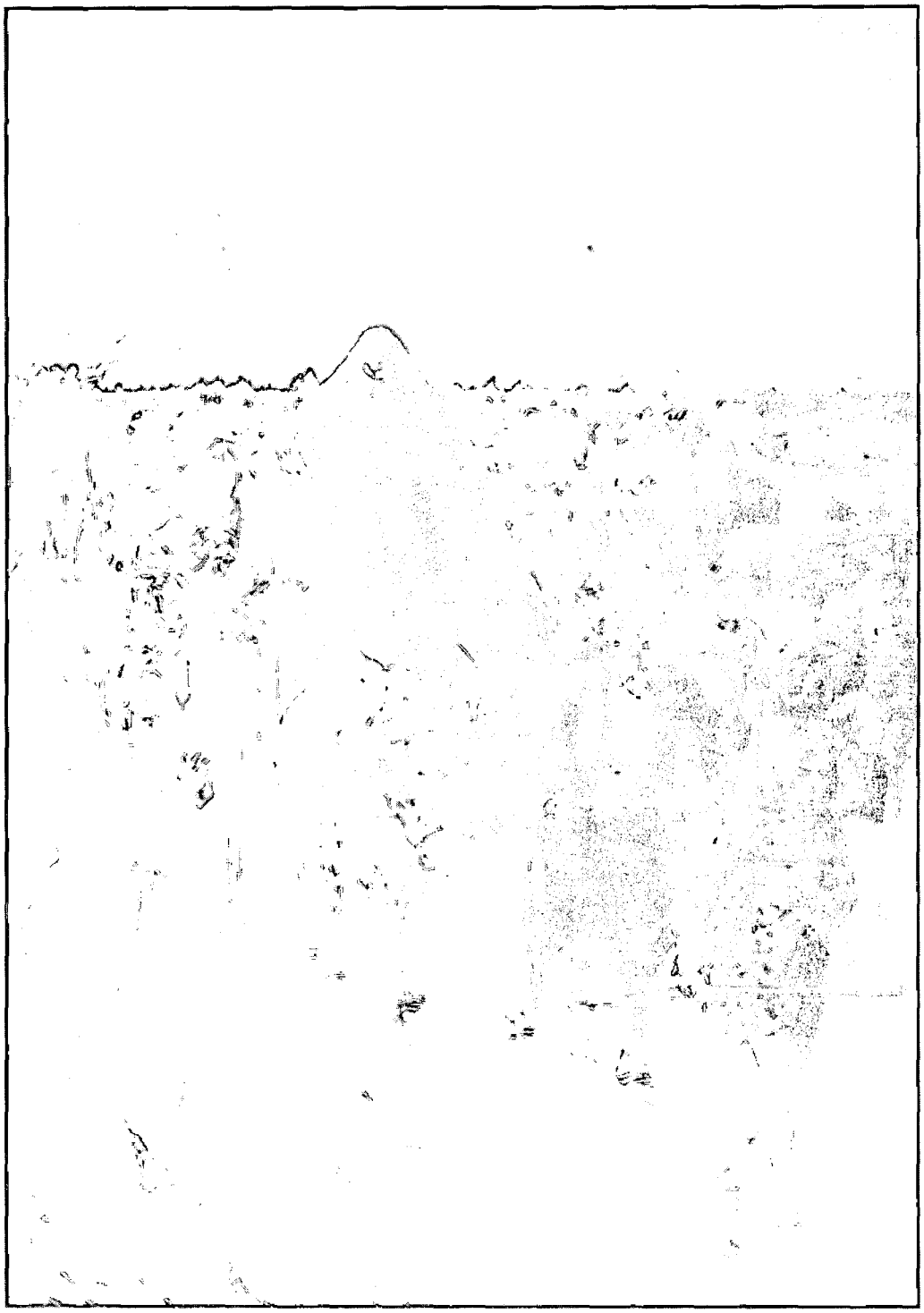


FIGURE 2: "The Flight of Turkish Peasants toward Constantinople." Muslim refugees flee during the first Balkan War. Their flight added to the hundreds of thousands of Muslims who had already been deported or had fled from the 1860s onward as Ottoman power receded in the Crimea, the Caucasus, and the Balkans. Following the Balkan Wars, the Ottoman Empire, Bulgaria, and Greece concluded population-exchange treaties. From *Le Petit Journal* (Paris), November 24, 1912. Reproduced by permission of akg-images.

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FIGURE 3: The missionary leader Heinrich Vedder preaches in the Swakopmund concentration camp in Southwest Africa in 1904. The German military established a string of camps in Southwest Africa alongside the suppression of the Herero-Nama revolt. By official German military statistics, the mortality rate in the camps was 45 percent, and the true figure was probably even higher. Only through the intervention of missionaries who opposed General Lothar von Trotha's annihilation campaign did conditions in the camps improve somewhat. Missionaries believed in the redemptive (and economic) value of labor, which, in conjunction with Christianity, would civilize indigenous populations. Photo from Jürgen Zimmerer and Joachim Zeller, eds., *Völkermord in Deutsch-Südwestafrika: Der Kolonialkrieg (1904–1908) in Namibia und seine Folgen* (Berlin, 2003), 69. © Stadt Nürnberg Stadtarchiv. Reproduced by permission.

became ever more expansive and went way beyond the conquest of territory or self-defense. Germany's imagined Mitteleuropa contained within it an understanding of discrete populations, some of which might be allied with Germany, while others, notably Slavs, were slighted for economic exploitation and subjugation to a German elite.[35] In Oberost, the Baltic territory ruled directly by the German army, Germany began to implement the configurations of this future system.[36] In Russian occupation zones in Galicia and Anatolia, Jews and Muslims, respectively, were treated ipso facto as security threats and deported, although such policies were also subject to dispute within Russian ruling circles and between particular ministries and the army command.[37] The Ottoman Empire under the Young Turks implemented the most

[35] While the impact of Mitteleuropa on populations is not fully developed in Fritz Fischer's classic work, the outlines are clear. See Fischer, *Germany's Aims in the First World War* (New York, 1967).

[36] See Vejas G. Liulevicius, *War Land on the Eastern Front: Culture, National Identity and German Occupation in World War I* (Cambridge, 2000).

[37] On Russian occupations, which often involved targeting specific ethnic or national groups, see the following papers by Peter Holquist: " 'It Was a Nightmarish Scene': The Politics and Practice of the Russian Occupation of Armenia" (Borderlands Workshop, University of Minnesota, September 2004); "Forms of Violence during the Russian Occupation of Ottoman Territory and in Northern Persia (Urumiah and Astrabad), October 1914–December 1917" (Workshop for Armenian Turkish Scholarship, Salzburg, Austria, April 2005); and " 'In the Russo-Turkish War of 1877–78 Russian Forces Conducted

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extreme population politics imaginable by carrying out a genocide of Armenians and Assyrians. The United States proclaimed a radically different set of war aims, but ones that also involved a conception of discrete population groups, each of which would constitute a state. To every "civilized" population a state; then the world would be at peace: so ran the Wilsonian ideals proclaimed in the nineteen months of American belligerency.

But the peace settlement went even further and fully committed the international system to the pursuit of population politics. At Paris and Lausanne, where the last of the World War I treaties was negotiated and signed, the Allied powers consecrated a new political language and new policies that had earlier emerged only in fragmentary fashion: majorities and minorities in reference to ethnicities and nationalities; minority protection and minority rights; population exchange and, worst of all, the British diplomat Lord Curzon's coinage, the "unmixing of peoples"; and, finally, self-determination and mandates. Taken together, these terms defined a new international system that received its most bristling articulation in the fourfold creation of the Paris Peace Conference: national states in Central and Eastern Europe and Anatolia, the minority protection treaties, forced deportations, and the mandate system. The result was a world made safe not for democracy (the hallowed words of U.S. president Woodrow Wilson), but for national and racial politics, an international system focused around a conception of discrete population groups, of majorities and minorities within states that represented one particular nationality, and, outside of Europe, of "civilizing" the natives toward self-rule. The liberal and democratic provisions of the treaties were certainly important, but by and large, they did not survive the turmoil of interwar politics and economics in the new states. National and racial politics, in contrast, left deep, defining traces all through the twentieth century and into the twenty-first.

While the language and policies of the Paris system marked a dramatic departure in international politics, the Paris treaties were not written *sui generis*, as the literature so often suggests. The statesmen, the legions of experts who accompanied them to Paris, and other interested parties drew extensively from the nineteenth-century treaties, namely the London Protocol of 1830, the Berlin Treaty, and the Berlin General Act. The drafters also understood the intimate connection between the provisions for the colonial areas and for Europe, although historians have developed entirely separate historiographies, one for the mandates, another for the nationality issues in Central and Eastern Europe.[38] While the drafters were developing their

Themselves Differently—But That was a Different Era': Forms of Violence in the First (1914–1915) and Second (1916–1917) Russian Occupations of Galicia and Bukovina" (Degeneration of Warfare Conference, Yale University, 2004), all cited by permission.

[38] On the importance of the nineteenth-century precedents for the decisions at Paris, see Erwin Viefhaus, *Die Minderheitenfrage und die Entstehung der Minderheitenschutzverträge auf der Pariser Friedenskonferenz 1919* (Würzburg, 1960), 46–49; and Flachbarth, *System des internationalen Minderheitenrechtes*, 1–29, who tracks the precedents back to the sixteenth century and the accords providing for religious toleration. But this position ignores the critical question of sovereignty and underplays the distinctiveness of national versus religious identities. For a statement by one of the participants that also links policies in the borderlands region and Africa, see Manley O. Hudson, "The Protection of Minorities and Natives in Transferred Territories," in Edward Mandell House and Charles Seymour, eds., *What Really Happened at Paris: The Story of the Peace Conference, 1918–19* (New York, 1921), 204–230, here 209–210. French prime minister Georges Clemenceau, in his cover letter to Polish prime minister Ignace

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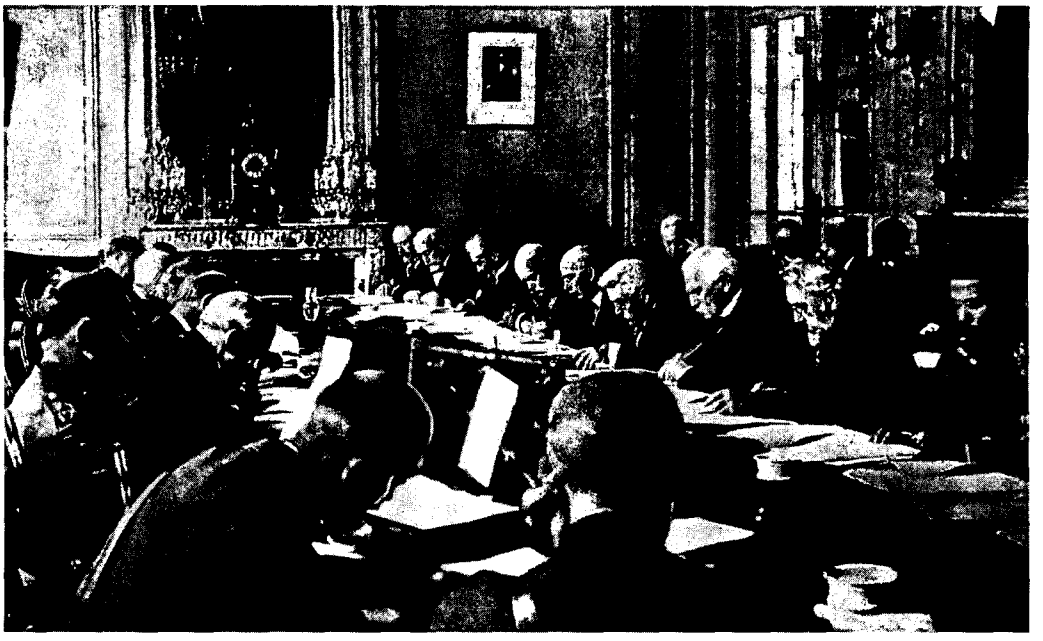


FIGURE 4: Government officials drafting the Versailles Treaty, December 2, 1918. Greek prime minister Eleutherios Venizelos is on the right side of the table, second from left. Other dignitaries include French premier Georges Clemenceau; English prime minister David Lloyd George; President Woodrow Wilson's major adviser, Colonel House; and the Italian minister of foreign affairs, Giorgio Sonnino. Unlike the Vienna Congress, the Paris Peace Conference was fundamentally concerned with populations as well as territorial boundaries. The legions of experts arrived with volumes of maps and statistics concerning the ethnic and national composition of various regions. © Bettmann/CORBIS. Reproduced by permission.

peace plans, the key figures at Paris also had to respond to unanticipated events on the ground, notably the dissolution of the Habsburg Empire, which required far more extensive consideration of the "minority question" than had originally been foreseen, and the threat and appeal of Bolshevism.[39] Shortly thereafter, they also had to contend with the surprising emergence of Mustafa Kemal's nationalist army in Turkey. And everyone had to deal with the powerful rhetoric emanating from the United States, notably about self-determination.

"Self-determination" was the most famous phrase to emerge out of the entire peace process. Its impact has resonated down to the present day through countless United Nations resolutions and the battle cries of nearly every political group that demands independence. A huge literature exists on Wilsonianism, and on self-determination in particular.[40] Here it is important to underscore that the term, as fa-

Jan Paderewski that accompanied the Polish Treaty, referred especially to the Berlin Congress and Berlin Treaty and also to the provisions of the London Protocol of 1830. In somewhat exaggerated fashion, Clemenceau claimed that the treaty "does not constitute any fresh departure." See United States, Department of State, *Papers Relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States: Paris Peace Conference* [hereafter *FRUS: PPC*], 13 vols. (Washington, D.C., 1942–1947), 6: 629–634, quote from 630.

[39] The planning for the Paris Peace Conference was extensively covered in the older literature, such as Viefhaus, *Minderheitenfrage*, and Flachbarth, *System des internationalen Minderheitenrechtes*, but is treated only sketchily in the most recent accounts, such as Margaret MacMillan, *Paris 1919: Six Months That Changed the World* (New York, 2001), and Fink, *Defending the Rights of Others*.

[40] Most recently, see Erez Manela, *The Wilsonian Moment: Self-Determination and the International*

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mous as it became, did not exist in isolation, but was one key element of the general shift toward population politics.

In its origins, self-determination was an Enlightenment concept used in reference to individuals, not to collectivities. Its derivation is especially from German Enlightenment figures, including Immanuel Kant and Friedrich Heinrich Jacobi, to early German socialists such as Moses Hess and Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, all of whom wrote about freedom as a process of individual *Selbstbestimmung*.[41] By the turn into the twentieth century, the term had gained some currency in the socialist movement in regard to nationalities, not just individuals. The Austro-Marxists, searching for a political formula that would meld socialism and nationalism, probably pioneered the use of the term in this fashion, and it was quickly picked up by others, including V. I. Lenin in 1916.[42]

But only when "self-determination" was thundered from the stage of the Russian Revolution—first by the Provisional Government in April 1917, then as a central component of Bolshevik rhetoric from the October Revolution onward—did it become such a hugely successful political slogan. Wilson used the phrase, which he dubbed "an imperative principle of action," in his speech to Congress on February 11, 1918.[43] He and British prime minister David Lloyd George, who had adopted the phrase even earlier, were trying to limit the appeal of Bolshevism and regain the peace initiative. Wilson considered "self-determination" synonymous with "government by consent." He was thinking in the democratic terms of the Anglo-American tradition—that self-determination meant free men joining together consensually to found a political community governed by democratic norms.[44]

Wilson pondered neither the inherent difficulties of reconciling individual and collective rights nor the implications of his language for political movements all over the globe, especially those that claimed to represent people living under imperial control; nor did he consider the entrenched difficulties of carving homogeneous states out of ethnically diverse areas such as Eastern Europe and the Middle East that lacked the particularity of the American ode to immigration.[45] His slogan resonated far and wide, and immediately raised the difficult issue: self-determination for whom?

That issue bogged down the Paris Peace Conference all through the spring and

Origins of Anticolonial Nationalism (New York, 2007). Among many others, see Arno J. Mayer, *Political Origins of the New Diplomacy, 1917–1918* (New Haven, Conn., 1959), esp. 75–86, 185–186, 298–304; Michla Pomerance, "The United States and Self-Determination: Perspectives on the Wilsonian Conception," *American Journal of International Law* 70, no. 1 (1976): 1–27; and Allen Lynch, "Woodrow Wilson and the Principle of 'National Self-Determination': A Reconsideration," *Review of International Studies* 28 (2002): 419–436.

[41] See various references in Otto Brunner, Werner Conze, and Reinhart Koselleck, eds., *Geschichtliche Grundbegriffe: Historisches Lexicon zur politisch-sozialen Sprache in Deutschland*, 8 vols. (Stuttgart, 1972–1997), 1: 98–99, 206; 2: 501; 3: 150, 224, 1081–1082; 4: 751.

[42] V. I. Lenin, "The Socialist Revolution and the Right of Nations to Self-Determination" (1916), in Lenin, *Collected Works*, vol. 22: *December 1915–July 1916* (Moscow, 1964), 143–156. See also Manela, *The Wilsonian Moment*, 37–38; Eley, "Remapping the Nation"; and Mayer, *Political Origins*, 298–304.

[43] Woodrow Wilson, Address to Congress, February 11, 1918, in Wilson, *The Papers of Woodrow Wilson*, ed. Arthur S. Link, vol. 46: *January 16–March 12, 1918* (Princeton, N.J., 1984), 318–324, quote from 321.

[44] See Manela, *The Wilsonian Moment*, 39–43.

[45] See Manela, *The Wilsonian Moment*.

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FIGURE 5: Prince Faisal at the Paris Peace Conference. Prince Faisal was the son of Hussain of Mecca and would become the British-selected king of Iraq. He is posed with some of his advisers in this famous photo. T. E. Lawrence is third from right. French and British officials were aghast that Lawrence adopted Arab head attire. The presence of Arabs and Asians indicated the global, not just European, significance of the Paris Peace. © Bettmann/CORBIS. Reproduced by permission.

summer of 1919. The Allies were committed to the creation of a new Polish state, and were mostly agreeable to the formation of a Czech state. But the dissolution of the Habsburg, Ottoman, and Russian empires raised a slew of questions about which nationalities actually deserved states and what would be their borders. As they granted select nationalities their individual states (sometimes creating those very nationalities, as in the Middle East), the fate of those who remained within the state's borders but were of a different nationality became a pressing matter. The logic of self-determination, posed implicitly at the Berlin Congress, became explicit and took on even greater urgency at Paris. Two solutions emerged: populations could be either protected or removed. They would be either the recipients of rights or the objects of deportations. But first they had to be defined and labeled as either minorities or majorities, another innovation of the Paris process.

In its origins, the terminology of "majority" and "minority" had strong democratic connotations.[46] In the nineteenth century, the words had been used in relation to popular elections and political representation in legislatures. At the Frankfurt and

[46] On the important and usually neglected history of the terminology of "minority" and "majority," see Kai Struve, "'Nationale Minderheit'—Begriffsgeschichtliches zu Gleichheit und Differenz," *Leipziger Beiträge zur Jüdischen Geschichte und Kultur* 2 (2004): 233–258; and Viefhaus, *Minderheitenfrage*,

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Vienna parliaments in the Revolution of 1848, the delegates wrestled with the contours of, respectively, a future German national state and an Austrian federal empire. Yet only very sporadically did a few delegates use the words in reference to ethnicities or nationalities. But by the 1860s, a sophisticated literature had begun to emerge in legal, philosophical, and political circles, primarily in the Habsburg Empire, about the highly problematic relationship between nationalities and democracy. To most commentators, the existence of defined nationalities had a profoundly limiting impact on the democratic principle. In a homogeneous population, any political minority could seek to become a majority, and indeed had a responsibility to do so. But in a multinational state, a national minority could never become a majority, and the untrammeled exercise of the democratic principle would necessarily mean the domination of one nation over the others. In the view of most writers on the problem, membership in a nation was a fate of birth and ran in one's bloodlines: a Slav could not become a German, or vice versa; hence, any democratic polity had to provide protections for subordinate ethnic or national populations.[47]

By the start of World War I, the intellectual discourse of majorities and minorities had been picked up and developed by three political movements: Austro-Marxism, with its program for some kind of federal, democratic socialist system in the Habsburg lands; Jewish organizations that promoted civil and political rights for Jews, especially in Eastern Europe; and international reform and pacifist associations. All of these groups promoted minority protection in individual countries and at the international level; almost imperceptibly, "protection" and "rights" became virtually indistinguishable. None of the groups fully addressed the thorny relationship between individual and collective rights; all of them wrote and spoke as if individuals' freedom of speech and a collective's right to representation as a group were one and the same thing.

But it was only at Paris that this language of minorities and majorities became a central feature of international politics. It was a fateful move with profound policy implications, because it presumed the domination of one population in the state, and others who would be wards of the international system and therefore subject to all the hesitations and contradictions of Great Power politics. The language and policies of minorities and majorities enshrined a concept of rights as inhering in groups, which existed uneasily with all the democratic provisions for individual rights that the new states established at Paris were mandated to introduce. This same approach meant that if a minority was deemed too large or too recalcitrant, then the solution lay not in protection, not in rights, but in removals.

In the drafting of the Paris treaties, Jewish representatives exercised some influence, especially on the American delegation. Jewish leaders built on their prewar advocacy of protection for Jews in Romania and other countries, and found a sympathetic hearing from Wilson, his chief adviser, Colonel Edward House, and David

8–19, 28–34, 39–53. The tendency to use the term "minorities" for nineteenth-century developments is, in my view, anachronistic. The term does not appear, for example, in the Berlin Treaty of 1878.

[47] The writers and publicists on the problem conveniently ignored the fluidity of national identifications. On this matter, see especially Gary B. Cohen, *The Politics of Ethnic Survival: Germans in Prague, 1861–1914*, 2nd ed. (West Lafayette, Ind., 2006); and Pieter Judson, *Guardians of the Nation: Activists on the Language Frontiers of Imperial Austria* (Cambridge, Mass., 2006).

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Hunter Miller, legal counsel to the U.S. delegation and a major U.S. participant in the Committee on New States. But Jewish representations were by no means determining; to the extent that they won a hearing, it was because Jewish demands for minority protection accorded with an entire complex of policies in regard to populations, including concerns for the treatment of Christians in Muslim countries.[48]

The Commission of Inquiry, established by Wilson in 1917 to plan the peace, continually used the language of majorities and minorities. It wrote about the need for "safeguarding . . . minorities or weak [i.e., colonized] peoples" and ran together widely strewn geographic areas, including Russia, the Balkans, Anatolia, Pacific islands, and Africa, indicating how closely the planners linked Eastern Europe with Africa and other imperial zones.[49] These populations needed protection, while new states had to be forced to abide by liberal standards in order to be admitted into the family of "civilized nations."[50]

The major Allied statesmen did not go down the road of minority protection and minority rights willingly or happily. Britain, worried as ever about the impact of such language on its empire, ensured that the minority protection clauses were not contained in the five main treaties concluded between the Entente and the defeated Central Powers—Versailles with Germany, Saint-Germain with Austria, Trianon with Hungary, Neuilly with Bulgaria, and Sèvres with Turkey—but were shunted to individual agreements with particular states. With Britain leading the charge, the Allies also denied corporate legal status to minorities, a demand raised explicitly by the Jewish delegations that had gathered in Paris.[51] The Great Powers worried that the new states would be inherently unstable if minorities as such were granted legal status.[52]

While the leading figures hesitated, the target states—Poland especially—complained and protested; they charged that explicit minority protection clauses signified unwarranted interference in their internal affairs, and they raised the telling critique that Britain, France, the United States, and Italy did not have to sign such provisions for their own countries.[53] All to no avail. Too much was at stake. The

[48] For more recent arguments that the Jewish role has been much exaggerated, see David Engel, "Perceptions of Power: Poland and World Jewry," *Jahrbuch des Simon-Dubnow-Instituts* 1 (2002): 17–28; and Fink, *Defending the Rights of Others*, 133–169. Mark Levene emphasizes the role of British Jewry, and in particular Lucien Wolf, in the formulation of the minority treaties in *War, Jews, and the New Europe: The Diplomacy of Lucien Wolf, 1914–1919* (Oxford, 1992).

[49] Commission of Inquiry, "Preliminary Survey" [n.d.], in *FRUS: PPC*, 1: 17–21, here 18–20. See also Hudson, "The Protection of Minorities and Natives in Transferred Territories."

[50] The commitment to establishing states based on homogeneous populations is also evident in the commission's call for maps that were based on "racial boundary lines." See Commission of Inquiry, "Preliminary Survey," 20.

[51] See "Memorandum of the Committee of the Jewish Delegations at the Paris Peace Conference," submitted May 10, 1919, in Jacob Robinson et al., *Were the Minorities Treaties a Failure?* (New York, 1943), 319–325. For a full account of the development of the minority treaties, see Fink, *Defending the Rights of Others*, 133–264. MacMillan, *Paris 1919*, has amazingly little on this critical topic; she mentions the minority treaties only in the conclusion (486–487, 493), where she writes that "in 1919 the world still shrank from the expulsion of minorities and frowned on forcible assimilation" (486). She may be correct about assimilation, but certainly not about expulsions.

[52] A concise statement of this sort appears in David Hunter Miller, "The Making of the League of Nations," in House and Seymour, *What Really Happened at Paris*, 398–424.

[53] See, for example, the memorandum of Polish prime minister Ignace Jan Paderewski to the Allied leaders, June 15, 1919, in *FRUS: PPC*, 6: 535–540, and Clemenceau's response, the cover letter to Paderewski accompanying the Polish Treaty, June 1919 [no further date], ibid., 629–634.

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Bolsheviks were in power in Russia, the Habsburg Empire had unraveled, and Central and Eastern Europe seemed adrift in pogroms and civil wars. The victorious Allies were convinced that, as in 1878, the new states were not completely "civilized" and had to be obligated to adhere to the liberal principles of advanced societies.[54] The Poles, Czechs, and others would get their respective states if they signed—as they did, including the Turkish government, even though its immediate predecessor had just committed a genocide, not exactly a stirring example of minority protection and minority rights.

The treaty with Poland, signed at Versailles on June 28, 1919, the same day that Germany reluctantly signed its treaty, served as the model for all the other agreements. Its provisions built explicitly on the Berlin Treaty of 1878. Typically, the Polish Treaty did not define minorities very clearly; it simply called them "inhabitants of Poland who differ from the majority of the population in race, language, or religion."[55] But it did afford them civil and political rights. Despite the Allies' rejection of formal legal status for minorities, in reality the Polish Treaty and virtually all of the other agreements recognized Jews and other minorities as corporate entities in the realms of religion and education.[56]

Minority treaties and provisions blanketed Eastern Europe, the Middle East, and other parts of the world in the interwar years.[57] In most of these agreements, the League of Nations was defined as the guarantor, with supervisory and interventionist powers in regard to the treatment of minorities (in contrast to the Berlin Congress, in which the Great Powers granted themselves supervisory rights).[58] Most important, the League of Nations established an elaborate mechanism for protecting minorities.[59] Over the span of its existence until 1939, the Minorities Committees established by the League Council investigated hundreds of petitions concerning violations of minority rights and issued hundreds of reports. Sometimes, in very specific cases of discrimination, the Minorities Committees actually had an impact, even though the overall conditions of life for so many minorities deteriorated drastically in the interwar period—with the notable exception of the Soviet Union in the 1920s and even the 1930s, which promoted the cultural and economic development of many (though certainly not all) nationalities. Whatever its particular successes and failures, the Paris Peace Conference and the League of Nations brought the concept of minority rights and protection into the very center of the international system. But the same concept that protected minorities—the understanding of sovereignty as

[54] On the explicit definition of "civilization" developed by international lawyers just before World War I, see Gong, *The Standard of "Civilization,"* 24–53, and Koskenniemi, *The Gentle Civilizer*, 71–78.

[55] Flachbarth, *System des internationalen Minderheitenrechtes*, 122. Text at http://net.lib.byu.edu/~rdh7/wwi/versa/versa2.html (accessed November 16, 2008).

[56] For a highly detailed delineation and examination, see Flachbarth, *System des internationalen Minderheitenrechtes*, 148–153, 360–365, 376–475. In a few instances, minorities, including the Szekler, a group related to Hungarians, and Saxons (German-speakers) in the Transylvania region of Romania, were granted some political autonomy.

[57] Viefhaus, *Minderheitenfrage*, provides an excruciatingly detailed account of the drafting of all these treaties, agreements, and declarations related to minority issues. See also Robinson, *Were the Minorities Treaties a Failure?*

[58] Flachbarth, *System des internationalen Minderheitenrechtes*, 153.

[59] For details on the workings of the Minorities Committees, see Julius Stone, *International Guarantee of Minority Rights: Procedure of the Council of the League of Nations in Theory and Practice* (London, 1932); Robinson, *Were the Minority Treaties a Failure?*; Viefhaus, *Minderheitenfrage*; Flachbarth, *System des internationalen Minderheitenrechtes*; and Fink, *Defending the Rights of Others*.

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FIGURE 6: A grand event with hundreds present, and thousands more looking on or waiting in the streets, the Treaty of Versailles was signed on June 28, 1918, in the Hall of Mirrors at Versailles. Right afterward, the treaty with Poland, which included the minority protection provisions, was also signed. © Bettmann/CORBIS. Reproduced by permission.

rooted in the nation—also underpinned the legitimation of forced removals of minority populations.

THE FINAL WORLD WAR I PEACE SETTLEMENT was the Lausanne Treaty of 1923. It is often considered separately—or, more typically, not at all—but it was in fact the culmination of the Paris Peace Conference, and not just because it was the last of the treaties. Mustafa Kemal's successful nationalist movement had completely undermined the original Treaty of Sèvres between the Allies and the successor state of the Ottoman Empire. His armies had defeated the Greek invasion of Anatolia, launched in 1919 with the support of the British and French, and had assumed control over a significantly larger region than Sèvres had envisioned. In the process, the Turkish nationalist army destroyed the *megali* (great) idea of a revived Greek Mediterranean empire and the hopes of both Armenians and Kurds for the states that each had been promised by the Allies in the Treaty of Sèvres. The Allies, who convened the Lausanne conference in November 1922, now had a number of critical items that they had to resolve with Turkey: they had to fix Turkey's borders, come to a new agreement on ship traffic through the Straits, determine various restitution and reparations claims, decide on the capitulations (the privileges that Europeans

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FIGURE 7: The Turkish delegation at Lausanne, July 15, 1923. The Lausanne Treaty marked the first international legitimation of forced deportations. Many Greek refugees had already fled Anatolia, but the treaty made compulsory the removal of the remaining Greeks as well as Muslims from Greece. In total, nearly 1.5 million people were displaced. Ismet Pasha, foreign minister and leader of the Turkish delegation, is seated fourth from left. He would go on to become a long-serving prime minister and then president of the Republic of Turkey. Reproduced by permission of ullstein bild/The Granger Collection, New York.

had been granted in the Ottoman Empire), and settle the fate of the oil-rich city and region of Mosul, whether it would become part of British-dominated Iraq or of Turkey.

Most significantly, Lausanne took the meaning of the five Paris treaties to their logical conclusion by legitimizing and making compulsory the deportations of more than 1,000,000 Christians from Anatolia to Greece and around 350,000 Muslims from Greece to Turkey. The Paris treaties were based on the supposed principle of self-determination, which nearly always signified nationally homogeneous states. To some defenders of the Paris system, the "population exchange," as it was called, was a grave violation of the liberal spirit of the Peace Conference, with all the provisions for self-determination coupled with minority protection.[60] In fact, the Lausanne population exchange was no violation; it was an intrinsic element of the principles enunciated at Paris.

There were precedents, many of them close at hand. The population exchanges that had taken place during and after the Balkan Wars were commonly known. At Paris the Czechs had presented a liberal, tolerant approach to nationalities conflicts

[60] For example, Robinson, *Were the Minorities Treaties a Failure?* 57.

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and given assurances that they would establish a new Switzerland in the heart of Europe. As a result, they generally received a positive hearing during the peace conference. But Thomas Masaryk's *The New Europe* made it very clear that the minorities within the new country should be just that—small in number.[61] Masaryk's colleague Eduard Beneš went further: to the British official Cecil Gosling, he floated the idea of a population exchange involving Magyars in Slovakia and Slovaks in Hungary.[62] The Treaty of Neuilly with Bulgaria proved even more decisive: article 56 opened the way to a separate agreement signed by Greece and Bulgaria on November 27, 1919, which contained provisions for the supposedly voluntary exchange of populations, ultimately involving 200,000 Slavs in northern Greece and 170,000 Greeks who lived on Bulgaria's Black Sea coast.[63]

The idea for the Greek-Bulgarian exchange came initially from the Greek prime minister, Eleutherios Venizelos.[64] He was enraptured with the notion of moving around hundreds of thousands of people to create homogeneous states. He had proposed the idea in London in 1913 at the conference to settle the Balkan Wars, and afterward in negotiations with the Ottoman Empire and Bulgaria.[65] He raised it at Paris in conjunction with Neuilly, and afterward at the Lausanne Conference. For Venizelos, the peace conference offered the opportunity "to fix the political frontiers of the European states in exact accordance, or at any rate in approximate accordance, with the limits of their ethnical domain. In this way the indispensable basis of the Society of Nations will be created."[66] Venizelos, born and raised in Crete, was not repelled by the back-and-forth deportations of Muslims and Christians that he had witnessed. Quite the contrary: he became a fervent advocate of a homogeneous citizenry, and merely wanted to ensure that the deportations were systematic and total.

At Paris the Allied powers were at first hesitant about the Greek-Bulgarian exchange. The inevitable problem of compulsion, of violations of basic rights that any exchange entailed, troubled them. However, their advisers on the Committee on New States were strongly in favor of it, including David Hunter Miller for the United States. Indeed, the experts suggested that the exchange be extended to the entire

[61] Thomas G. Masaryk, *The New Europe (The Slav Standpoint)*, ed. W. Preston Warren and William B. Weist (1918; repr., Lewisburg, Pa., 1972). Masaryk writes that because of the legacy of history, there will still be national minorities in the new Europe. "The problem is to make these minorities as small as possible" (84).

[62] Cecil Gosling to Earl Curzon, November 6, 1919, in *Documents on British Foreign Policy, 1919–1939*, 1st Series, vol. 6 (London, 1956), 335–337, here 336.

[63] Text of the provision in Lawrence Martin, *The Treaties of Peace, 1919–1923*, 2 vols. (New York, 1924), 2: 669. See also Flachbarth, *System des internationalen Minderheitenrechtes*, 343–359, whose numbers are too low; Viefhaus, *Minderheitenfrage*, 212–226; and Adanir, "Ethnicities in Thrace," with many citations.

[64] There is no good biography in English, French, Italian, or German, and one is left with older hagiographies in which Venizelos is portrayed by British or American graecophiles as the great reviver of Hellenism in the modern world; e.g., Herbert Adams Gibbons, *Venizelos* (Boston, 1920). For a brief, colorful account of Venizelos, see MacMillan, *Paris 1919*, 347–365, 429–437. More recent scholarship on Venizelos is evident in Paschalis M. Kitromilides, ed., *Eleftherios Venizelos: The Trials of Statesmanship* (Edinburgh, 2006), but even this volume cannot always manage to avoid idealized treatments of its hero.

[65] Viefhaus, *Minderheitenfrage*, 214–215.

[66] Eleutherios Venizelos, *Greece before the Peace Congress of 1919: A Memorandum Dealing with the Rights of Greece* (New York, 1919), 1.

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Balkans.[67] But the Allied leaders must not have been too worried, because ultimately they agreed to a "voluntary" exchange, as Venizelos had originally proposed.[68]

The initial idea for the Greek-Turkish exchange came either from Venizelos or from Fridtjof Nansen, the League of Nations' first High Commissioner for Refugees.[69] Venizelos had finally come to the realization that the dream of a revived Greek Mediterranean empire had turned into an "Asia Minor catastrophe," typified symbolically by the burning of Smyrna (Izmir) in September 1922 and the hasty and chaotic evacuation of Greeks and Armenians as the Turkish nationalist army took the city. Venizelos proposed the exchange to Mustafa Kemal, who responded to the idea with alacrity. By this time, hundreds of thousands of Greeks had already fled Anatolia for Greece, so the convention that was concluded on January 30, 1923, partly legitimated in international law the facts on the ground. The agreement was then attached to—and thereby received international sanction from—the Lausanne Treaty, which was signed on July 24, 1923. Article 1 of the convention read:

> As from the 1st May, 1923, there shall take place a compulsory exchange of Turkish nationals of the Greek Orthodox religion established in Turkish territory, and of Greek nationals of the Moslem religion established in Greek territory.
>
> These persons shall not return to live in Turkey or Greece respectively without the authorisation of the Turkish Government or of the Greek Government respectively.[70]

The obligatory and sweeping character of the exchange could not have been more clearly and forcefully stated. Lausanne enshrined the overarching principle of national homogeneity, even at the cost of moving more than 1.5 million people.[71]

As with the minority protection provisions, the major powers were not enthusiastic about the population exchange; many international legal experts strongly objected to it.[72] According to the stenographer's report, Lord Curzon, the British foreign minister and the chief figure at Lausanne, claimed that a compulsory exchange of populations was a "solution extremely vicious and for which the world will bear a heavy price for a hundred years to come. He is repulsed by it."[73] Later on, toward the close of the first round of the negotiations, Curzon asserted that "all of the

[67] See the minutes of the Council of the Heads of Delegations for August 6, 1919, and Appendix F with the draft letter prepared by the Committee on New States along with Venizelos's draft proposal in *FRUS: PPC*, 7: 547–565, 590–595.

[68] Article 1 in Flachbarth, *System des internationalen Minderheitenrechtes*, 345.

[69] Ibid., 81–82; and Roland Huntford, *Fridtjof Nansen and the Unmixing of Greeks and Turks in 1924* (Oslo, 1999).

[70] Article 1, "Convention Concerning the Exchange of Greek and Turkish Populations," in Martin, *The Treaties of Peace*, 2: 1036.

[71] On the treaty provisions and their impact, see Flachbarth, *System des internationalen Minderheitenrechtes*, 348–359; Renée Hirschon, ed., *Crossing the Aegean: An Appraisal of the 1923 Compulsory Population Exchange between Greece and Turkey* (New York, 2003); and Kévonian, *Réfugiés et diplomatie humanitaire*, 71, 109–129. As Kévonian writes, although the Lausanne Treaty defined the communities subject to the exchange by religion (Orthodox Christians or Muslims), it really signified a conception of the nation characterized by homogeneity in which religion blended into nation or race (71, 135–136). For a recent account that mentions the population exchange but somehow fails to grasp its significance, see MacMillan, *Paris 1919*, 442–455. On the background to Lausanne, see Michael Llewellyn Smith, *Ionian Visions: Greece in Asia Minor, 1919–1922* (New York, 1973). A few areas and populations were excluded from the agreement and were thenceforth designated as minorities. Since the Lausanne Treaty also contained clauses on the Polish Treaty model, the minorities who remained were supposed to be protected, and their situation was to be subject to League of Nations supervision.

[72] For some of the criticisms, see Kévonian, *Réfugiés et diplomatie humanitaire*, 122–124, 252–261.

[73] France, Ministère des affaires Étrangères, *Documents diplomatiques: Conférence de Lausanne*, vol.

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FIGURE 8: Greek and Armenian refugees from the war in Anatolia and the population "exchange" of 1923. The children, many of them orphans, are in a refugee camp built with the financial support of Greek Americans. They are lined up by the school. Reproduced by permission of ullstein bild/The Granger Collection, New York.

delegations, and particularly those of the two powers especially interested—Turkey and Greece—view with horror and almost consternation the principle of obligatory exchange." He asserted that the conference had agreed to it only because "the greater homogeneity of the population [will result in] the disappearance of the causes of ancient and deep-rooted conflicts."[74] Venizelos claimed that Greece viewed the compulsory exchange with "particular antipathy."[75] If true (most unlikely, at least in the case of Venizelos and the leading Turkish delegate, Ismet Pasha), such sentiments did little to impede the flow of events. Curzon had spent years administering the empire, especially as viceroy of India, where he had sought to engineer the partition of Bengal, reportedly for administrative purposes. But there was an ethno-religious dimension to this effort because it would have entailed a partial separation of Muslim and Hindu populations.[76] As for the other powers, their delegates raised only a few scruples.

Two terms entered the diplomatic parlance at Lausanne—"population exchange" and "population unmixing." Both pallid phrases, they masked the sheer misery and desperation of the Muslims and Christians who were being forced out of their ancestral homes, leaving Anatolia for the first time in two millennia mostly devoid of a Greek population, and a good part of Greece for the first time in nearly six hundred years mostly devoid of a Turkic population. For each group, the integration into the Greek or Turkish national state and society was a wrenching experience that con-

1: *21 Novembre 1922–1er Février 1923* (Paris, 1923), meeting of December 13, 1922, 170–178, quote from 175. Curzon disingenuously claimed that Greece had nothing to do with proposing the exchange.

[74] Ibid., meeting of January 27, 1923, 307–317, quote from 311.

[75] Ibid., 310.

[76] I thank Stephen Blake for pointing out to me Curzon's plan for Bengal.

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tinued over generations, traces of which can still be found today. About one-quarter of Greece's population after 1923 was composed of refugees from Turkey; in Turkey the exiled numbers were smaller, forming about 4 percent of the total population, but these individuals were added to an almost continual stream of refugees produced since the 1860s.[77] Neither reality comes close to being captured by the term "population exchange," the phrase used in the official documents of the Lausanne Treaty, nor the even more egregious term invented by Lord Curzon, "unmixing of peoples," as if there were something unnatural in the fact that people of different identities lived side by side and interwoven.[78]

The Lausanne Treaty was a major twentieth-century event, even if it is barely known today except to specialists on the region. It settled Turkey's borders and the Straits issue, awarded Mosul to Iraq, and abolished, despite fierce Allied resistance, the privileges that the European powers had exercised in the Ottoman Empire. But the most dramatic result of the conference was the "exchange" of nearly 1.5 million people.[79] For the first time in a prime arena of international politics, forced population movements were not the result of the exclusive actions of a victorious state or, as in the 1860s and in the wake of the Balkan Wars, of a bilateral agreement, but of a multilateral treaty. And statesmen and diplomats remembered. For decades afterward, they considered Lausanne a great accomplishment, a model way of handling ethnic and national conflicts.

FOR EUROPE AND ANATOLIA, THE PARIS SYSTEM signified national states, minority protection, and forced deportations—the elaboration of the tendencies of the Berlin Treaty of 1878. For Africa and the Middle East, it meant mandates—the elaboration of the principles of the General Act of 1885. In conception, mandates and minority protection were closely linked. Both presumed states and societies that were not quite civilized enough; hence the need for a supervisory power either directly through an international body such as the League of Nations or through individual powers acting as "mandates" for the League. Most observers credit the South African statesman Jan Smuts with originating the idea in his early proposal for the League of Nations, a draft that Wilson found quite impressive.[80] But George Louis Beer, a

[77] Figures in Renée Hirschon, "The Consequences of the Lausanne Convention: An Overview," in Hirschon, *Crossing the Aegean*, 13–20, here 14–15. On the movement of Muslims since the 1860s, see Karpat, *Ottoman Population*, and Justin McCarthy, *Death and Exile: The Ethnic Cleansing of Ottoman Muslims, 1821–1922* (Princeton, N.J., 1995).

[78] In a most unfortunate move, Rogers Brubaker, *Nationalism Reframed: Nationhood and the National Question in the New Europe* (New York, 1995), takes up the phrase "population unmixing" in an entirely uncritical fashion. For the human tragedy that this pallid phrase masks, see many of the contributions in Hirschon, *Crossing the Aegean*. For a very good, briefer account, see Norman M. Naimark, *Fires of Hatred: Ethnic Cleansing in Twentieth-Century Europe* (Cambridge, Mass., 2001), 52–56.

[79] The forced deportations seem not to have registered very greatly even on its key figures and their associates. Curzon's official biographer never mentions this aspect of the agreement, and ten years later, Harold Nicolson gave it short shrift in his account of Curzon's life and career. See Earl of Ronaldshay, *The Life of Lord Curzon: Being the Authorized Biography of George Nathaniel Marquess Curzon of Kedleston, K. G.*, 3 vols. (London, 1928), 3: 322–343; and Harold Nicolson, *Curzon: The Last Phase, 1919–1925—A Study in Post-War Diplomacy* (London, 1934), 281–350. A briefer account of Curzon's life, his strengths, and his shortcomings is in MacMillan, *Paris 1919*, 438–455.

[80] David Hunter Miller, *The Drafting of the Covenant* (New York, 1928), 34.

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member of the Commission of Inquiry and then head of the Colonial Division of the American delegation, probably invented the term "mandates" in early 1918 in two articles, one on Mesopotamia and the other on the German colonies.[81]

To be sure, it was the defeat of the Ottomans and Germans that opened the way for the occupation and division of their territories. Already in 1916, as is well known, the French and British were deep into discussions about dividing the Middle East between them, which led to the Sykes-Picot Agreement.[82] Still, the rhetoric used to justify the seizure of territory had immediate policy consequences, because it helped to inscribe the civilizing mission into the international system via the League of Nations. The Allied powers gathered at Paris and the British and American experts justified their division of former Ottoman lands and ex-German colonies by contending that the Germans and the Ottomans had proved unworthy of holding foreign peoples and territories. Instead of civilizing, they merely exploited and killed. Instead of developing, they simply extracted resources for their own use. For Beer, the German colonies had become a "dumping ground" for "shady characters, family failures and wrecked lives." The German administration's "disregard" for the natives resulted in the Herero rebellion, and its "suppression was marked not only by callous brutality, but by extreme unwisdom . . . Germany pursued a war of extermination."[83] Turkish rule over Arabs was little better: it was characterized by "constant misrule and extortion," reducing once-flourishing lands to poverty.[84]

All of the provisions in the Paris documents about the civilizing mission, governance for the benefit of natives, free trade, and eliminating the scourges of slavery and liquor derived from the General Act of 1885.[85] The drafters enhanced their application through three instruments: article 22 of the League of Nations Covenant, which laid out the mandate principle; the explicit reinscription and revision of the General Act (and the Brussels General Act of 1890); and the various mandate agreements.[86] Article 22 resoundingly proclaimed the civilizing principle:

[81] George Louis Beer, "The Future of Mesopotamia," January 1, 1918, in Beer, *African Questions at the Paris Peace Conference: With Papers on Egypt, Mesopotamia, and the Colonial Settlement*, ed. Louis Herbert Gray (New York, 1923), 411–427, here 421–424 (term "mandates" on 424); and Beer, "The German Colonies in Africa," February 12–26, 1918, ibid., 67. See also Louis Herbert Gray, "Introduction," ibid., xv–xliv, xviii–xxi on the origin of the term "mandates." Gray served under Beer as secretary of the Colonial Division.

[82] Amid a very substantial literature, see the account in Christopher M. Andrew and A. S. Kanya-Forstner, *The Climax of French Imperial Expansion, 1914–1924* (Stanford, Calif., 1981), which largely depicts the ineptitude of French policy in the Middle East and the triumph of the British. On the impact on Jewish diplomacy, see Levene, *War, Jews, and the New Europe*, 77–107.

[83] Beer, "The German Colonies in Africa," February 12–26, 1918, in Beer, *African Questions*, 11–12, 14, 15, 30, 33, 38–39. See also the important publication by Jan-Bart Gewald and Jeremy Silvester, eds., *"Words Cannot Be Found": German Colonial Rule in Namibia—An Annotated Reprint of the 1918 Blue Book*, with an excellent introduction by the editors (Leiden, 2003).

[84] Beer, "The Future of Mesopotamia," 414–419, quote from 418.

[85] "Convention Revising the General Act of Berlin, February 26, 1885, and the General Act and Declaration of Brussels, July 2, 1890," September 10, 1919, in Beer, *African Questions*, 507–514; "Convention Relating to the Liquor Traffic in Africa, and Protocol," September 10, 1919, ibid., 500–506.

[86] According to Gray, "Introduction," xix–xx, xxiii–xxiv, xxvii, xxxii–xlii, the Council of Ministers for Foreign Affairs created a commission on June 25, 1919, to examine three Anglo-French drafts designed to replace the Berlin and Brussels general acts. More than two dozen meetings were held from July to September. Article 126 of the Versailles Treaty specifically bound Germany to abide by the Berlin General Act of 1885 and the Brussels General Act of 1890 and any revisions.

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To those colonies and territories which as a consequence of the late war have ceased to be under the sovereignty of the States which formerly governed them and which are inhabited by peoples not yet able to stand by themselves under the strenuous conditions of the modern world, there should be applied the principle that the well-being and development of such peoples form a sacred trust of civilization.[87]

"Tutelage" of the natives would be exercised by particular states acting on behalf of the League.

The treaty went on to distinguish between different levels of development and the extent of mandatory control required. But the details of the mandate system took much longer to figure out and required long, wearying negotiations among the Allies. The British were divided on the mandate issue; the French were opposed.[88] Reluctantly, both had given in to the American lead on the issue, but thought that they could make the mandates simply a different name for outright colonialism. They also wanted to bring in the United States as a mandatory power to ensure that it, too, was invested in the system. Wilson was not necessarily opposed, and supported the idea of the U.S. acting as the mandate for an independent Armenia. Other members of the American delegation wanted the U.S. to assume mandates in Africa, notably for the Cameroons or Liberia (although the latter was formally independent).[89] But by 1920, when the mandate agreements were finally signed, the Americans had packed up and gone home, and the U.S. Senate had defeated the Versailles Treaty with the League of Nations Covenant.[90]

Despite the best efforts of British and French colonial officials, the mandate system never became simply a cover for imperial power; it was a key institutional expression of the civilizing mission.[91] In fact, the Permanent Mandates Commission (PMC) established by the League functioned much like the Minorities Committees. Both entailed complex systems of international supervision. The covenant required the mandatory power to deliver annual reports to the League Council, which were to be examined by the PMC. The PMC would then "advise the Council on all matters relating to the observance of the mandates."[92] The PMC sent observers, convened hearings, and issued reports. The various colonial powers had to be cognizant of the reverberations of their actions in the League of Nations and in their relations with other states.[93] The mandate system provided an opening for reform-minded organizations and individuals in the metropole, and the rhetorical and sometimes the institutional tools for anti-colonial activists in the colonies.

In short, the mandate system moved the treatment of colonial peoples into the

[87] "Covenant of the League of Nations," Part I, article 22 of the Treaty of Versailles, in Martin, *The Treaties of Peace*, 1: 19.

[88] For a highly critical analysis of French policy, especially in regard to Syria, see Andrew and Kanya-Forstner, *The Climax of French Imperial Expansion*, 180–236.

[89] Gray, "Introduction," xlii.

[90] For a collection of the mandate agreements, see Beer, *African Questions*, 515–556.

[91] Exemplary of newer, more complex histories of the mandate system are Michael D. Callahan, *Mandates and Empire: The League of Nations and Africa, 1914–1931* (Brighton, 1999); and Susan Pedersen, "The Meaning of the Mandates System: An Argument," *Geschichte und Gesellschaft* 32 (2006): 560–582. See also Anghie, *Imperialism, Sovereignty and the Making of International Law*, 115–195, and Koskenniemi, *The Gentle Civilizer*, 174–175.

[92] "Covenant of the League of Nations," in Martin, *The Treaties of Peace*, 1: 20.

[93] A point recognized by Edward M. House in "The Versailles Peace in Retrospect," in House and Seymour, *What Really Happened at Paris*, 424–444, here 443.

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core of the international system, just as the minority treaties did in regard to minorities. The "sacred trust of civilization," however imperfectly realized, necessarily meant a focus on populations, not just territorial borders and state sovereignty.

IN *THE TRANSFORMATION OF EUROPEAN POLITICS*, Paul Schroeder writes that the core features of the Vienna system cannot be found in any of the conference documents. No one of the principals neatly spelled out or issued a ringing declaration about dynastic legitimacy and territorial sovereignty within an overarching European power structure. Only the historian, looking backward, can divine the meaning of the system *in toto* from an array of statements and actions over a long time period. So it is with the Paris system as well.

The contrast between the Vienna and Paris systems is stark indeed. Unlike Vienna, with its relative moderation, Paris imposed harsh terms on the losers of World War I. Most important, it expanded the definition of state interests into the realm of population politics. It proclaimed the principles of self-determination and the civilizing mission and defined national minorities and majorities, thereby legitimating systems of minority rights and forced deportations. These were not opposing or contradictory policies; rights and deportations were both manifestations of population politics and were propagated by the very same statesmen and experts.

Those participants who lauded the Paris system did not linger for long over forced deportations. Instead, they wrote admiringly about the establishment of minority rights, state borders that were "natural" and that conformed with the "unforced aspirations" of people, and the civilizing principle, all now embedded in international law.[94]

But the liberal international system that came to fruition between 1919 and 1923 did not mean only the consecration of rights and progress. It also signified the acceptance of one of the most blatant violations of rights, the compulsory movement of populations. Nor did this system die in 1939 with the onset of World War II. The notion of sovereignty rooted in national homogeneity has remained a principle of international politics down to our present day. Even the Nazis, whose drive to establish a German racial imperium throughout Europe marked the greatest challenge to the Paris system, remained partly embedded within it. All through the 1920s and 1930s, the Nazis, along with many other Germans, mobilized the rhetoric of minority rights, lamenting the fate of the supposed racial brethren who lived outside the territory of the state and were consigned to live under less civilized and alien nations. When the Third Reich moved beyond the borders established in 1919, the regime shunted around entire population groups in a way that fell firmly within the common European understanding of politics since the agreements in the 1860s between the Ottoman and Russian empires, the Berlin Congress, the Balkan Wars of 1912–1913, and the treaties of Neuilly and Lausanne. During World War II, the Nazis even got into the business of minority protection in regard to their erstwhile Hungarian and Romanian allies—while they were annihilating another minority, the Jews of Eu-

[94] See, for example, Hudson, "The Protection of Minorities and Natives in Transferred Territories," 228, and House, "The Versailles Peace in Retrospect," quotes from 430.

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rope. They established a commission of Italian and German officers to investigate the status of Romanians in Hungary and Hungarians in Romania. And their interlocutors thought of this Nazi involvement in minority politics as simply an extension of the League of Nations Minority Commission.[95] Genocide lay beyond the pale of the international system; forced deportations and the creation of massive refugee streams did not.

In the immediate postwar years, after the Allied victory over the Nazis, the Great Powers created yet another world order and yet another thick web of institutions. The old system of minority rights found few advocates in this setting. But 1945 was not the end of the road for the Paris system. Partly in reaction to the utter failure of the League of Nations minority protection system, human rights took on a decidedly individualistic coloration in the post–World War II period, a perspective enshrined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1948 and many conventions and declarations that followed.[96] However, these subsequent international agreements under the aegis of the United Nations, such as the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, and the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples (as well as European conventions), all reassert the "right of self-determination" for "all peoples" so that they can "freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development."[97] In so doing, the United Nations, like its League of Nations predecessor, has inserted into international politics the fundamental problem: self-determination for whom? Neither the UN nor anyone else seems to have wrestled with the conundrum of the tense and tenuous relationship between individual and collective rights.[98]

The post–World War II international system has provided an answer similar to the response offered by the League of Nations: if minorities are deemed too large or too difficult, the correct policy is compulsory deportations. The Czech and Polish governments in exile had already come to that conclusion in 1943 and 1944; in 1945, the Allied powers at Potsdam followed suit. The statesmen involved all referenced

[95] Once Germany entered the League in 1926, the Weimar Republic became the major advocate of minority protection, largely by taking up the cause of Germans outside the territorial boundaries of the country. See Fink, *Defending the Rights of Others*, 295–335. On the Nazi period, see Holly Case, "A League of Their Own: The Axis Takes On Minority Protection in the Transylvanian Borderlands during World War II" (paper presented at the Borderlands Final Conference, Herder-Institut, Marburg, Germany, May 17–20, 2007), cited by permission. See also her book *Between States: The Transylvanian Question and the European Idea during World War II* (Stanford, Calif., forthcoming). Nicolas Politis, Greece's ambassador to the League of Nations and a jurist, saw Hitler's policies as a consequence of Lausanne, and noted the similarities with the various exchange agreements carried out between the Third Reich and the Soviet Union, Estonia, Italy, and Latvia, as well as the one between Poland and Russia. See Kévonian, *Réfugiés et diplomatie humanitaire*, 127.

[96] See Mazower, "The Strange Triumph of Human Rights," and Simpson, *Human Rights and the End of Empire*, 327–334.

[97] Article 1 of both the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (December 16, 1966), http://www1.umn.edu/humanrts/instree/b3ccpr.htm, and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (December 16, 1966), http://www1.umn.edu/humanrts/instree/b2esc.htm (both accessed November 16, 2008). See also the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples (December 14, 1960), http://www.unhchr.ch/html/menu3/b/c_coloni.htm (accessed November 16, 2008).

[98] As the legal scholar A. W. Brian Simpson laconically writes in regard to self-determination, "whereas the concept of an individual is fairly straightforward that of a 'people' is certainly not." Simpson, *Human Rights and the End of Empire*, 301.

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the Lausanne Treaty as an important and very successful policy. The result was the forced deportations of around 13 million ethnic Germans from all over Central and Eastern Europe. The diplomats who drew the post–World War II partitions of India/Pakistan and Palestine/Israel were also very much aware of the accomplishments of Lausanne, as was the Israeli prime minister, David Ben-Gurion. In the early 1990s, David Owen, and perhaps also Cyrus Vance and Richard Holbrooke, knew of the post–World War I population exchanges as they drew up their plans for partitioning Bosnia.[99] It is difficult to say whether the Lausanne precedent is in the minds of U.S. policymakers in the State Department and Pentagon today, who are talking about dividing Iraq and moving around its population to create homogeneous regions. But one point is utterly clear: their strategies rest firmly within the tradition of the Paris, certainly not the Vienna, system.

[99] Naimark, *Fires of Hatred*, 12, 15–16, 108, 171, 194, remarks on the connection between the Lausanne Treaty and the Potsdam Agreement (which authorized the expulsion of ethnic Germans from Eastern Europe) and the Dayton Accords. Roosevelt, Churchill, and Franjo Tudjman all referred specifically to the "success" of the Lausanne Treaty.

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AHR Forum

Revisiting "Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis"

Introduction

Over the last four decades, feminist scholars have contributed immeasurably to our understanding of the past, deepening our sense of what history means, widening the purview of what history can be, and redefining the very categories of historical analysis. No one has contributed more in this last sense than Joan W. Scott. Her article "Gender: A Useful Category of History Analysis," which appeared in the December 1986 issue of the *American Historical Review*, presented a sophisticated argument, using poststructuralist and psychoanalytical theories for how we should think of "gender," and warning us against the fixed or essentialist views that the term has often implied.

Over the years, Scott's article has become canonical, one of the most oft-cited in all of contemporary historical literature, a staple on readings lists and syllabi, and a model for scholars wishing to reshape our analytical discourse. As Joanne Meyerowitz notes in her contribution to this Forum, since JSTOR began putting journal articles online, "Gender" has consistently attracted the most traffic among *AHR* articles. It has been accessed more than 38,000 times; more than 25,000 copies have been printed. We like to think that all of the articles in this journal have an impact on historical thinking, but there are few which have had this kind of reach and influence for both students and scholars alike.

In view of its importance and impact, we decided to commission five essays from historians with different chronological and geographical orientations to reflect on the influence of Scott's article in their fields. If nothing else, the essays in this Forum demonstrate not only the importance of her contribution, but also the ways in which its impact has been felt differently and to different degrees in various fields. Joanne Meyerowitz looks at Scott's piece in the context of U.S. history in "A History of 'Gender.'" Heidi Tinsman approaches it from the field of Latin American history in "A Paradigm of Our Own: Joan Scott in Latin American History." A response from the perspective of Eastern European history is provided by Maria Bucur in "An Archipelago of Stories: Gender History in Eastern Europe." A consideration from a European historian of the Middle Ages, Dyan Elliot, is offered in "The Three Ages

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of Joan Scott." And Wang Zheng and Gail Hershatter give us an Asian perspective in "Chinese History: A Useful Category of Gender Analysis." The Forum concludes with "Unanswered Questions" by Joan Scott, in which she reflects upon her original piece, its genesis and reception, responds to some of the points raised by the participants in this Forum, and offers some further comments on the "usefulness" of gender as a category of historical analysis.

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AHR Forum
A History of "Gender"

JOANNE MEYEROWITZ

SCHOLARLY ARTICLES TEND TO HAVE LIMITED SHELF LIVES, but twenty years on, Joan Scott's "Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis" has no discernible date of expiration. A cursory Google search leads to dozens of syllabi that feature it as required reading, and the figures from JSTOR attest to its durable popularity. Of all the *American Historical Review* articles on JSTOR, Scott's has had by far the most traffic. Since JSTOR first began posting scholarly articles online in 1997, users have accessed "Gender" more than 38,000 times and printed more than 25,000 copies. For the past five years, it has consistently ranked in the top spot as the most frequently viewed and most frequently printed of JSTOR's *AHR* articles.[1]

What elevates one article above the rest? What creates the reputation that makes an article required reading for more than twenty years? In part, it may be a matter of architecture. Scott built "Gender" with an artful use of argument. In one brief essay, she managed to summarize the advent of gender history, provide critiques of earlier theories of women's subordination, introduce historians to deconstructionist methods, and lay out an agenda for future historical studies. But as we all know, academic reputation rests on more than compellingly structured argument, even when the argument is displayed well in a top-tier scholarly journal.[2] For historians, the surest way to explain a text is to place it in historical context. Thus, a short history of "Gender" the article might help us assess its rise to prominence and its influence within the field of U.S. history. And an even shorter history of "gender" the concept might suggest the article's longer-lasting contribution to American social thought.

AS SCOTT NOTED, BY 1986, feminists had already adopted the term "gender" to refer to the social construction of sex differences, and theorists had already posed "gen-

For helpful comments on earlier drafts, many thanks to Margot Canaday, Regina Kunzel, Christina Simmons, and the editors of and anonymous reviewers for the *AHR*.

[1] Joan W. Scott, "Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis," *American Historical Review* 91, no. 5 (December 1986): 1053–1075. Thanks to Robert B. Townsend, Assistant Director for Research and Publications of the American Historical Association, for supplying these figures, which were compiled on December 27, 2007. The exact figures are 38,093 viewings and 25,180 printings. The closest competitors (based on total viewings plus total printings) were Robert Finlay, "The Refashioning of Martin Guerre," *American Historical Review* 93, no. 3 (June 1988): 553–571, with 21,558 viewings and 11,183 printings, and Melvyn P. Leffler, "The Cold War: What Do 'We Now Know'?" *American Historical Review* 104, no. 2 (April 1999): 501–571, with 22,075 viewings and 9,495 printings.

[2] For an attempt to theorize the sources of scholarly reputations, see, for example, Michèle Lamont, "How to Become a Dominant French Philosopher: The Case of Jacques Derrida," *American Journal of Sociology* 93, no. 3 (1987): 584–622.

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der" as an analytic category, akin to class and race. A few historians had begun to use the term "gender history" in addition to "women's history," and a handful had looked at men and masculinity as part of a gender history that did not focus solely on women. Scott intervened in this historiographic process at a critical moment. For some historians of women, the shift toward gender history was mostly unwelcome. To replace "women's history" with "gender history" and to include men and masculinity seemed to some at the time like a conservative retrenchment, a quest for respectability, or an abandonment of the study of marginalized and oppressed groups. Scott recognized the pitfalls and offered reassurance. She directly repudiated the use of "gender" as a de-politicized, social-scientized synonym for women or sex, and she promised to reinvigorate feminist history by expanding its realm of influence. In this way, she helped historians of women to approve (and other historians to discern) an emerging shift in historiography.

Scott outlined a problem faced by women's historians and proffered a solution. Two decades after the launching of the field, women's history was, she implied, stuck in a descriptive rut, relegated to the limited byways of social history inquiry. It had failed in its earlier claims to rewrite the master narrative of history, and it had not yet adequately explained the "persistent inequalities between women and men." Existing theories, Scott said, were ahistorical and reductionist. She offered a different approach for rethinking and rewriting history. Influenced by Derrida's deconstructionism and Foucault's formulation of dispersed power, she asked historians to analyze the language of gender, to observe how perceived sex differences had appeared historically as a natural and fundamental opposition. These perceived differences, she wrote, had often subordinated and constrained women, yes, but they had also provided a "primary way of signifying" other hierarchical relationships. This was the heart of her contribution: she invited us to look at how "the so-called natural relationship between male and female" structured, naturalized, and legitimated relationships of power, say, between ruler and ruled or between empire and colony. The history of gender could, it seems, inhabit more of the historical turf than could the history of women. It could even enter and remap the most resistant domains, such as the history of war, politics, and foreign relations.[3]

Although she promised to expand the realm of feminist influence, Scott could not deflect the critics from within her own fractious camp. Her embrace of poststructuralism and her consequent emphasis on the language of sex difference provoked a number of pointed rejoinders from prominent women's historians. Judith Bennett, for example, worried that "the Scottian study of gender ignore[d] women *qua* women," avoided reckoning with "material reality," and "intellectualize[d] and abstract[ed] the inequality of the sexes." Likewise, Linda Gordon suspected that a "focus on gender as difference in itself" as "a kind of paradigm for all other divides" had replaced "gender as a system of domination" and thereby substituted a pluralist vision of "multiple differences" for the study of "power differentials." Joan Hoff went further, even overboard. She accused poststructuralist gender historians, and Scott in particular, of nihilism, presentism, ahistoricism, obfuscation, elitism, obeisance to patriarchy, ethnocentrism, irrelevance, and possibly racism. Poststructur-

[3] Scott, "Gender," 1066, 1067, 1073.

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alism, she found, "erased woman as a category of analysis," undermined the "traditional stage of historical fact-finding" for those groups of women whose history had not yet been written, and damaged political activism for women's rights. She titled her essay "Gender as a Postmodern Category of Paralysis."[4]

The critical commentary also came from historians who did not write women's history, especially those who questioned the linguistic turn. Critiques of Scott's work came from both the left and the right. Bryan Palmer, for example, decried her repudiation of historical materialism, and Gertrude Himmelfarb complained about the undermining of fact, reality, and objectivity.[5] In the United States, as others have suggested, "feminist historians" were "in the vanguard" of poststructuralist historical practice, especially in its manifestations outside of intellectual history, and Scott stood out at the front. In this sense, "Gender" came to represent something larger than itself. Scott served as the whipping girl not only for gender history but also for the challenges of poststructuralism, the revisionism of the latest new history, and the vogue—the "intellectual *haute couture*"—of imported French theory.[6] She may not have enjoyed the public flagellation, but it no doubt played a part in attracting readers to her essay.

DESPITE THE MISGIVINGS OF SOME HISTORIANS, gender soon took on a life of its own. Within the field of U.S. history, much of the new work on gender had little direct connection with Scott's essay. Case studies of the intersections of race, class, and gender, for example, and accounts of how various groups of women and men participated differently in politics, labor, and consumption did not necessarily draw on Scott's Derridean, Foucauldian model. Some new histories of gender in public cited Jürgen Habermas and Nancy Fraser more often than they cited Derrida and Scott.[7] But Scott's article did have unquestionable influence, even among those authors who did not adopt the deconstructionist method wholesale. In the 1990s, it inspired a cohort of scholars who wrote gender history in a range of forms and fields. Within this cohort, a number of authors followed Scott's proposal to foreground the dis-

[4] Judith M. Bennett, "Feminism and History," *Gender and History* 1, no. 3 (1989): 258; Linda Gordon, review of Joan Wallach Scott, *Gender and the Politics of History*, *Signs* 15, no. 4 (1990): 858; Joan Hoff, "Gender as a Postmodern Category of Paralysis," *Women's History Review* 3, no. 2 (1994): 149, 162. For additional critical commentaries, see, for example, Sonya O. Rose et al., "Gender History/Women's History: Is Feminist Scholarship Losing Its Critical Edge?" *Journal of Women's History* 5, no. 1 (1990): 89–128. Some of these authors addressed Scott's essays more generally, not just the article "Gender."

[5] Bryan D. Palmer, *Descent into Discourse: The Reification of Language and the Writing of Social History* (Philadelphia, 1990), esp. chap. 5; Gertrude Himmelfarb, "Some Reflections on the New History," *American Historical Review* 94, no. 3 (June 1989): 661–670.

[6] Joyce Appleby, Lynn Hunt, and Margaret Jacob, *Telling the Truth about History* (New York, 1994), 226; Sandra M. Gilbert and Susan Gubar, "Sexual Linguistics: Gender, Language, Sexuality," *New Literary History* 16, no. 3 (1985): 521. On the "linguistic turn" in history, see, for example, John E. Toews, "Intellectual History after the Linguistic Turn: The Autonomy of Meaning and the Irreducibility of Experience," *American Historical Review* 92, no. 4 (October 1987): 879–907; Kathleen Canning, "Feminist History after the Linguistic Turn: Historicizing Discourse and Experience," *Signs* 19, no. 2 (1994): 368–404.

[7] See, for example, Mary Ryan, *Women in Public: Between Banners and Ballots, 1825–1880* (Baltimore, 1990), and Glenda Elizabeth Gilmore, *Gender and Jim Crow: Women and the Politics of White Supremacy in North Carolina, 1896–1920* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1996).

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cursive use of perceived sex differences and track how they constituted relationships of power. In U.S. history, the case studies of "women's worlds" and "female cultures" that had proliferated in the 1980s dwindled as accounts rose of the ways in which the language of gender had shored up hierarchies of race, class, region, politics, nation, and empire.

A quick (and, forgive me, incomplete) survey of just a few subfields of U.S. history establishes the point. In southern history, Jacquelyn Dowd Hall endorsed the gender project early on. "The South," she wrote in 1989, "provides a prime example of how gender signifies relations of power in hierarchical regimes." Other historians took up the task. Stephanie McCurry found that proslavery ministers and politicians repeatedly drew analogies between "the subordination of women" and "that of slaves," and thereby "endow[ed] slavery with the legitimacy of the family and especially marriage." They used the language of gender "to naturalize other social relations—class and race, for example." Laura Edwards reported similar analogies—between women and other "dependent" groups—in the Reconstruction-era writings of elite white southern men, who used the language of gender to legitimate their bid to monopolize political power. Historians also noted how the southern states themselves were coded as feminine within the United States. Nina Silber, for example, pointed to a postbellum northern language of gender that portrayed the South as a "submissive" wife and helped to enable the "romance" of sectional reunion.[8]

In other areas, historians also attended to the ways that political theorists, government officials, and other writers used the language of sex difference to construct and sustain political and social hierarchies. In early American history, Mary Beth Norton described how seventeenth-century British male colonists established governments based on a gendered, hierarchical model of the family, and Kathleen Brown suggested that gender discourse shaped the emerging political order in Virginia from the first conflicts with the Indians through the course of Bacon's Rebellion. Jennifer Morgan illustrated how early European narratives of the New World "relied on gender," especially on accounts of monstrous Indian and African women, "to convey an emergent notion of racialized difference," and Toby Ditz delineated how eighteenth-century Philadelphia merchants stabilized their own fragile masculine status by feminizing and thereby stigmatizing their failed and dishonest colleagues as "weeping victims and harpies."[9] At the other end of the chronological span, historians of twentieth-century U.S. politics examined how male politicians

[8] Jacquelyn Dowd Hall, "Partial Truths," *Signs* 14, no. 4 (1989): 910; Stephanie McCurry, *Masters of Small Worlds: Yeoman Households, Gender Relations, and the Political Culture of the Antebellum South Carolina Low Country* (New York, 1995), 214, 224; Laura Edwards, *Gendered Strife and Confusion: The Political Culture of Reconstruction* (Urbana, Ill., 1997), esp. chap. 6; Nina Silber, *The Romance of Reunion: Northerners and the South, 1865–1900* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1993), 10.

[9] Mary Beth Norton, *Founding Mothers and Fathers: Gendered Power and the Forming of American Society* (New York, 1996); Kathleen M. Brown, *Good Wives, Nasty Wenches, and Anxious Patriarchs: Gender, Race, and Power in Colonial Virginia* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1996); Jennifer L. Morgan, "'Some Could Suckle over Their Shoulder': Male Travelers, Female Bodies, and the Gendering of Racial Ideology, 1500–1770," *William and Mary Quarterly* 54, no. 1 (1997): 168; Toby L. Ditz, "Shipwrecked; or, Masculinity Imperiled: Mercantile Representations of Failure and the Gendered Self in Eighteenth-Century Philadelphia," *Journal of American History* 81, no. 1 (1994): 54. On gender more generally in early American history, see Toby L. Ditz, "The New Men's History and the Peculiar Absence of Gendered Power: Some Remedies from Early American Gender History," *Gender and History* 16, no. 1 (2004): 1–35.

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used the language of gender to create a hierarchy in which they stood above their male opponents. In the early twentieth century, they cast male reformers as feminine and therefore lacking, and in the late twentieth century, they attacked male liberals in somewhat similar form. Gail Bederman and Arnaldo Testi showed how Theodore Roosevelt shook off the gendered smear by combining his reform agenda with an imperialist, racist hypermasculinity, and Robert Dean and K. A. Cuordileone elucidated how John F. Kennedy attempted to repel the aspersion with an aggressive expression of liberalism.[10]

Perhaps most surprising, gender history also made significant forays into the history of foreign policy, the field of U.S. history that had seemed most immune to the women's history enterprise. Scott had specifically called for such an intervention; in 1990, Emily Rosenberg responded and made the case for the potential benefits of gender analysis. Gendered imagery, she said, pervaded accounts of international affairs, legitimating foreign relations of domination and dependence. Andrew Rotter pursued the lead and showed how mid-twentieth-century U.S. policymakers had imagined India as feminine and India's male leaders as passive, emotional, and lacking in virility. In this case, the "feminization" undermined the opportunity for alliance between the U.S. and India. In other cases, though, the "masculinization" of nations and their leaders damaged international relations, while "feminization" eased them. Frank Costigliola, for example, investigated the writings of Cold War architect George Kennan, who shifted from feminizing a beloved Russia in the 1930s to portraying Soviet leaders as "monstrously masculine" and rapacious in the post–World War II years. Petra Goedde traced the inverse shift with regard to Germany. During World War II, American soldiers vilified the Nazi leaders, whom they understood as brutally masculine, but after the war they "developed a feminized image" of Germans as a population in need of protection, and thus, Goedde claimed, "paved the way toward reconciliation."[11]

Historians also began to suggest that discourses of gender had promoted and sustained American military interventions. In *Fighting for American Manhood*, Kristin Hoganson explored "how gender politics provoked the Spanish-American and Philippine-American wars," as the subtitle of her book stated plainly. As they advocated war, jingoes and imperialists expressed heightened concern with masculinity and looked to the military to build and prove American manhood. They posed the

[10] Gail Bederman, *Manliness and Civilization: A Cultural History of Gender and Race in the United States, 1880–1917* (Chicago, 1995), chap. 5; Arnaldo Testi, "The Gender of Reform Politics: Theodore Roosevelt and the Culture of Masculinity," *Journal of American History* 81, no. 4 (1995): 1509–1533; Robert D. Dean, *Imperial Brotherhood: Gender and the Making of Cold War Foreign Policy* (Amherst, Mass., 2001); K. A. Cuordileone, *Manhood and American Political Culture in the Cold War* (New York, 2005).

[11] Emily S. Rosenberg, "Gender," *Journal of American History* 77, no. 1 (1990): 116–124; Andrew J. Rotter, "Gender Relations, Foreign Relations: The United States and South Asia, 1947–1964," *Journal of American History* 81, no. 2 (1994): 518–542; Frank Costigliola, " 'Unceasing Pressure for Penetration': Gender, Pathology, and Emotion in George Kennan's Formation of the Cold War," *Journal of American History* 83, no. 2 (1997): 1333; Petra Goedde, "From Villains to Victims: Fraternization and the Feminization of Germany, 1945–1947," *Diplomatic History* 23, no. 1 (1999): 2, 20. See also the essays on gender in the Winter 1994 issue of *Diplomatic History*, especially Geoffrey S. Smith, "Commentary: Security, Gender, and the Historical Process," *Diplomatic History* 18, no. 1 (1994): 79–90; Petra Goedde, *GIs and Germans: Culture, Gender, and Foreign Relations, 1945–1949* (New Haven, Conn., 2003). For a useful review essay, see Kristin Hoganson, "What's Gender Got to Do with It? Women and Foreign Relations History," *OAH Magazine of History* 19, no. 2 (2005): 14–18.

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Spanish soon-to-be enemies as both distastefully feminine and repulsively masculine—"effeminate aristocrats" and "savage rapists"—and sometimes also feminized the Cubans and Filipinos as well as their own domestic opponents. Mary Renda outlined a somewhat different masculine discourse of "interventionist paternalism" that underwrote the American occupation of Haiti. The gendered language of fatherhood helped U.S. policymakers and marines to justify imperialist violence as a manly attempt to protect, educate, and discipline the allegedly childlike Haitians. And Robert Dean wrote of the threats to the "imperial masculinity" of the mid-twentieth-century U.S. foreign policy elite. Politicians and policymakers used the language of gender to defend their own manhood and diminish that of their rivals, and thereby engaged, Dean suggested, in a "politics of manhood" that "crucially shaped the tragedy of the Vietnam War." Hoganson, Renda, and Dean (and the other authors mentioned above) did not confine their analyses to the deconstruction of binary oppositions, but they provided evidence of how the language of gender constructed and legitimated American imperialism and its violent manifestations.[12]

Taken together, these various works point, as Scott predicted, to the multiplicity of meanings that gendered language conveyed. In different historical contexts, masculinity represented strength, protection, independence, camaraderie, discipline, rivalry, militarism, aggression, savagery, and brutality, and femininity represented weakness, fragility, helplessness, emotionality, passivity, domestication, nurturance, attractiveness, partnership, excess, and temptation. The so-called natural differences between the sexes had no fixed and unchangeable meaning, and in their variety they provided potential meaning for a range of other relationships. As other historians have protested, though, the ultimate impact of the language of gender remained hard to discern.[13] When (and how), as Scott asked, did the language of gender crucially structure experience and actually influence behavior and decision-making, and when did it simply add a convenient rhetorical flourish or embellish with a hollow cliché? When (and how), as Scott asked, did the language of gender constitute other relations of power, and when was it just a minor paragraph or a supplemental example within the narratives of social and political order? Even without all the answers, the growing number of studies of gender discourse pushed historians to recognize its pervasiveness, the diverse domains in which perceived sex differences appeared as model, analogy, and metaphor for hierarchical relationships, and the wide-ranging and changing meanings of masculinity and femininity in the modern era.

The studies also enhanced the reputation of Scott's essay and injected its message into traditional subfields of historical study. Almost all of the works cited above (and many other books and articles as well) mentioned "Gender," in the footnotes if not in the text. Some of them quoted it directly. It became a validating authority behind the monographic works that moved gender to the center of specialized subfields in which it had earlier stood at the margins.[14] By the end of the 1990s, through a process

[12] Kristin L. Hoganson, *Fighting for American Manhood: How Gender Politics Provoked the Spanish-American and Philippine-American Wars* (New Haven, Conn., 1998), 11; Mary A. Renda, *Taking Haiti: Military Occupation and the Culture of U.S. Imperialism, 1915–1940* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 2001); Dean, *Imperial Brotherhood*, 243.

[13] See, for example, Melvyn P. Leffler, "New Approaches, Old Interpretations, and Prospective Reconfigurations," *Diplomatic History* 19, no. 2 (1995): 195.

[14] Scott's article also had a significant impact on U.S. labor history. See especially Ava Baron, ed.,

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of repetition, "Gender" had reshaped the commonplace wisdom of the discipline. As a measure of its success, Scott's essay increasingly served as a voice from the recent past stating eloquently what everybody, it seems, already knew.

Meanwhile, Scott herself moved in new directions. In 1999, she questioned the ongoing vitality of the term "gender." In the 1980s, she wrote, gender had "seemed a useful category of analysis precisely because it had an unfamiliar, destabilizing effect." Now, however, it had "lost its ability to startle and provoke." In everyday usage, gender had become "a synonym for women, for the differences between the sexes, for sex." The word "gender" had crept into women's history without necessarily transforming the field. It appeared often in "predictable studies of women, or . . . of differences in the status, experience, and possibilities open to women and men." Many accounts failed to "examine how the meanings of 'women' and 'men'" were "discursively established" or to address the "variations of subjectively experienced 'womanhood.'" They thereby imposed a false solidity on the unstable and variable categories of "women" and "men." Scott now avoided the word "gender" and wrote instead about "differences between the sexes and about sex as a historically variable concept." She turned more concertedly to psychoanalysis, to the fantasies that enable identities, including the "phantasmatic projections that mobilize individual desires into collective identifications." In her 2005 book, *Parité! Sexual Equality and the Crisis of French Universalism*, and her 2007 book, *The Politics of the Veil*, she entered into current debates in French politics. She focused less on the language of sex difference and more on the language of universalism in contemporary France. In these books, she did not renounce the study of "gender," but she positioned French gender relations within a discursive analysis of "the abstract individualism" that animates French republican traditions.[15]

As one would expect, other historians also ventured into new territory. In U.S. women's—and now gender—history, they brought in race, sexuality, and nationality as equally useful categories of historical analysis, and they borrowed from postcolonial, critical race, queer, and political theory. Other forms of perceived difference seem to have constituted gender as much as gender constituted them. In particular, the call to address race had at least as much impact on U.S. women's history as the call to attend to gender. Historians of women and gender also turned to the policy history of welfare and wages, the legal history of marriage, and the social history of those who questioned and transgressed gender norms. Historians of women shifted away from the local community studies that had characterized social history and focused more on individual or collective biography, questions of law and citizenship, and transnational circulations of women and ideas about womanhood. They rewrote the history of women's movements with a closer eye to differences among women and conflicts among competing schools of feminists. At the same time, historians of manhood produced a series of studies of shifting conceptions, multiple variants, and

Work Engendered: Toward a New History of American Labor (Ithaca, N.Y., 1991). The article also had influence outside U.S. history, of course, but I will leave that to the other participants in this forum.

[15] Joan Wallach Scott, *Gender and the Politics of History*, rev. ed. (New York, 1999), xi–xii, 204; Scott, *Parité! Sexual Equality and the Crisis of French Universalism* (Chicago, 2005); Scott, *The Politics of the Veil* (Princeton, N.J., 2007), 154. See also Scott, "Fantasy Echo: History and the Construction of Identity," *Critical Inquiry* 27, no. 2 (2001): 284–304.

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repeated crises of masculinity. Gender history, then, continued (and continues) to thrive in several incarnations, and despite the fears of early (and later) critics, it coexists and overlaps with, instead of supplanting or displacing, the history of women.[16] Amid the profusion, Scott's article has taken on the emblematic role of a foundational text.

SCOTT'S ESSAY HAD ITS MOST OBVIOUS INFLUENCE in the fields of women's and gender history, but it also played a significant part in the broader shift from social to cultural history, from the study of the demography, experiences, and social movements of oppressed and stigmatized groups to the study of representations, language, perception, and discourse. In U.S. history, the rise of gender history was similar to and roughly simultaneous with changes in other identity-based fields of history, including African American, Latino/a, Asian American, immigrant, gay and lesbian, and working-class history. Gender history and the historical construction of masculinity had their counterparts in the history of race and the construction of whiteness, the history of ethnicity and the construction of national identity, the history of sexuality and the construction of heterosexuality, and the history of class and the construction of middle-classness. To a certain extent, the same left-leaning political energies that had informed much of the new social history informed the new cultural history as well. The irony is that social history, the alleged source of centrifugal fragmentation, had spun out into a cultural history that seems to have gravitated back—in the histories of masculinity, whiteness, national identity, heterosexuality, and middle-classness—to return, with a new and critical torque, to the pre-social-history center of historical inquiry.[17] "Gender," and Scott's other writings as well, provided a key piece of the theoretical grounding for this historiographic trend.

Like all historiographic moments, this one, too, will no doubt pass. And when it does, what will we remember? We might consider another context for understanding the significance of Scott's essay and its larger contribution beyond historiography. We have only begun to historicize "gender"—that is, to write the history of the concept of gender itself. Scott's essay belongs in that history; it represents a turning point when U.S. feminist scholars pulled "gender" away from its scientific and social scientific origins, reworked its meaning, and suggested its broader social, cultural, and historical impact.

Scott dated the term "gender," in its contemporary usage, to the 1970s feminist movement, but the word has a longer history, even as a reference to the non-biological components of sex. Before the 1950s, linguists used "gender," as Scott acknowledged, to refer to a form of grammatical classification. The concept of socially constructed sex differences did not yet have a word to connote it. Nonetheless, theories of the social construction of sex differences emerged in tandem with theories of the social construction of other forms of group difference. From the early twen-

[16] For more recent concerns that gender history will supplant women's history, see Alice Kessler-Harris, "Do We Still Need Women's History?" *Chronicle of Higher Education* 54, no. 15 (December 7, 2007): B6.

[17] For a recent account of this trend, see Daniel Wickberg, "Heterosexual White Male: Some Recent Inversions in American Cultural History," *Journal of American History* 92, no. 1 (2005): 136–157.

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tieth century on, social scientists engaged in a profound questioning of biological determinism and the categories on which it relied, not only with regard to sex but also with regard to race, ethnicity, national character, sexuality, criminality, and mental illness. By the mid-twentieth century, anthropologists and sociologists wrote of "sex roles" to refer to the culturally determined expected behavior of women and men and "sexual status" to acknowledge that different cultures accorded different social rankings to women and men. Psychologists used the phrases "psychological sex" and "sex-role identification" to point to a person's acquired sense of self as female or male.[18]

In the mid- to late 1950s, John Money, Joan Hampson, and John Hampson, all then at Johns Hopkins University, introduced the term "gender" into this scientific literature. In a series of articles on intersexuality, they argued for the environmental determinants of "gender," "gender role," and "gender role and orientation," just as others had earlier argued for the environmental determinants of "sex roles" and "psychological sex." Children learned "gender" in early childhood, they argued, in the same way they learned a language. Biological sex, however it was defined, did not determine one's "gender role and orientation."[19] Other scientists and social scientists picked up the new terminology. In 1962, psychoanalyst Robert Stoller and his colleagues at the University of California in Los Angeles opened the first Gender Identity Research Clinic (GIRC), and in 1968, Stoller published the book *Sex and Gender*, which seems to have been the first American book with the word "gender," in its current non-linguistic form, in the title. For Stoller, gender referred to the particular balance of masculinity and femininity found in each person. It had "psychological or cultural rather than biological connotations." Stoller was not a feminist. In fact, he worried about the erosion of gender roles and the developmental disturbance of "gender identity," the new term he coined for "psychological sex." He and his colleagues at the GIRC worked to instill masculinity in feminine boys and femininity in masculine girls. If gender was mostly socially constructed, then someone, they reasoned, had to repair it when it was improperly built. Stoller and his colleagues signed up for the job.[20]

Influenced by the women's movement, American feminists appropriated the word "gender" in the 1970s and transformed its meaning. Like others before them, feminist social scientists used "gender" to reject the notion that the perceived sex

[18] On American social scientists and the social construction of sex differences, see, for example, Rosalind Rosenberg, *Beyond Separate Spheres: Intellectual Roots of Modern Feminism* (New Haven, Conn., 1982); Carl Degler, *In Search of Human Nature: The Decline and Revival of Darwinism in American Social Thought* (New York, 1991); Mari Jo Buhle, *Feminism and Its Discontents: A Century of Struggle with Psychoanalysis* (Cambridge, Mass., 1998).

[19] For uses of the new terms, see John Money, "Hermaphroditism, Gender, and Precocity in Hyperadrenocorticism: Psychologic Findings," *Bulletin of the Johns Hopkins Hospital* 96 (1955): 253–264; John Money, Joan G. Hampson, and John L. Hampson, "Imprinting and the Establishment of Gender Role," *American Medical Association Archives of Neurology and Psychiatry* 77 (1957): 333–336. Money later retreated from his early environmentalism; by the end of the 1960s, he speculated that early exposure to sex hormones and the neurophysiology of the brain (as well as environment) shaped gender identity. On Money, the Hampsons, and "gender," see Bernice Hausman, *Changing Sex: Transsexualism, Technology, and the Idea of Gender* (Durham, N.C., 1995), chap. 3; Joanne Meyerowitz, *How Sex Changed: A History of Transsexuality in the United States* (Cambridge, Mass., 2002), chap. 3.

[20] Robert J. Stoller, *Sex and Gender: On the Development of Masculinity and Femininity* (New York, 1968), 9. On Stoller and the GIRC, see Meyerowitz, *How Sex Changed*, chap. 3; Phyllis Burke, *Gender Shock: Exploding the Myths of Male and Female* (New York, 1996).

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differences in behavior, temperament, and intellect were simply natural or innate, but unlike their predecessors, they rejected functionalism and questioned whether gender and gender roles were necessary or good. If gender was artifice, then many 1970s feminists saw little reason to maintain it, especially when it played a part in subordinating women. But gender, in its multiple variations, was not so easily willed away. It was built into the structure and practice of families, education, labor markets, and government policies, and it had deep roots in the everyday behaviors and fantasies of individual women and men. Some academic feminists, especially in the humanities, turned away from the study of gender roles, gender systems, and gender segregation, and focused instead on the reconstruction and revaluation of femininities, women's writings, women's ethics, and women's worlds.[21]

Others searched for theoretical approaches that could explicate how perceptions of sex difference operated in language, psyche, and symbolic order. In the late 1970s and early 1980s, some American feminist literary critics turned to French poststructuralist theory. They drew on the works of Jacques Lacan, Roland Barthes, and Jacques Derrida, and they translated the writings of Hélène Cixous, Luce Irigary, and Julia Kristeva. They expanded their purview from "the woman reader, women's culture, and the woman's text" to "the whole of literature and culture." Cixous wrote: "Every theory of culture, every theory of society, the whole conglomeration of symbolic systems . . . it is all ordered around hierarchical oppositions that come back to the man/woman opposition." By the early 1980s, male literary critics recognized the feminist affinity to poststructuralism. In 1983, in *Literary Theory*, Terry Eagleton suggested that "the movement from structuralism to post-structuralism was in part a response" to the demands of the women's movement. In this rendition, feminism stood front and center on the poststructuralist stage.[22]

In 1986, with the article "Gender," Joan Scott helped to bridge the gap between the feminist social scientists who critiqued "gender" and "gender roles" and the feminist literary critics who deconstructed textual representations of sex difference.[23] She wrote in a moment, as she noted, "of great epistemological turmoil," when social scientists were shifting "from scientific to literary paradigms," and when feminists were finding "scholarly and political allies" among poststructuralists. For Scott, gender was "a constitutive element of social relationships based on perceived differences between the sexes," and also "a primary way of signifying relationships of power." Scott's dual definition allowed her to bring together the social scientists who rejected biological determinism and questioned the allegedly natural differ-

[21] On 1970s feminists and "gender," see, for example, Suzanne J. Kessler and Wendy McKenna, *Gender: An Ethnomethodological Approach* (Chicago, 1978); see also Rosalind Rosenberg, "Gender," in Theodore M. Porter and Dorothy Ross, eds., *The Modern Social Sciences* (Cambridge, 2003), 678–692.

[22] Elaine Showalter, "Women's Time, Women's Space: Writing the History of Feminist Criticism," *Tulsa Studies in Women's Literature* 3, no. 1/2 (1984): 35; Hélène Cixous, "Castration or Decapitation?" *Signs* 7, no. 1 (1981): 44; Terry Eagleton, *Literary Theory: An Introduction* (Minneapolis, 1983), 149. For American feminist adaptations of French theory, see, for example, Elaine Marks and Isabelle de Courtivron, eds., *New French Feminisms: An Anthology* (Amherst, Mass., 1980); *Writing and Sexual Difference*, Special Issue, *Critical Inquiry* 8, no. 2 (1981); *Feminist Readings: French Texts/American Contexts*, Special Issue, *Yale French Studies* 62 (1981). For critical commentaries by historians, see Buhle, *Feminism and Its Discontents*, chap. 9; Claire Goldberg Moses, "Made in America: 'French Feminism' in Academia," *Feminist Studies* 24, no. 2 (1998): 241–274.

[23] Scott was soon joined in this endeavor by Judith Butler; see Butler, *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity* (New York, 1990).

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ences on which it was based and the philosophers, psychoanalysts, and literary critics who suggested that the language of difference sustained Western social and political order. She was not alone in this kind of endeavor. A year earlier, for example, Henry Louis Gates, Jr. (and others) had posited race as a "trope of ultimate, irreducible difference" that naturalized distinctions between "cultures, linguistic groups, or adherents of specific belief systems."[24] Within the United States, the scholarly study of difference and inequality, once firmly grounded in social science, had migrated to the humanities and taken root in the study of language. It soon spread beyond the analysis of literature and into the reading of multifarious texts, including the kinds of texts that historians typically use as evidence.

This abbreviated genealogy of gender might help to place Scott's contribution in a broader context. For historians, Scott summarized explanations of gender inequality, captured an emerging historiographic trend, and imported theory to a discipline of committed empiricists. She promised both to expand the terrain of the new social and cultural history and to return to and revivify the traditional fields of historical study. In the 1980s and 1990s, her readers sustained her argument first by publicly debating its merits and then by applying its theory and its method of reading. Beyond the historical discipline, though, Scott's essay entered into decades-long conversations on the social and symbolic constructions of sex difference. She helped to move the American concept of gender beyond its scientific and social scientific origins and nudged the American adaptations of poststructuralism beyond their recognized place in literary criticism. She suggested how the language of sex difference had historically provided a means to articulate relationships of power. In this way, she tied gender back to other forms of difference and pushed us to ponder the metanarratives that mutually constituted various social and political hierarchies. And ponder we should. This may, in the end, prove to be the enduring legacy of "Gender."

[24] Scott, "Gender," 1066, 1067; Henry Louis Gates, Jr., "Writing 'Race' and the Difference It Makes," *"Race," Writing, and Difference*, Special Issue, *Critical Inquiry* 12, no. 1 (1985): 5. Gates's essay is the editor's introduction to the issue; some of the other essays in the issue also address the language of race difference. See also Evelyn Brooks Higginbotham, "African American Women's History and the Metalanguage of Race," *Signs* 17, no. 2 (1992): 251–274.

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AHR Forum
A Paradigm of Our Own: Joan Scott in Latin American History

HEIDI TINSMAN

ACCOUNTING FOR THE FIELD OF LATIN AMERICAN GENDER HISTORY makes me a tad defensive. Area studies still invokes hierarchies suggesting that feminist paradigms, in particular, begin in European and U.S. American studies and trickle down to the rest of us. Such notions are bolstered by intellectual genealogies exactly like my own. Trained as a historian in the 1980s and early 1990s, I first encountered women's history in undergraduate classes with Europeanist Natalie Zemon Davis and U.S. historian Christine Stansell. The bulk of my feminist history courses in graduate school—including Joan Wallach Scott's *Gender and the Politics of History* as required reading—were seminars with Nancy Cott, likewise a U.S. Americanist. Feminist scholarship on Latin America also profoundly shaped me, but most of it was not historical. By the mid-1980s, debates on third world development and socialist revolution had inspired a vibrant anthropological and political science literature on Latin American women's work and political participation.[1] I first discovered this scholarship in college anthropology courses with Kay Warren, a scholar of Guatemala who directed Princeton's first women's studies program and co-taught its introductory survey with Natalie Davis. Such a partnership between an anthropologist of Central America and a historian of France was indicative of a broader academic division of labor at the time, which produced women's history as narratives of Europe and the United States, and Latin American feminist studies as engagements with contemporary politics. When I entered Yale's doctoral program in 1989, I sensed that this bifurcation was still intact, despite the significant growth in Latin American

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[1] For example, June Nash and Helen Icken Safa, eds., *Sex and Class in Latin America* (New York, 1976); Elsa Chaney, *Supermadre: Women in Politics in Latin America* (Austin, Tex., 1979); June Nash and María Patricia Fernández-Kelley, eds., *Women, Men, and the International Division of Labor* (Albany, N.Y., 1983); María Patricia Fernández-Kelly, *For We Are Sold, I And My People: Women and Industry in Mexico's Frontier* (Albany, N.Y., 1985); Maxine Molyneux, "Mobilization without Emancipation? Women's Interests, the State, and Revolution in Nicaragua," *Feminist Studies* 11, no. 2 (1985): 227–254; Eleanor Leacock and Helen I. Safa, eds., *Women's Work: Development and the Division of Labor by Gender* (South Hadley, Mass., 1986); Lourdes Benería and Martha Roldán, *The Crossroads of Class and Gender: Industrial Homework, Subcontracting, and Household Dynamics in Mexico City* (Chicago, 1987); Carmen Diana Deere and Magdalena León, eds., *Rural Women and State Policy: Feminist Perspectives on Latin American Agricultural Development* (Boulder, Colo., 1987).

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women's history and the active mentorship for feminist history provided by the Latin Americanist faculty, Emilia da Costa and Daniel James.[2]

While others in my field will narrate such personal tales differently, Joan Scott's 1988 book *Gender and the Politics of History* was important in helping to bridge real divides and to inspire the virtual explosion in feminist histories of Latin America published in the last twenty years.[3] But rather than straight trickle-down, of course, Scott's work helped to strengthen paradigms specific to Latin American history. Her arguments encouraged feminists working on Latin America to elaborate longstanding political commitments and materialist traditions within Latin American studies, while simultaneously taking up the challenge to critique empiricism and study gendered meanings. If for many historians of the United States and Europe Scott's work marked the famous cultural turn, presumably away from social history (its Marxist variants in particular), within Latin American history it was precisely feminist social history that Scott's work most inspired (much of it engaged with Marxist debates over political culture).

It is not that Latin Americanists failed to grasp Scott's essay or labored at an earlier phase of scholarship, but that the questions being asked about Latin America compelled different uses. Such differences sprang in part from the different political contexts facing Latin America and the U.S. and Western Europe during the cold war and the correspondingly different academic agendas that area studies paradigms generated about "regions."[4] So, too, the differences flowed from the uneven dialogues taking place between "Latin Americanists"—scholars working in the United States and other English-dominant academies of the North Atlantic, and "Latin American intellectuals"—scholars working in Latin America.[5] In other words, the different uses of Joan Scott by scholars of Latin America are themselves historical and political processes rather than matters of paradigm lag.

The tensions mediating Scott's important influence on feminist historiography on Latin America have led to a number of innovative results. Feminist scholars located differently within the U.S./North Atlantic and Latin American contexts have shared concerns inspired by contemporary Latin American politics but have often diverged over goals and methodology in using gender as a category. While Scott's work has

[2] By 1989, there were a number of important historical works on Latin American gender and sexuality, including Verena Stolcke, *Marriage, Class and Colour in Nineteenth-Century Cuba: A Study of Racial Attitudes and Sexual Values in a Slave Society* (New York, 1974); Asunción Lavrin, ed., *Sexuality and Marriage in Colonial Latin America* (Lincoln, Neb., 1989); Silvia Marina Arrom, *The Women of Mexico City, 1790–1857* (Stanford, Calif., 1985); Patricia Seed, *To Love, Honor, and Obey in Colonial Mexico: Conflicts over Marriage Choice, 1574–1821* (Stanford, Calif., 1988).

[3] For a superb overview and extensive citations of Latin American gender history, see Sueann Caulfield, "The History of Gender in the Historiography of Latin America," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 81, no. 3–4 (2001): 449–490.

[4] On area studies' production of region-specific knowledge, see Heidi Tinsman and Sandhya Shukla, "Talking across the Americas," in Sandhya Shukla and Heidi Tinsman, eds., *Imagining Our Americas: Toward a Transnational Frame* (Durham, N.C., 2007), 1–30.

[5] These are admittedly imperfect terms, and I invoke them as necessary shorthand for discussing broad distinctions in debates across regional academies—to acknowledge that differences exist, rather than to pose strict dichotomies. "Latin Americanists" also include intellectuals from and/or trained in Latin America who work within the U.S. and the broader North Atlantic. "Latin American intellectuals" are not all originally from Latin America. Many scholars are obviously both. Similarly, I use the term "North Atlantic" in a conceptual rather than strictly geographic sense to refer to scholarship from non–Latin American academies that have engaged area studies paradigms. This literature is largely in English, by scholars located in the U.S., Britain, Canada, and Australia, but is also produced elsewhere.

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been vital to many Latin American intellectuals' discussions of women's agency and exploitation, it has never assumed the primacy that it did in North Atlantic debates over gender ideology and subjectivity. Yet it is also worth exploring at greater length the uses of Scott in the historiography on Latin America written in English. Such lopsidedness reflects not merely the daunting task of comparative analysis across dozens of national academies, but, more fundamentally, the reality that Scott had a much bigger impact on histories written in English. North Atlantic area studies paradigms constituted "Latin American Studies" and "women's studies" as comparative fields in ways that they never were to the same purposes within Latin America. In the English-language historiography on Latin America, Scott's work has been critical to the development of three particularly strong thematic areas: histories of gender and state formation, feminist labor histories, and histories of sexuality. In each of these areas, Latin Americanists have engaged her ideas in ways that blend structuralist and poststructuralist paradigms, social history, and cultural history—combinations born of a certain resistance to abandoning materialist analysis, often Marxist paradigms in particular. As a result, feminist analysis of political economy and of class has been a vibrant part of Latin Americanist considerations of gender and sexuality (and, more recently, considerations of race and popular culture), in contrast to the way such categories have often receded in priority in feminist literature on the United States and Europe.[6] Such difference may in the future offer opportunities for intellectual flows in a less considered direction: *from* Latin American studies to *its* Others.

When I arrived in Santiago, Chile, in 1992 to begin research on my dissertation, Joan Scott already had a fan club at the Biblioteca Nacional. To be sure, it had a restricted membership, consisting largely of U.S.-trained *gringa* graduate students. Most of us had read Scott under similar circumstances (that is, not in seminars on Latin America), and like other graduate students from back home, we were eager to make the leap from women's history to gender history. But Scott's emphasis on "gender constructing politics and politics constructing gender" struck a special chord for us as Latin Americanists. Politics was the reason that most of us had chosen to study Latin America in the first place. We had come of age during the Reagan administration's assault on Central America and support for Southern Cone dictators, and we saw writing Chilean history as an act of solidarity with the pro-democracy struggles that had ousted Augusto Pinochet from power in 1990. As an academic field, Latin American studies overwhelmingly privileged political economy and social histories of political movements, the paradigms for which were heavily Marxist. Scott's call to study the gender politics of all institutions (not just those addressing women), and her insistence that gender shaped all forms of power, seemed the perfect Trojan horse for getting feminist analysis into hallowed fortresses.

With less military imagery in mind, we were also eager to share Scott's work with Chileans. In the 1980s, Chilean feminists had played a crucial role in the struggles against Pinochet and generated abundant scholarship on women in the many non-

[6] See Heidi Tinsman, "Feminist Labor History and Marxist Legacies in Latin American Studies," *WerkstattGeschichte* 41, no. 1 (2005): 27–46.

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governmental organizations that served as shadow academies to the heavily censored universities.[7] But "women" rather than "gender" was the primary category of analysis for Chilean feminist scholars, most of whom were also activists in movements to expand women's rights and political leadership. In 1992, historians at the Universidad de Santiago de Chile (USACH) sponsored the first Women's History Workshop at a major university and invited several graduate students from the U.S. to participate. We quickly located a Spanish translation of Scott's essay "Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis" to contribute and were shocked when it was met by several participants with disinterest and impatience.[8]

The reaction was partly an objection to U.S. feminist proselytizing, in whose long history we could not help but participate. There were also generational conflicts, issues of terminology, and above all, genuine differences in scholarly goals.[9] In the immediate advent of a post-Pinochet world, many Chileans were interested in asserting women as national historical actors and expanding empirical databases about women. Not all advocates of women's studies identified as "feminists."[10] By contrast, many of us coming from the United States assumed an easy correlation between women's history and feminism, and were inspired by Scott's critique of "her-story" and wary of "add women and stir" projects. We were more interested in the process through which women and men were gendered, a goal that many Chileans felt was distracting from more pressing questions about women's experience and roles in modernization. Not that these differences were necessarily irreconcilable. Scott herself had firmly insisted that feminism's true radicalism lay in writing histories "that focus on women's experiences *and* analyze the ways in which 'politics construct gender and gender constructs politics.'"[11] Nor did Chileans reject Scott. Indeed, as a direct outcome of the USACH Women's History Workshop, the first collected volume of Chilean gender history in either Spanish or English was published (in Spanish) in 1995 in Santiago, edited by two Chilean feminists and two feminists based in the United States.[12] Scott's work is prominently cited in the introduction and pro-

[7] For example, Julieta Kirkwood, *Ser política en Chile: Las feministas y los partidos* (Santiago de Chile, 1986); María Elena Valenzuela, *La mujer en el Chile militar: Todas ibamos a ser reinas* (Santiago de Chile, 1987); Centro de Estudios de la Mujer, *Mundo de mujer: Continuidad y cambio* (Santiago de Chile, 1988); Teresa Valdés, *Ser mujer en sectores populares urbanos* (Santiago de Chile, 1986).

[8] Joan W. Scott, "Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis," *American Historical Review* 91, no. 5 (December 1986): 1053–1075. This seminar was organized by Julio Pinto, Luís Ortega, and Diana Veneros Ruiz-Tagle of the Departamento de Historia, Universidad de Santiago de Chile.

[9] For a superb discussion of the relationship between Chilean and North Atlantic feminist scholars, see Thomas Miller Klubock, "Writing the History of Women and Gender in Twentieth-Century Chile," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 81, no. 3–4 (2001): 493–518.

[10] Some scholars working on Chilean women viewed their projects as aligned more closely with the debates on the political left that asserted women's inclusion within the popular classes. See Gabriel Salazar Vergara, *Labradores, peones y proletarios: Formación y crisis de la sociedad popular chilena del siglo XIX* (Santiago de Chile, 1985). Other scholars identified with the Chilean women's movement but understood North American feminist movements to be differently motivated than their own. See Edda Artiga Gaviola, Ximena Jiles Moreno, Lorela Lopresti Martínez, and Claudia Rojas Mira, *Queremos votar en las próximas elecciones: Historia del movimiento femenino chileno, 1913–1952* (Santiago de Chile, 1986); Cecilia Salinas, *La mujer proletaria: Una historia por contar* (Santiago de Chile, 1987); Ximena Valdés, *La posición de la mujer en la hacienda* (Santiago de Chile, 1988).

[11] Joan Wallach Scott, "Women's History," in Scott, *Gender and the Politics of History* (New York, 1988), 27. Emphasis in the original.

[12] Lorena Godoy, Elizabeth Hutchison, Karin Rosemblatt, and M. Soledad Zárate, eds., *Disciplina y desacato: Construcción de identidad en Chile, siglos XIX y XX* (Santiago de Chile, 1995).

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vides the volume's working definition for gender as historically constructed meaning.[13] Yet even in this collaboration, a divergence exists between the mostly Chilean-authored scholarship, which focuses on constructions of women's identities, and the U.S.-based scholarship, which focuses on gender ideologies.[14]

Such differences were by no means peculiar to Chile, but characterized the tensions and trajectories of Scott's influence in other Latin American countries as well. In contrast to the ways that feminist histories written in English increasingly took gender politics rather than women as the point of departure, the outpouring of feminist scholarship in Spanish and Portuguese more often privileged documenting and analyzing women's experience and political authority. Pathbreaking work by Latin American scholars on women's labor, sexuality, and activism long predated Scott's book, yet, notably, when Latin American intellectuals did cite Scott, it was most often to champion woman-focused social history.[15] In many places, Scott's work dovetailed with the already well-developed paradigms in labor history, and especially urban history, that explored women's lives through the nexus of sexuality, poverty, and violence.[16] Similarly, it tapped into the rich literature on criminology and medicine, demography and family history.[17] Nonetheless, where such Latin American scholarship highlighted gender-related themes, women's roles and femininity rather than the process of constructing "gendered difference" were most often the objects of study.

Such generalizations are of course dangerous. They homogenize profound differences between and within national intellectual traditions. They overstate the eli-

[13] Ibid., 18–20.

[14] Since the early 1990s, there have been numerous important studies of women's history published in Chile. For example, Diana Veneros Ruiz-Tagle, ed., *Perfiles revelados: Historias de mujeres en Chile, siglos XVIII–XX* (Santiago de Chile, 1997); Ximena Valdés and Kathya Araujo, *Vida privada: Modernización agraria y modernidad* (Santiago de Chile, 1999); Sol Serrano P., *Vírgenes viajeras: Diarios de religiosas francesas en su ruta a Chile, 1837–1874* (Santiago de Chile, 2000); Eduardo Caviares and René Salinas, *Amor, sexo y matrimonio en Chile tradicional* (Valparaíso, 1991). For a review of historical work on Chilean women, see María Soledad Zárate and Lorena Godoy, "Análisis crítico de los estudios históricos del trabajo femenino en Chile," *Cuadernos de Investigación* 2 (2005): 1–18. See also the online bibliography "El género en historia," http://americas.sas.ac.uk/publications/genero/genero_portadilla.htm (accessed August 20, 2008).

[15] For example, in Mexico, Scott's work received early attention from scholars such as Carmen Ramos and Julia Tuñón, who helped establish Mexican women's history as a major field. See Carmen Ramos Escandón et al., *Presencia y transparencia: La mujer en la historia de México* (Mexico City, 1987); Julia Tuñón Pablos, *Mujeres en México: Una historia olvidada* (Mexico City, 1987); Tuñón Pablos, "Porque Clío era mujer: Buscando caminos para su historia," in Gabriela Cano, Carmen Ramos, and Julia Tuñón, *Problemas en torno a la historia de las mujeres* (Iztapalapa, 1991); Carmen Ramos, "La historia de México desde el género," ibid.; Carmen Ramos Escandón, comp., *Género e historia: La historiografía sobre la mujer* (Mexico City, 1992).

[16] On Brazil, see Elisabeth Souza-Lobo, *A classe operária tem dois sexos: Trabalho, dominação e resistência* (São Paulo, 1991); Margareth Rago, *Os prazeres da noite: Prostituição e códigos da sexualidade feminina em São Paulo (1890–1930)* (Rio de Janeiro, 1991); Martha de Abreu Esteves, *Meninas perdidas: Os populares e o cotidiano do amor no Rio de Janeiro da Belle Epoque* (Rio de Janeiro, 1989); Rachel Soihet, *Condição feminina e formas de violência: Mulheres pobres e ordem urbana, 1890–1920* (Rio de Janeiro, 1990); Margareth Rago, *Do cabaré ao lar: A utopia da cidade disciplinar: Brasil, 1890–1930* (Rio de Janeiro, 1985).

[17] This literature is extensively cited in Caulfield, "The History of Gender." Examples include Jorge Balán, *Profesión e identidad en una sociedad dividida: La medicina y el origen del psicoanálisis en la Argentina* (Buenos Aires, 1988); Magali Engel, *Meretrizes e doutores: Saber médico e prostituição no Rio de Janeiro (1840–1890)* (São Paulo, 1989); Sheila da Castro Faria, "História da família e demografia histórica," in Ciro Flamarion Cardoso and Ronaldo Vainfas, eds., *Domínos da história: Ensaios de teoria e metodologia* (Rio de Janeiro, 1997), 45–66.

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sion of women's history within North Atlantic academies and understate the intensity with which gender has been debated across Latin America, especially in disciplines other than history.[18] Nor do such dichotomies accurately reflect the most recent trends in feminist studies from Latin America, which in the last half-decade have been much more centrally concerned with gender analysis, from explorations of the gendered discourses of law and science to studies of masculinity and homosexuality.[19] Not all gender studies from Latin America have their roots in, or even engage, Joan Scott. French critical theory in sociology, psychology, and literature often provided a much more direct feminist inspiration, especially in places such as Brazil and Argentina.[20] Yet importantly, Scott was the much-celebrated keynote speaker at the Colloquium on the History of Women and Gender in Mexico held in Guadalajara in 2003,[21] and her work is prominently featured in the scholarship of a new generation of Chilean, Brazilian, and Argentine historians who began their careers post-dictatorship.[22] Examples from elsewhere abound.[23] And yet a North-South binary

[18] For example, in Chile, sociologist Julieta Kirkwood provided a foundational model for thinking about male/female hierarchies and military dictatorship. See Kirkwood, *Ser política en Chile*. More recently, Nelly Richard has discussed the relevance of gender for Latin American feminists' struggle for democracy, social justice, and memory. See Richard, *Masculino/Femenino: Prácticas de la diferencia y cultura democrática* (Santiago de Chile, 1993); Richard, *Residuos y metáforas: Ensayos de crítica cultural sobre el Chile de la transición* (Santiago de Chile, 1998). Works on masculinity by sociologists and anthropologists have been important to asserting gender as a distinct project from studies on women. See Teresa Valdés and José Olavarría, eds., *Masculinidades y equidad de género en America Latina* (Santiago de Chile, 1998); Sonia Montecino Aguirre, *Madres y huachos: Alegorías del mestizaje chileno* (Santiago de Chile, 1991). Caulfield notes that in Brazil, "gender" has been discussed more by social scientists than by historians, and extensively so at the Núcleo de Estudos de Gênero Pagú at the State University of Campinas, São Paulo (UNICAMP). Caulfield, "The History of Gender," 450. See also Margareth Rago, "Descobrindo historicamente o gênero," *Cadernos Pagu* 11 (1998): 89–98; Elena Varikas, "Gênero, experiência, e subjetividade: A propósito do desacordo Tilly-Scott," *Cadernos Pagu* 3 (1994): 63–84; Maria Odila Leite da Silva Dias, "Teoria e método dos estudos feministas: Perspectiva histórica e hermenêutica do cotidiano," in Albertina de Oliveira Costa and Cristina Buschini, eds., *Uma questão de gênero* (Rio de Janeiro, 1992).

[19] In Mexico, see Gabriela Cano and Georgette José Valenzuela, eds., *Cuatro estudios de género en el México urbano del siglo XIX* (Mexico City, 2001); Gabriela Cano, "La íntima felicidad del Coronel Robles," *Equis: Cultura y sociedad* 1 (1999): 25–35; Cano, "Una ciudadanía igualitaria: El presidente Lázaro Cárdenas y el sufragio femenino," *Desdeldiez* 1 (1995): 69–116; Marta Lamas, *Para entender el concepto de género* (Quito, 1998); Ana Lidia García, *Problemas metodológicos de la historia de las mujeres: La historiografía dedicada al siglo XIX mexicano* (Mexico City, 1994), Elena Urrutia, ed., *Estudios sobre las mujeres y las relaciones de género en México: Aportes desde diversas disciplinas* (Mexico City, 2002).

[20] As Caulfield notes, Jacques Derrida, Gilles Deleuze, Julia Kristeva, Hélène Cixous, and Michel Foucault all inspired studies of sexuality, but often without addressing gender history or women per se. See Caulfield, "The History of Gender."

[21] The full title of the conference was "II Coloquio de Historia de Mujeres y de Género en México, CIESAS-Occidente"; it was held in Guadalajara, Mexico, September 5–7, 2003. This was the second of a series of four conferences involving collaboration between North Atlantic–based and Mexico-based scholars.

[22] For Chile, see María Soledad Zárate C., *Dar a luz en Chile, siglo XIX: De la "ciencia de hembra" a la ciencia obstetrica* (Santiago de Chile, 2007); Alejandra Brito, "La construcción histórica de las mentalidades de género en la sociedad popular chilena (1900–1930)," *Nomadías Monográficas* 1, no. 1 (1999): 213–228; Marcela Ríos Tobar, Lorena Godoy Catalán, and Elizabeth Guerrero Caviedes, *¿Un nuevo silencio feminista? La transformación de un movimiento social en el Chile posdictadura* (Santiago de Chile, 2003); Tomás Cornejo Cancino, *Manuela Orellana, la criminal: Género, cultura y sociedad en el Chile del siglo XVIII* (Santiago de Chile, 2006); Consuelo Figueroa, "El honor femenino: Ideario colectivo y práctica cotidiana," in Veneros, *Perfiles revelados*, 63–90; Rafael Sagredo and Cristián Gazmuri, eds., *Historia de la vida privada en Chile*, 4 vols. (Santiago de Chile, 2005); Cecilia Osorio, "Ser hombre en la pampa: Aproximación hacia los rasgos de masculinidad del peón chileno en las tierras del salitre, 1860–1880," in Colectivo Oficios Varios, *Arriba quemando el sol: Estudios de historia social chilena, experiencias populares de trabajo, revuelta y autonomía, 1830–1940* (Santiago de Chile, 2004), 91–110; Rodrigo Henríquez

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persists. To what extent, and in which ways, "gender" or "women" should be a privileged site of inquiry has been an issue of contention and different timing. While many Latin Americanists from the North Atlantic were eager converts to Scott's vision of gender history, Latin American intellectuals often were more cautious and selective.

Here, different cold war histories of feminism matter a great deal. In the United States, Scott's work emerged out of, and helped to inspire, women's studies projects generated by second-wave feminist struggles located in significant ways inside universities, institutions that assumed existing liberal democratic frameworks, however imperfect and embattled. Feminist deconstruction, including Scott's call to study the process through which gendered subjects are created, flowed from a disenchantment with ideals about universal rights, but nonetheless took political subjectivity, even citizenship, as a primary object of study. By contrast, in South and Central America, where feminism also reemerged with force after the 1960s but where U.S. foreign policy helped to perpetuate civil wars and military dictatorships, feminists were largely excluded from universities and articulated their projects around pro-democracy struggles aimed at recovering liberal institutions or within socialist revolutions aspiring to transcend them. Even in Mexico, and very differently in Cuba, where revolutionary nationalism held out a promise of radical inclusion, authoritarian, one-party states presented profound obstacles to non-official feminist claims. As a result of such cold war contexts, Latin American women's activism on human rights, military violence, and economic inequality generated questions less about gendered subject formation than about women's exclusion or oppression by specific institutions. Even following the transition of most Latin American countries to democracy, feminism remained (and remains) far more excluded from university life than in the North Atlantic. The point here is not that gender analysis was a first world luxury that Chileans or Nicaraguans could ill afford, but that what constitutes useful cat-

Vásquez, "La jarana del desierto: Burdeles, prostitutas y pampinos en Tarapacá, 1890–1910," ibid., 111–113; María Angélica Illanes, *Trabajadoras sociales* (Santiago de Chile, 2006); Sonia Montecino Aguirre, ed., *Mujeres chilenas: Fragmentos de una historia* (Santiago de Chile, 2008).

For Brazil, see Cristiana Schettini Pereira, *Que tenhas teu corpo: Uma história social da prostituição no Rio de Janeiro das primeiras décadas republicanas* (Rio de Janeiro, 2006); Olívia Maria Gomes da Cunha, *Intenção e gesto: Pessoa, cor e a produção cotidiana da (in)diferença no Rio de Janeiro, 1927–1942* (Rio de Janeiro, 2002); Millie Thayer, "Feminismo transnacional: Re-lendo Joan Scott no sertão," *Revista Estudos Feministas* 9, no. 1 (2001): 103–130; Maria Clementia Pereira Cunha, "De historiadoras, brasileiras e escandinavas: Loucuras, folias e relações de gêneros no Brasil (século XIX e indício do XX)," *Tempo: Revista do Departamento de História da Universidade Federal Fluminense* 5, no. 1 (1998): 188–215; Mary Del Priore, *Ao sul do corpo: Condição feminina, maternidades e mentalidades no Brasil colônia* (Rio de Janeiro, 1993); Del Priore, "História das mulheres: As vozes do silêncio," in Marcos Cezar de Freitas, ed., *Historiografia brasileira em perspectiva* (São Paulo, 2000), 45–65; Thayer, "Feminismo transnacional."

For Argentina, see Fernanda Gil Lozano, Valeria Silvina Pita, and María Gabriela Ini, eds., *Historia de las mujeres en Argentina* (Buenos Aires, 2000); Paula Halperin and Omar Acha, eds., *Cuerpos, géneros e identidades: Estudios de historia de género en Argentina* (Buenos Aires, 2001); Marcela Nari, *Políticas de maternidad y maternalismo político: Buenos Aires, 1890–1940* (Buenos Aires, 2004); Mirta Zaida Lobato, *Historia de las trabajadoras en la Argentina (1869–1960)* (Buenos Aires, 2007); Dora Barrancos, *Mujeres en la sociedad argentina: Una historia de cinco siglos* (Buenos Aires, 2007).

[23] For Peru, see contributions to Scarlett O'Phelan Godoy and Margarita Zegarra Flórez, eds., *Congreso internacional de mujeres, familia y sociedad en la historia de América Latina, siglos XVIII–XXI* (Lima, 2003).

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egories of feminist analysis is a matter of geopolitics rather than epistemological catch-up.

Different relationships to the nation and to poststructuralism matter here, too. In the U.S. academy, Scott's work helped to inspire not only the shift from studying "causation" to studying "meaning," but a shift from national history to historical critiques of the nation and of modernity more broadly. For scholars in Latin America, by contrast, national (even nationalist) narratives about modernization have operated as a critical tool for challenging authoritarianism at home and accusations of underdevelopment from abroad. Essentialist renderings of "women" or "workers," and the pitfalls of economic determinism, are no less problematic for Latin American scholars than they were for the European and U.S. historians who were so poignantly critiqued by Scott in the 1980s. But given past and present histories of empire, something different has been at stake in jettisoning frameworks that probe questions of national sovereignty and universal inclusion.

Consider, for example, the contrasting fates of Marxism. In the United States and Britain, Scott's withering and much-deserved critique of E. P. Thompson's failure to interrogate the masculine nature of his beloved English working class signaled a broader trend by the late 1980s in which academic Marxism, like leftist politics, was in decline, and many feminists were pursuing distinct agendas that increasingly questioned the coherence of universal categories such as "class" and "woman."[24] By contrast, in Latin America, the 1980s and the election of Ronald Reagan signaled not the eclipse of leftist radicalism but the hyperpolarization of cold war dichotomies. The U.S. government massively funded bloody "counterinsurgency" wars in El Salvador, Guatemala, and Nicaragua and proclaimed military despots such as Pinochet to be key allies in the fight against Communism. In Latin American studies, this recharged older debates about dependency and imperialism, which had been central to Latin American intellectual radicalism since the 1950s, and engaged new paradigms provided by social history for thinking about political agency and resistance within the nation. Many Latin American feminists sharply criticized Marxism on much the same grounds as those used by U.S. and European feminists, and Marxism itself underwent innumerable renovations. Nonetheless, ideas about class and class-based struggles over the state and economy were reinvigorated as sites of study and activism, including among feminists, precisely because Marxism was tied to debates over national liberation and democracy in different ways and to a greater extent in Latin America than it had been in the United States or even much of Western Europe.

These concerns also have shaped how Latin Americanists from the United States and the broader North Atlantic frame their projects. If "northern" feminists differed from "southern" feminists in their specific approach to issues that Scott raised, North Atlantic scholars also engaged Latin America's cold war landscape (albeit with very different risks) and generated questions that took cues from the wider debates inside Latin America over national politics. As a result, a great deal of the English-language historiography on Latin American women and gender interrogates questions of modernization, state-building, and political economy. Marxism, of various tones, regu-

[24] Joan Wallach Scott, "Women in *The Making of the English Working Class*," in Scott, *Gender and the Politics of History*, 68–92.

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larly inflects these narratives, if only as an explanatory mode to be refused. So, too, claims about gendered meanings, while forming the centerpiece of most English-language feminist histories, generally have been made while elaborating a great deal of "her-story" about where the women were and what they were doing. Of course, such double-tasking, thanks partly to Scott, is common to feminist history on other regions as well. But it is a combination especially marked in the English-language literature on Latin America precisely because of the ways that scholarship straddles specific agendas *from* Latin America while also finding in Scott's work a useful, indeed crucial, tool for generating narratives about politics.

ONE OF THE FIRST AND MOST ENDURING AREAS in which Scott's discussion of gender has had an impact on historians of Latin America is histories of the state. Debates about Iberian centralism and unequal development have long made the state of particular concern to Latin Americanists across disciplines. Around the time that Scott's book appeared, the small but excellent body of historical scholarship on Latin American gender relations was coming mostly from colonialists, who emphasized connections between sexuality (honor, marriage, violence) and the high politics of church and crown.[25] Colonialists were especially well poised to engage Scott's outline of four strategic areas for studying gender: symbolism, normative concepts, social institutions/organizations, and subjective identity.[26] By the late 1980s, studies of the Spanish conquest were drawing lessons from anthropology about the importance of ritual and kinship; histories of honor were premised on nuanced readings of legal transcripts as clues into the meaning of masculinity and femininity.[27] Scott's specific mention of "the polity" and "law" as institutions and concepts in connection with which historians should explore gender bolstered Latin Americanists' already strong tendency to foreground institutional government.[28] At the same time, Scott's two-pronged approach to gender both as "constitutive of social relationships" and as a "primary way of signifying power" greatly expanded the terrain that scholars considered as constituting "the state" and provided a more robust theoretical language for connecting gender to politics.[29] For example, new studies of indigenous com-

[25] Stolcke, *Marriage, Class and Colour*; Lavrin, *Sexuality and Marriage*; Seed, *To Love, Honor, and Obey*; Ramón A. Gutiérrez, *When Jesus Came, the Corn Mothers Went Away: Sexuality and Marriage in Colonial New Mexico, 1500–1846* (Stanford, Calif., 1991). For the modern period, see Sandra Lauderdale Graham, *House and Street: The Domestic World of Servants and Masters in Nineteenth-Century Rio de Janeiro* (New York, 1988); Donna J. Guy, *Sex and Danger in Buenos Aires: Prostitution, Family, and Nation in Argentina* (Lincoln, Neb., 1991).

[26] Joan Scott, "Gender as a Useful Category of Historical Analysis," in Scott, *Gender and the Politics of History*, 43–44.

[27] On Spanish conquest, see Inga Clendinnen, *Ambivalent Conquests: Maya and Spaniard in Yucatan, 1517–1570* (Cambridge, 1987); Irene Silverblatt, *Moon, Sun, and Witches: Gender Ideologies and Class in Inca and Colonial Peru* (Princeton, N.J., 1987); Tzvetan Todorov, *The Conquest of America: The Question of the Other* (New York, 1984). For honor, see Graham, *House and Street*; Seed, *To Love, Honor, and Obey*; Lavrin, *Sexuality and Marriage*; Gutiérrez, *When Jesus Came*.

[28] Scott, "Gender as a Useful Category," 42–43.

[29] For the modern period, Sandra McGee Deutsch played a crucial early role in bringing Scott's ideas to bear on the reinterpretation of four iconic Latin American states: revolutionary Mexico, Peronist Argentina, Allende's Chile, and Fidel Castro's Cuba. She argued that ideals of revolutionary masculinity and the male-headed family had been foundational to twentieth-century state-building and that these projects centrally shaped Latin American women's and men's subjectivities. See Deutsch, "Gender and

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munities, peasants, and plebeians argued that quotidian forms of patriarchy provided a central logic of colonial rule.[30] In addition, Scott's ideas helped to reshape debates about honor and purity of blood, highlighting the colonial state's role in producing race through distinctions between public and private.[31]

For the modern period, Scott's work has had its greatest impact within the protracted debates in Latin American studies over hegemony. Indeed, Latin American history is especially noteworthy for its feminist reformulations of Antonio Gramsci's ideas about the manufacture of consent and culture as a site of political struggle. Gramsci's ideas have appealed to Latin Americanists eager to break with economic determinism and explain why "the masses" so often support projects counter to "their interests." They have also helped to prioritize the political lives of peasants, indigenous people, and other constituencies consigned to passivity by orthodox Marxism.[32] Feminists have insisted that gender is central to the creation of hegemony's cross-class agreements and contestations.

One especially long-lasting paradigm has discussed this process in terms of the "modernization of patriarchy" and the promotion of civic domesticity. As this story goes, within nineteenth- and twentieth-century industrialization projects, an array of constituencies—including industrial leaders, politicians, liberal professionals, feminists, and the labor movement—all pushed varying ideals of the nuclear family in which men were the breadwinners and women dedicated themselves to scientific motherhood.[33] Although this was never a reality for most poor people, the policies underlying such ideals had wide appeal to working-class and middle-class Latin Americans alike and helped to generate political legitimacy and relative social peace in projects as diverse as Brazil's business-led modernization, Mexico's revolutionary

Sociopolitical Change in Twentieth-Century Latin America," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 71, no. 2 (1991): 259–306.

[30] For examples of the discussion on "patriarchal pacts," see Richard Boyer, "Women, La Mala Vida, and the Politics of Marriage," in Lavrin, *Sexuality and Marriage*, 252–286; Steve J. Stern, *The Secret History of Gender: Women, Men, and Power in Late Colonial Mexico* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1995); Sarah C. Chambers, *From Subjects to Citizens: Honor, Gender, and Politics in Arequipa, Peru, 1780–1854* (University Park, Pa., 1999). See also Kathryn Burns, *Colonial Habits: Convents and the Spiritual Economy of Cuzco, Peru* (Durham, N.C., 1999); Susan Migden Socolow, *The Women of Colonial Latin America* (Cambridge, 2000).

[31] Lyman L. Johnson and Sonya Lipsett-Rivera, eds., *The Faces of Honor: Sex, Shame, and Violence in Colonial Latin America* (Albuquerque, 1998); Ann Twinam, *Public Lives, Private Secrets: Gender, Honor, Sexuality, and Illegitimacy in Colonial Spanish America* (Stanford, Calif., 1999); María Elena Martínez, *Genealogical Fictions: Limpieza de Sangre, Religion, and Gender in Colonial Mexico* (Stanford, Calif., 2008).

[32] The Latin Americanist literature on hegemony is vast. Representative examples include Daniel James, *Resistance and Integration: Peronism and the Argentine Working Class, 1946–1976* (New York, 1988); William Roseberry, *Anthropologies and Histories: Essays in Culture, History, and Political Economy* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1989); Gilbert M. Joseph and Daniel Nugent, eds., *Everyday Forms of State Formation: Revolution and the Negotiation of Rule in Modern Mexico* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1994).

[33] For example, Susan K. Besse, *Restructuring Patriarchy: The Modernization of Gender Inequality in Brazil, 1914–1940* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1996); Barbara Weinstein, *For Social Peace in Brazil: Industrialists and the Remaking of the Working Class in São Paulo, 1920–1964* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1996); Mary Kay Vaughan, *Cultural Politics in Revolution: Teachers, Peasants, and Schools in Mexico, 1930–1940* (Tucson, Ariz., 1997); Teresa A. Meade, *"Civilizing" Rio: Reform and Resistance in a Brazilian City, 1889–1930* (University Park, Pa., 1997); Elizabeth Dore and Maxine Molyneux, eds., *Hidden Histories of Gender and the State in Latin America* (Durham, N.C., 2000); Katherine Elaine Bliss, *Compromised Positions: Prostitution, Public Health, and Gender Politics in Revolutionary Mexico City* (University Park, Pa., 2001); Marysa Navarro, *Evita* (Buenos Aires, 1994).

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nationalism, and Puerto Rico's anti-imperialism. Labor historians have also taken up this narrative plot, arguing that domesticity formed the template of numerous radical challenges to elite authority as working-class people struggled to realize their own version of the modern family.[34] An important body of work on Latin American feminism has more explicitly addressed how women's movements corroborated or challenged the patriarchal fantasies of nationalist domesticity.[35]

FEMINIST SCHOLARSHIP ON THE NINETEENTH CENTURY has also utilized Scott's work in thinking about the state and patriarchy, arguing that republican liberalism stripped many women of entitlements they had enjoyed under Spanish law and conditioned the ways in which emerging capitalist economies generated new forms of coerced family labor.[36] At the same time, scholars have stressed how ideas about republican virtue and women's civilizing role provided some women with meaningful access to education, indirect citizenship, and land.[37] Debates have centered on whether the creation of independent nation-states carried women "one step forward and two steps back" or the reverse, and have largely concluded that it was the former. Such formulations rehearse a trope identified by Scott twenty years ago as a mission of women's history: "to challenge received interpretations of progress and regress."[38] They have nonetheless radically reinvigorated political history and made "the long nineteenth century" perhaps the most lively site of current historical investigation on Latin America. New work on indigenous and Catholic institutions has insisted

[34] Thomas Miller Klubock, *Contested Communities: Class, Gender, and Politics in Chile's El Teniente Copper Mine, 1904–1951* (Durham, N.C., 1998); Eileen Findlay, *Imposing Decency: The Politics of Sexuality and Race in Puerto Rico, 1870–1920* (Durham, N.C., 1999); Elizabeth Quay Hutchison, *Labors Appropriate to Their Sex: Gender, Labor, and Politics in Urban Chile, 1900–1930* (Durham, N.C., 2001); John D. French and Daniel James, *The Gendered Worlds of Latin American Women Workers: From Household and Factory to the Union Hall and Ballot Box* (Durham, N.C., 1997); Heidi Tinsman, *Partners in Conflict: The Politics of Sexuality, Gender, and Labor in the Chilean Agrarian Reform, 1950–1973* (Durham, N.C., 2002).

[35] Temma Kaplan, *Taking Back the Streets: Women, Youth, and Direct Democracy* (Berkeley, Calif., 2004); Karin Alejandra Rosemblatt, *Gendered Compromises: Political Cultures and the State in Chile, 1920–1950* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 2000); Jocelyn Olcott, *Revolutionary Women in Postrevolutionary Mexico* (Durham, N.C., 2005); Asunción Lavrin, *Women, Feminism, and Social Change in Argentina, Chile, and Uruguay, 1890–1940* (Lincoln, Neb., 1995); Ericka K. Verba, *Catholic Feminism and the Social Question in Chile, 1910–1917: The Liga de Damas Chilenas* (Lewiston, N.Y., 2003); Christine Ehrick, *The Shield of the Weak: Feminism and the State in Uruguay, 1903–1933* (Albuquerque, 2005); Lisa Baldez, *Why Women Protest: Women's Movements in Chile* (Cambridge, 2002); Margaret Power, *Right-Wing Women in Chile: Feminine Power and the Struggle against Allende, 1964–1973* (University Park, Pa., 2002); Elisabeth J. Friedman, *Unfinished Transitions: Women and the Gendered Development of Democracy in Venezuela, 1936–1996* (University Park, Pa., 2000); Corinne Pernet, "Mobilizing Women in the Popular Front Era: Feminism, Class, and Politics in the Movimiento Pro-Emancipación de la Mujer" (Ph.D. diss., University of California Irvine, 1996).

[36] Elizabeth Dore, "One Step Forward, Two Steps Back: Gender and the State in the Long Nineteenth Century," in Dore and Molyneux, eds., *Hidden Histories*, 3–32; Christine Hunefeldt, *Liberalism in the Bedroom: Quarreling Spouses in Nineteenth-Century Lima* (University Park, Pa., 2000); William French, "Prostitutes and Guardian Angels: Women, Work, and the Family in Porfirian Mexico," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 72, no. 4 (1992): 529–553; Muriel Nazzari, *Disappearance of the Dowry: Women, Families, and Social Change in São Paulo, Brazil, 1600–1900* (Stanford, Calif., 1991).

[37] Elizabeth Dore, *Myths of Modernity: Peonage and Patriarchy in Nicaragua* (Durham, N.C., 2006); William E. French, *In the Path of Progress: Railroads and Moral Reform in Porfirian Mexico* (New York, 1991); Chambers, *From Subjects to Citizens*.

[38] Scott, "Women's History," 19; Dore, "One Step Forward, Two Steps Back."

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that religion helped to revitalize rather than erode liberal modernity.[39] Recent scholarship on race has emphasized how state-promoted patriarchy helped to produce "whiteness" and myths of national mestizaje.[40]

INTERESTINGLY, "HISTORIES OF PATRIARCHY" are a tradition that Scott took particularly to task in 1988, criticizing their implicit biological essentialism and structural determinism. Such objections certainly are shared by feminist historians of Latin America, and some scholars seriously question whether patriarchy has any historical applicability to early modern societies at all.[41] Yet if some scholars eschew the term, it is perhaps more remarkable how many do not. Patriarchy—or some rough equivalent that engages "patterns of male dominance"—has retained its vitality because of its emphasis on the principle of political authority, a concept fundamental to Latin Americanists' interest in the state. Not that the term has gone unrevised. Patriarchy is invoked not as an overarching "system" or result of "nature," but as a heterogeneous and contradictory set of dynamics and meanings: symbols, institutional arrangements, normative pacts, subjective identities. In other words, Scott's discussion of gendered power has been crucial to transforming patriarchy into a category of analysis that many Latin Americanists still find useful.

Scott's introduction of Michel Foucault's relevance for history is especially important here. Scott urged scholars to consider gendered power as "dispersed constellations of unequal relationships, discursively constituted in social 'fields of force.'"[42] While provoking incredulity and outrage among many historians of the day, it was precisely her ingenious discussion of discourse that enabled Latin Americanists to rethink patriarchy (as well as many other "ideologies" and "structures") in terms of contested culture and political language. This has resulted not in a turn away from social history per se—if by "social history" we mean studies of material relations and experience, presumably as distinct from studies focused more centrally on representation and meaning. Rather, Scott's uses of Foucault helped to make cultural meanings—dispersed, multiple, and contested—a chief object of what many social historians of Latin America imagined themselves to be recovering. Indeed, some of the most innovative Latin Americanist scholarship on gender has engaged Foucault's ideas within the domain of formal political history—histories of political parties, government policy, and war. This literature creatively weds Foucault's ideas about disciplined bodies and technologies of power to Gramscian debates over class

[39] Nara Milanich, *The Children of Fate: Families, Class, and the State in Chile, 1850–1930* (Durham, N.C., forthcoming 2009); Peter Guardino, *The Time of Liberty: Popular Political Culture in Oaxaca, 1750–1850* (Durham, N.C., 2005); Cecilia Méndez, *The Plebeian Republic: The Huanta Rebellion and the Making of the Peruvian State, 1820–1850* (Durham, N.C., 2005).

[40] Nancy P. Appelbaum, Anne S. Macpherson, and Karin Alejandra Rosemblatt, eds., *Race and Nation in Modern Latin America* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 2003); Ana María Alonso, *Thread of Blood: Colonialism, Revolution, and Gender on Mexico's Northern Frontier* (Tucson, Ariz., 1995); Diana Paton, *No Bond but the Law: Punishment, Race, and Gender in Jamaican State Formation, 1780–1870* (Durham, N.C., 2004); Pamela Scully and Diana Paton, eds., *Gender and Slave Emancipation in the Atlantic World* (Durham, N.C., 2005).

[41] Kimberly Gauderman, *Women's Lives in Colonial Quito: Gender, Law, and Economy in Spanish America* (Austin, Tex., 2003); Lisa Sousa, "Women in Native Societies and Cultures of Colonial Mexico" (Ph.D. diss., UCLA, 1998).

[42] Scott, "Gender as a Useful Category," 42.

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coalitions and organic intellectuals. For example, studies of indigenous struggles for land have emphasized the importance of liberalism to native political claims and underscored how languages of gender internally fissure constructions of "Indian community."[43] Work on twentieth-century revolutions and welfare states has explored how discourses of "rights" and "citizenship" are generated by shifting alliances of professionals, politicians, and popular movements.[44] Much of this scholarship also engages postcolonial theory and South Asian subaltern studies, bodies of thought that likewise took inspiration from Gramsci to revise orthodox Marxism.[45]

One could easily criticize Latin Americanist studies of gender for focusing too much on the state. Area studies is haunted by a tendency to see "Iberian" and "third world" political cultures as essentially state-driven and authoritarian, in contrast to the civilian republicanism and pluralism of the United States and Western Europe. There is a certain teleology at work in even the best social histories of Latin America that threatens to eclipse dynamics of gender and sexuality (as well as race) that cannot be folded into stories of state expansion or national liberation. But precisely because of the problematic dichotomies structuring "third world" versus "Western" histories, considerations of the state's role in the formation of gender and sexuality have been much less developed in many histories of the United States as well as in some literatures on Europe, and beg for greater attention. Struggles over state power are no less acute in contexts where politics appears dispersed through "civil society." One of the greatest strengths of Latin Americanist feminist history, and something to which Scott's work has been fundamental, is its exhaustive demonstration that states use gender on multiple institutional and cultural levels to naturalize the hierarchies of political order.

A second and related area where Scott's *Gender and the Politics of History* has had a great impact on Latin Americanists is the longstanding scholarship on labor. By the 1980s, labor history had become a leading subfield within Latin American studies, straddling older concerns with tracing Latin America's economic development (or lack thereof) with the newer "history from below" modeled by British Marxists who stressed workers' agency and political culture.[46] Given the prolonged vio-

[43] See Florencia E. Mallon, *Peasant and Nation: The Making of Postcolonial Mexico and Peru* (Berkeley, Calif., 1995), and Mallon, *Courage Tastes of Blood: The Mapuche Community of Nicolás Ailío and the Chilean State, 1906–2001* (Durham, N.C., 2005). See also Mendez, *The Plebeian Republic*, and Guardino, *Time of Liberty*.

[44] For example, Rosemblatt, *Gendered Compromises*, and Olcott, *Revolutionary Women*.

[45] Florencia Mallon provided an important early framework for thinking about the relevance of subaltern studies for Latin Americanists. Mallon, "The Promise and Dilemma of Subaltern Studies: Perspectives from Latin American History," *American Historical Review* 99, no. 5 (December 1994): 1491–1515. See also Greg Grandin, *The Blood of Guatemala: A History of Race and Nation* (Durham, N.C., 2000); Alonso, *Thread of Blood*; Patricia Seed, *Ceremonies of Possession in Europe's Conquest of the New World, 1492–1640* (Cambridge, 1995); Ileana Rodríguez, *House/Garden/Nation: Space, Gender, and Ethnicity in Post-Colonial Latin American Literatures by Women*, trans. Robert Carr (Durham, N.C., 2004); Marjorie Becker, *Setting the Virgin on Fire: Lázaro Cárdenas, Michoacán Peasants, and the Redemption of the Mexican Revolution* (Berkeley, Calif., 1995).

[46] For example, Barbara Weinstein, *The Amazon Rubber Boom, 1850–1920* (Stanford, Calif., 1983); Florencia E. Mallon, *The Defense of Community in Peru's Central Highlands: Peasant Struggle and Capitalist Transition, 1860–1940* (Princeton, N.J., 1983); Charles Bergquist, *Labor in Latin America: Comparative Essays on Chile, Argentina, Venezuela, and Colombia* (Stanford, Calif., 1986); Peter Winn, *Weavers of Revolution: The Yarur Workers and Chile's Road to Socialism* (New York, 1986); John Tutino, *From Insurrection to Revolution in Mexico: Social Bases of Agrarian Violence, 1750–1940* (Princeton, N.J., 1986); Jeffrey L. Gould, *To Lead as Equals: Rural Protest and Political Consciousness in Chinandega, Nicaragua,*

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lence and repression of contemporary cold war Latin America, labor history's elaboration of subaltern militancy (peasant and indigenous as well as industrial working-class) was especially charged and often served as a metanarrative for broader moral and political critiques.[47] Despite its energy and complexity, however, it was a literature in which women and/or any in-depth consideration of sexual divisions of labor were largely absent.[48] This contrasted sharply with the considerable U.S. and European historiography on women's labor that existed by the late 1980s, however embattled. Such a glaring omission in the Latin Americanist case owed both to the greater importance of Marxism to Latin American history, especially labor history, and to the peculiar way in which the "third world woman" as an object of U.S. and European concern was hailed as a subject and then relegated to the realm of the contemporary.

Since the mid-1990s, numerous histories on the gendered nature of Latin American labor have appeared, almost every one of which cites Joan Scott as a point of departure.[49] This outpouring contrasts with the relative waning of feminist labor history as a genre in scholarship on the U.S. and Europe. For Latin Americanists, Scott's theorization of gender was seen as directly rooted in, rather than a departure from, her earlier scholarship on French labor activism and women's work.[50] Scott provided a crucial blueprint for going beyond documentations of sexual divisions of labor (which were never adequately explored by Latin Americanists in the first place) to examining connections between the naturalized gendered ideologies within labor arrangements and the gender politics of the broader society. The literature has been closely intertwined with, if not inseparable from, the scholarship on gender and state formation, making labor central to how histories of Latin American "nation" get narrated. There is an abiding concern with workers' and peasants' relationship to hegemonic projects of governing elites as well as with how identities are constituted through multiple sites of discursively generated hierarchy. Such templates are anchored by Scott's assertion of language and the symbolic as modes of gendered power but have retained a fundamental concern with the structures of political economy. Historians have largely reworked rather than jettisoned Marxist idioms of class formation and struggle for the state. In much the same way that Scott's work helped to revitalize discussions of patriarchy, her dialectic of "gender constructing politics and politics constructing gender" has helped to transform older Marxist-feminist ideas about "dual systems" of interacting capitalism and male domination, a concept

1912–1979 (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1990); John D. French, *The Brazilian Workers' ABC: Class Conflict and Alliances in Modern São Paulo* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1992); Jonathan C. Brown, *Oil and Revolution in Mexico* (Berkeley, Calif., 1992); James P. Brennan, *The Labor Wars in Córdoba, 1955–1976: Ideology, Work, and Labor Politics in an Argentine Industrial City* (Cambridge, Mass., 1994).

[47] John D. French and Daniel James, "Squaring the Circle," in French and James, *The Gendered Worlds of Latin American Women Workers*, 3–27.

[48] There were certainly exceptions to this. See Arrom, *The Women of Mexico City*; Graham, *House and Street*; Guy, *Sex and Danger*.

[49] For reviews of recent feminist labor history, see especially Elizabeth Quay Hutchison, "Add Gender and Stir? Cooking Up Gendered Histories of Modern Latin America," *Latin American Research Review* 38, no. 1 (2003): 267–287. See also French and James, "Squaring the Circle," and Tinsman, "Feminist Labor History and Marxist Legacies."

[50] Joan Wallach Scott, *The Glassworkers of Carmaux: French Craftsmen and Political Action in a Nineteenth-Century City* (Cambridge, Mass., 1974); Louise A. Tilly and Joan W. Scott, *Women, Work, and Family* (New York, 1978).

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also pointedly criticized by Scott in 1988. Historians of Latin American labor have retained and refined a notion of gender and sexuality as fundamental to divisions of labor, but also see them as operating outside and against those logics, and in multiple and uneven forms.[51]

Partly because of the relatively later timing of feminist labor history on Latin America, the literature has centrally addressed two key concerns raised by Scott in 1988 for gender histories of the future. One was a call to explore masculinity as a gendered formation of equal importance to femininity. The other was a call to consider sexuality as a formation distinct from gender. As if in direct response to these challenges, several feminist histories of Latin American labor have focused on the gendered constructions of male workers and the importance of misogyny and male desire to worker solidarity and militancy.[52] So, too, the excellent literature on early labor movements emphasizes that debates over prostitution and women workers' morality were key to realignments among working-class men, leftists, liberals, Catholics, and feminists.[53] Almost all recent labor scholarship combines what might be called a poststructuralist analysis of discourse with a structuralist mapping of changing industrial labor relations.[54] Gender and sexuality are treated as modes of power that fundamentally rethink how social struggles are constituted. At the same time, this scholarship continues to probe issues of class formation, fights over state power, and the importance of U.S. empire.[55]

Histories of sexuality are certainly not the sole province of labor historians, although Latin American labor history *as* labor history is especially remarkable for this emphasis. The feminist literatures on state formation all consider contested efforts to control men's and women's sexual lives, both within and beyond relations of work. Of particular note are the many superb studies on nineteenth- and twentieth-century political culture that elaborate how sexual honor—a concept long associated with the colonial period—fundamentally shaped modern identities and struggles.[56] Likewise,

[51] Early influential Marxist-feminist work in English included Heidi Hartmann, "Capitalism, Patriarchy, and Job Segregation by Sex," *SIGNS: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 1, no. 3 (1976): 137–169. Latin American scholars had also elaborated theories of capitalist patriarchy, especially Heleieth I. B. Saffioti, *Women in Class Society*, trans. Michael Vale (New York, 1978).

[52] See especially Thomas Klubock's discussion of the Chilean copper industry, which argues that masculinity constituted a central matrix through which U.S. employers and the Chilean state exerted hegemony over workers; Klubock, *Contested Communities*. For other works on masculinity, see Ann Farnsworth-Alvear, *Dulcinea in the Factory: Myths, Morals, Men, and Women in Colombia's Industrial Experiment, 1905–1960* (Durham, N.C., 2000); Matthew C. Gutmann, *The Meanings of Macho: Being a Man in Mexico City* (Berkeley, Calif., 1996); Weinstein, *For Social Peace in Brazil*; Tinsman, *Partners in Conflict*; Joel Wolfe, *Working Women, Working Men: São Paulo and the Rise of Brazil's Industrial Working Class, 1900–1955* (Durham, N.C., 1993).

[53] See especially Findlay, *Imposing Decency*, and Hutchison, *Labors Appropriate to Their Sex*.

[54] See Heather Fowler-Salamini and Mary Kay Vaughan, eds., *Women of the Mexican Countryside, 1850–1990: Creating Spaces, Shaping Transitions* (Tucson, Ariz., 1994); Peter Winn, ed., *Victims of the Chilean Miracle: Workers and Neoliberalism in the Pinochet Era, 1973–2002* (Durham, N.C., 2004); Joel Stillerman, "Gender, Class and Generational Contexts for Consumption in Contemporary Chile," *Journal of Consumer Culture* 4, no. 1 (2004): 51–78.

[55] Klubock, *Contested Communities*; Findlay, *Imposing Decency*; Deborah Levenson-Estrada, *Trade Unionists against Terror: Guatemala City, 1954–1985* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1994).

[56] See especially the contributions to Sueann Caulfield, Sarah C. Chambers, and Lara Putnam, eds., *Honor, Status, and Law in Modern Latin America* (Durham, N.C., 2005); Chambers, *From Subjects to Citizens*; Sueann Caulfield, *In Defense of Honor: Sexual Morality, Modernity, and Nation in Early-Twentieth-Century Brazil* (Durham, N.C., 2000); Lara Putnam, *The Company They Kept: Migrants and the Politics of Gender in Caribbean Costa Rica, 1870–1960* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 2002); Brodwyn Fischer, *A*

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a rapidly expanding literature on homosexuality has helped to de-center the ubiquitous "male-headed family" that anchors so much feminist historiography. Such scholarship has not only revealed the contentious presence of homosexual practices and identities, but underscored how the very category of "the homosexual" informed modern debate over criminality, public health, the military, and citizenship.[57] The literatures on honor and homosexuality have done perhaps the best job of engaging Scott's conceptualization of gender as a "subjective identity" fundamentally shaped by sexuality. Notably, this has been done together with, rather than instead of, exploring gender's institutional and organizational modalities, the importance of which Scott also stressed. Latin Americanists have undertaken close discursive analysis of medical, judicial, and ecclesiastical records to probe the complexities of subject formation. At the same time, scholars have made claims about sexual practice and experience, sexuality's connection to state institutions, labor, and property arrangements—in short, the materiality of sex.

Some of the most innovative work on Latin American sexuality has specifically heeded Scott's recognition that psychoanalysis has critical (if not sufficient) lessons to offer historians.[58] Scholars have employed Lacanian ideas about sexual identification and subject formation to interpret broader political cultures, from the Maya negotiation of Spanish conquest to the machismo of revolutionary Nicaragua.[59] A burgeoning scholarship that critically engages oral histories of workers, peasants, and indigenous people has radically revised the longstanding Latin Americanist romance with *testimonio* (bearing witness). The best of this work draws on psychoanalytic concepts within literary criticism and cultural anthropology to argue that it is through discourses of sexuality that the subaltern speaks.[60]

And yet it is precisely the discursively constituted nature of culture and the vast terrain of culture's operation that Latin Americanist historians have least developed as sites for exploring gender (as well as other power dynamics). The field's very strengths in theorizing state formation and political economy partly account for this fact: culture and subjectivity have largely been explored *in terms of* these other concerns. This is changing quickly with the emergence of Latin American studies' own version of cultural studies, which has generated exciting historical work on music,

Poverty of Rights: Citizenship and Inequality in Twentieth-Century Rio de Janeiro (Stanford, Calif., 2008); Donna J. Guy, *White Slavery and Mothers Alive and Dead: The Troubled Meeting of Sex, Gender, Public Health, and Progress in Latin America* (Lincoln, Neb., 2000).

[57] See James N. Green, *Beyond Carnival: Male Homosexuality in Twentieth-Century Brazil* (Chicago, 1999); Peter M. Beattie, *The Tribute of Blood: Army, Honor, Race, and Nation in Brazil, 1864–1945* (Durham, N.C., 2001); Robert M. Buffington, *Criminal and Citizen in Modern Mexico* (Lincoln, Neb., 2000); Robert McKee Irwin, *Mexican Masculinities* (Minneapolis, 2003); Robert McKee Irwin, Edward J. McCaughan, and Michelle Rocío Nasser, eds., *The Famous 41: Sexuality and Social Control in Mexico, c. 1901* (New York, 2003); Sylvia Molloy and Robert McKee Irwin, eds., *Hispanisms and Homosexualities* (Durham, N.C., 1998); William E. French and Katherine Elaine Bliss, eds., *Gender, Sexuality, and Power in Latin America since Independence* (Lanham, Md., 2007).

[58] Scott, "Gender as a Useful Category," 44.

[59] See Pete Sigal, *From Moon Goddesses to Virgins: The Colonization of Yucatecan Maya Sexual Desire* (Austin, Tex., 2000); Roger N. Lancaster, *Life Is Hard: Machismo, Danger, and the Intimacy of Power in Nicaragua* (Berkeley, Calif., 1992).

[60] See especially Daniel James, *Doña María's Story: Life History, Memory, and Political Identity* (Durham, N.C., 2000); Rosa Isolde Reuque Paillalef, *When a Flower Is Reborn: The Life and Times of a Mapuche Feminist*, ed., trans., and with an introduction by Florencia E. Mallon (Durham, N.C., 2002).

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popular literature, and consumer culture.[61] Much of this scholarship proactively breaches area studies to engage issues of transnationalism: the hemispheric dynamics of cinema and comic books, tourism, and rock 'n' roll.[62] Similarly exciting—and long overdue—is a new scholarship on gender and racial formation, which is reinterrogating histories of mestizaje, blackness, and the vexed place of Asia as an origin of Latin American heritage.[63] Despite its troublesome inattention to gender and sexuality, recent discussions about Latin America and globalization outside the discipline of history have provided vital encouragement to scholars eager to shift focus away from the state and to reconsider world dynamics in ways beyond imperialism.[64]

The idea that historians of Latin America are "finally arriving" at culture as a subject of study circles us back to the specter of paradigm lag. But Joan Scott's impact on Latin American studies suggests something rather different. Latin Americanists enthusiastically embraced Scott's discussion of gender to develop innovative and often unique models for thinking about the state, hegemony, subaltern agency, labor, and sexuality—models which themselves responded to questions specific to struggles in contemporary cold war Latin America. Given a persistent engagement with materialist paradigms, Latin Americanists have used Scott's discussion of social organization to rework older concerns with political economy, while finding new questions about meaning in her identification of gender's symbolic power and elaboration of discursively constituted identity. This has created something of a balance, rather than a chasm, between "social history" and "cultural history," a distinction that has often polarized debates in European and U.S. American studies, and in which willful misunderstandings of Scott's work have been frequent. Feminist scholarship on Latin America has much to offer those who have grown weary of the dichotomy.

As historians of Latin America more fully enter into, and widen, their consideration of what counts as culture, there is reason to believe that the scholarship will also rework materialist paradigms for thinking about geopolitical inequality rather than set them aside. The very questions motivating today's "cultural turn" among Latin Americanists are inspired by issues of economic globalization and the breakup

[61] For example, Joanne Rappaport, *Cumbe Reborn: An Andean Ethnography of History* (Chicago, 1994); Fernando Coronil, *The Magical State: Nature, Money, and Modernity in Venezuela* (Chicago, 1997); Ana Del Sarto, Alicia Ríos, and Abril Trigo, eds., *The Latin American Cultural Studies Reader* (Durham, N.C., 2004); Claudio Lomnitz, "Barbarians at the Gate? A Few Remarks on the Politics of the 'New Cultural History of Mexico,'" *Hispanic American Historical Review* 79, no. 2 (1999): 367–385; María Josefina Saldaña-Portillo, *The Revolutionary Imagination in the Americas and the Age of Development* (Durham, N.C., 2003).

[62] See Gilbert M. Joseph, Anne Rubenstein, and Eric Zolov, eds., *Fragments of a Golden Age: The Politics of Culture in Mexico since 1940* (Durham, N.C., 2001); Anne Rubenstein, *Bad Language, Naked Ladies, and Other Threats to the Nation: A Political History of Comic Books in Mexico* (Durham, N.C., 1998); Eric Zolov, *Refried Elvis: The Rise of the Mexican Counterculture* (Berkeley, Calif., 1999); Gilbert M. Joseph, Catherine C. LeGrand, and Ricardo D. Salvatore, eds., *Close Encounters of Empire: Writing the Cultural History of U.S.–Latin American Relations* (Durham, N.C., 1998).

[63] See especially Appelbaum, Macpherson, and Rosemblatt, *Race and Nation*. The bibliography in this excellent volume is extensive, testifying to the virtual explosion of interdisciplinary and historical studies of race formation in Latin America in the last fifteen years.

[64] Néstor García Canclini, *Hybrid Cultures: Strategies for Entering and Leaving Modernity* (Minneapolis, 1995); García Canclini, *Consumers and Citizens: Globalization and Multicultural Conflicts* (Minneapolis, 2001); George Yúdice, *The Expediency of Culture: Uses of Culture in the Global Era* (Durham, N.C., 2001); Walter Mignolo, *Local Histories/Global Designs: Coloniality, Subaltern Knowledges, and Border Thinking* (Princeton, N.J., 2000).

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of former cold war alliances. As the Middle East replaces Latin America as the primary site of U.S. militarism and nation-making, a majority of Latin American governments have broken with the "Washington consensus" and articulated themselves as independent world actors. Social movements from the Mexican Zapatistas to Brazil's Movement of Landless Rural Workers actively reference global solidarities and rely on the Internet more than on M-16s to get their message out. In the United States, Latin America's presence *within* has been dramatized by massive marches for immigrants' rights and renewed culture wars over who counts as an "American." The politics of gender are critical to such processes. I can write this as an obvious truism in part because of Joan Scott. Scott also made it clear that history matters to the study of culture, an assertion with crucial implications for contemporary cultural studies, whatever their disciplinary origin or temporal focus. In the brave new worlds of Latin American studies, *Gender and the Politics of History* will continue to offer lessons and generate creativity. It is a book we have long made our own.

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AHR Forum

An Archipelago of Stories: Gender History in Eastern Europe

MARIA BUCUR

WHEN I THINK ABOUT THE YOUNG FIELD of gender history in Eastern Europe, the following metaphor comes to mind: gender historiography as an archipelago of individual efforts, often disconnected and emergent, erupting periodically like so many volcanic islands, connected with the institutional seats of power of academia by rafts rather than ocean liners or solid bridges. While in 1986 it was possible for Joan Scott to write about the need to reject the essentialization of women's experiences, to deconstruct representations of the past as mediated forms of articulating specific social and cultural realities, and to call for gender to become an all-prevailing vantage point from which to rearticulate historical analysis, there is still not much to essentialize, deconstruct, and reframe in the East European field. The focus on women and gender is still emerging. This picture should not be viewed as dismal, however, but rather as a modestly optimistic outlook with regard to a still-new field of historical inquiry.

Three connected issues have framed the development of gender history in Eastern Europe over the past two decades: (1) the place of feminism in Eastern Europe before, during, and after communism, which can be used to delineate the important contextual differences between the United States and this area in how Scott's article "Gender" was received; (2) how interest in gender analysis among East Europeanist historians has developed in the United States since the 1990s, which enables us to make comparisons with the Russian field; and finally, (3) what developments have taken place in gender and women's history in post-communist Eastern Europe, which can help us identify important trends that lead to a cautiously optimistic conclusion about the potential of gender analysis in the wider historical scholarship in the coming years.

"Eastern Europe" is still a loaded term, with contested connotations in the realm of gender studies.[1] Why continue to use terminology that was a product of the Cold

I am grateful to the members of the History of Gender and Sexuality reading group at Indiana University, Bloomington, who offered thoughtful comments on an earlier version of this article, especially Arlene Diaz, Amrita Myers, and Marissa Moorman, as well as my friends and collaborators in Eastern Europe, who have offered me reason for hopefulness in writing this essay. Finally, many thanks to Rob Schneider, Sarah Knott, Jane Lyle, and the peer reviewers, all of whom offered extremely helpful criticisms.

[1] I will limit my focus in this article to the engagement with gender history inside Eastern Europe itself and by people who work on Eastern Europe in the United States and Great Britain. There is a solid community of historians interested in this area in other places in Europe, from Sweden to Italy,

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War binary way of representing and reifying "capitalist democracy" versus "communist dictatorship"? For me, the answer is quite simple: the current institutional and intellectual frameworks through which historians of Eastern Europe who are interested in gender history function are still very much products of that communist experience. The new terminology that attempts to complicate the Cold War binary (e.g., Southeast, Central, and East-Central Europe) does not effectively acknowledge the fact that there is still a highly significant East-West divide in terms of power relations, be it inside European Union institutions, between the states in the EU and the rest of Eastern Europe, or in the realm of historical scholarship itself (within Eastern Europe and the United States alike).[2] When my colleagues who focus on French or German history speak about their work, for the most part they tend not to reflect on the constructed nature of their self-assumed centrality in defining the core and margins of Europeanness.[3] Thus "Eastern" here is meant to remind the reader about this power relationship inside Europeanist historiographic discourses.

This West-East divide has continued relevance especially for scholars in the post-communist world who have found themselves marginalized vis-à-vis U.S. academia, which still regards Marxism as an important frame of theoretical reference, without acknowledging that components of those theoretical stances are problematic for people who lived under communism until 1989.[4] This tension becomes apparent in how gender historians from post-communist Eastern Europe often speak of third-wave feminism in American academia. In describing the first time she took part in an international conference on women's and gender studies in the United States, which was held at the University of Arizona in Tucson, Romanian scholar Mihaela Mudure represents herself as emphatically feminist while completely at odds with the debates, assumptions, and overall scholarly directions of gender studies scholarship in what she calls the West:

and all the way to Japan as well. But for the purposes of this brief article, the comparison between these two very different academic settings—the Anglo-Western one and the post-communist European one—will illustrate points that are relevant to these other places. For debates about the continued relevance of the East-West divide, see also Joan W. Scott, "Fictitious Unities: 'Gender,' 'East,' and 'West' " (paper presented at the fourth European Feminist Research Conference, Bologna, Italy, September 29, 2000), http://www.women.it/cyberarchive/files/scott.htm (accessed November 5, 2008); and Andrea Pető, "Writing Women's History in Eastern Europe: Towards a 'Terra Cognita'?" *Journal of Women's History* 16, no. 4 (Winter 2004): 173–181. See also Jirina Siklová, "Why We Resist Western-Style Feminism," *Transitions* 5, no. 1 (1998): 30–35, http://www.tol.cz/look/Transitions/article.tpl?IdLanguage=1&IdPublication=7&NrIssue=8&NrSection=1&NrArticle=4975 (accessed November 5, 2008).

[2] On the meaning and usefulness of these different denominations, focusing in particular on the significance of both marked and unmarked regions in Europe, see Maria Todorova, "Spacing Europe: What Is a Historical Region?" *East Central Europe/L'Europe de centre-est: Eine wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift* 32, nos. 1–2 (2005): 59–80.

[3] A handful of historians are trying to get away from these implicit and explicit binaries, and from the marginalization or flat-out invisibility of the "Eastern" inflection in the larger European context. One important exception here is Karen Offen, *European Feminists, 1700–1950* (Stanford, Calif., 2000). See also Ida Blom, Karen Hagemann, and Catherine Hall, eds., *Gendered Nations: Nationalisms and Gender Order in the Long Nineteenth Century* (New York, 2000). Though less all-encompassing of Europe East and West, Barbara Caine and Glenda Sluga, *Gendering European History* (London, 2000), is also an important contribution to this scholarship.

[4] See, for instance, Geoff Eley, *Forging Democracy: The History of the Left in Europe, 1850–2000* (New York, 2002).

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I went back to old Europe having been fully convinced (how many times is it now?) that frustrations, more than moments of communication, force us to acknowledge the need of a feminist discourse that is *culturally particular to our post-communist context* . . . Our ability to make ourselves heard depends fatally on others' ability to give us the material resources to make our voices heard at symposia or congresses. And if a dialogue of the deaf seems to dominate a world in which the more we communicate, the less we can hear each other, I can't wait to have the chance and distance back home so that I might think more closely about Romanian feminisms in the concert of international ones and in comparison with them.[5]

Although Mudure accepts Scott's notion that gender roles are constantly negotiated and reinscribed, her experience at this conference reveals a deep gap between the West and her native East European context, with American scholars of gender often cast as less willing than others to attempt to understand the constructed nature of gender roles in contexts that are different from their own.

This transitory link with both the communist past and a much desired, presumably more democratic and prosperous future is central for understanding the meaning and direction of debates that have taken place in the past two decades over the usefulness and centrality of gender for historical inquiry from Yugoslavia to Estonia.[6] Simply put, even for those who have finally "arrived" in the EU, there is still too much institutional baggage from before 1989 in academia and intellectual debates for us to be able to discard the communist past as a relevant referent.

"GENDER: A USEFUL CATEGORY OF HISTORICAL ANALYSIS," published in the pages of this journal in 1986, was a bold, powerful theoretical proposition, but it was more of a crowning achievement than a pioneering work. Scott's essay stood on the tall shoulders of scholarship produced by generations of historians of women and sexuality, of feminist philosophers and activists, and of a welcoming (though by no means unchallenging) academic environment.[7] The strength and diversity of the feminist movement in American academia was crucial to the response that "Gender" received and to its subsequent impact on a new generation of scholars.[8] Bridges and

[5] Mihaela Mudure, "Printre Feminisme: Among Feminisms," *Journal for the Study of Religions and Ideologies*, no. 6 (Winter 2003): 165–178, http://www.jsri.ro/old/html%20version/index/no_6/mihaelamudure%20-%20articol.htm (accessed November 5, 2008), quote from 170, italics in the original. Siklová makes similar claims vis-à-vis Western feminism in "Why We Resist Western-Style Feminism."

[6] One of the problems with employing the terminology of "post-communist" or "Eastern" Europe when referring to the group of countries that used to be under communist rule in Europe is that they are in fact not a bloc, nor were they truly a bloc during the period of communist rule. There was a great deal of variety in the paths these countries took with regard to political institutions and in many areas of policymaking that affected gender relations and roles. Yet it is not an exaggeration to consider the institutional framework of academia, and specifically the historical craft, as sharing essential characteristics within the communist world, from the structure of higher education institutions and curricular practices to patterns of employment for professional historians and accepted methodologies.

[7] I make this statement fully cognizant of the backlash against feminism that was taking place in the United States in the 1980s. But my perspective is one that looks more broadly at the world. From that point of view, I have no doubt that feminist scholarship was overall more welcomed in academia in the United States than virtually anywhere else, and in particular in Eastern Europe, my main point of comparison here. Joan W. Scott, "Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis," *American Historical Review* 91, no. 5 (December 1986): 1053–1075.

[8] Judith Butler's *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity* (New York, 1990) was another remarkable work that contributed to the richness and continued engagement with the theoretical underpinnings of Scott's arguments for that generation of gender historians. I read both works

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alliances were forged in this process, rendering gender history a strong mass rather than an archipelago, a field thereafter to be reckoned with by most historians.

These elements have to be kept in mind when the post-communist context is examined. In Eastern Europe, feminism was once held in great respect, commanding both political influence and intellectual authority in many places. In the interwar period, it was a respectable mainstream ideology—not necessarily embraced across all political parties, but certainly accepted as an important movement and perspective in the making of public policy.[9] Feminists of many shades, most importantly

at the same time and took them in as part of a continuum. Other important works that became part of the debate on gender history around that time are Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick, *Epistemology of the Closet* (Berkeley, Calif., 1991), which resonated strongly with Butler's own analysis in *Gender Trouble*; Denise Riley, *"Am I That Name?" Feminism and the Category of "Women" in History* (New York, 1988); Sandra Harding, "The Instability of the Analytical Categories of Feminist Theory," in Sandra Harding and Jean F. O'Barr, eds., *Sex and Scientific Inquiry* (Chicago, 1987), 283–302; and Carole Pateman, *The Sexual Contract* (Stanford, Calif., 1988). For more recent reexaminations of these debates, see Kathleen Canning, "Feminist History after the Linguistic Turn: Historicizing Discourse and Experience," *Signs* 19, no. 2 (Winter 1994): 368–404; and Mary Hawkesworth, "Confounding Gender," *Signs* 22, no. 3 (Spring 1997): 649–685.

[9] A great deal of scholarship on the subject has been published, most of it, however, scattered or "below the radar" of most historians of Eastern Europe or feminism. I hope that this incomplete list can serve as a good starting point for gaining a fuller view of this rich movement, even though it has largely been ignored in the broader historiography. See Melissa Feinberg, *Elusive Equality: Gender, Citizenship, and the Limits of Democracy in Czechoslovakia, 1918–1950* (Pittsburgh, 2006); Kevin Passmore, ed., *Women, Gender and Fascism in Europe, 1919–1945* (New Brunswick, N.J., 2003); Mills T. Kelly, "Feminism, Pragmatism or Both? Czech Radical Nationalism and the Woman Question," *Nationalities Papers* 30, no. 4 (2002): 537–552; Susan Zimmermann, "Reich, Nation, und Internationalismus: Konflikte und Kooperationen der Frauenbewegungen der Habsburgermonarchie," in Waltraud Heindl, Edit Király, and Alexandra Millner, eds., *Frauenbilder, feministische Praxis und nationales Bewusstsein in Österreich-Ungarn 1867–1918* (Tübingen, 2006), 48–102; Jitka Malecková, "Nationalizing Women and Engendering the Nation: The Czech National Movement," in Blom, Hagemann, and Hall, *Gendered Nations*, 293–310; Susan Zimmermann, "The Challenge of Multinational Empire for the International Women's Movement: The Case of the Habsburg Monarchy," *Journal of Women's History* 17, no. 2 (Fall 2005): 87–117; Katherine David, "Czech Feminists and Nationalism in the Late Hapsburg Monarchy," *Journal of Women's History* 3, no. 2 (Fall 1991): 26–45; Maria Bucur, "Calypso Botez: Gender Difference and the Limits of Pluralism in Interwar Romania," *Jahrbücher für Geschichte und Kultur Südosteuropas* 3 (2001): 63–78; Bucur, "In Praise of Wellborn Mothers: On Eugenics and Gender Roles in Interwar Romania," *East European Politics and Societies* 9, no. 1 (Winter 1995): 123–142; Ştefania Mihăilescu, *Emanciparea femeii române: Studiu şi antologie de texte, Vol. II (1919–1948)* (Bucharest, 2004); Mihăilescu, *Din istoria feminismului românesc: Antologie de texte (1838–1929)* (Iaşi, 2002); Francisca de Haan, Krassimira Daskalova, and Anna Loutfi, eds., *A Biographical Dictionary of Women's Movements and Feminisms: Central, Eastern, and South Eastern Europe, 19th and 20th Centuries* (New York, 2006); Paraschiva Câncea, *Mişcarea pentru emanciparea femeii în România* (Bucharest, 1977); Ghizela Cosma, *Femeile şi politica în România: Evoluţia dreptului de vot în perioada interbelică* (Cluj, 2002); David F. Good, Margarete Grandner, and Mary Jo Maynes, eds., *Austrian Women in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries: Cross-Disciplinary Perspectives* (Providence, R.I., 1996); Martha Bochachevsky-Chomiak, "Socialism, Feminism and Nationalism: The First Stages of Women's Organisations in the Eastern Part of the Austrian Empire," in Tova Yedlin, ed., *Women in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union* (New York, 1980); Claire Nolte, " 'Every Czech a Sokol!' Feminism and Nationalism in the Czech Sokol Movement," *Austrian History Yearbook* 21 (1985): 79–100; Krassimira Daskalova, "Women, Nationalism and Nation-State in Bulgaria (1800–1940s)," in Miroslav Jovanović and Slobodan Naumović, eds., *Gender Relations in South Eastern Europe: Historical Perspectives on Womanhood and Manhood in 19th and 20th Century* (Belgrade, 2002), 15–38; Thomas A. Emmert, "Ženski Pokret: The Feminist Movement in Serbia in the 1920s," in Sabrina Ramet, ed., *Gender Politics in the Western Balkans: Women and Society in Yugoslavia and the Yugoslav Successor States* (University Park, Pa., 1999), 33–50; Roxana Cheşchebec, "The 'Unholy Marriage' of Feminism with Nationalism in Interwar Romania: The Discourse of Princess Alexandrina Cantacuzino," http://www.women.it/cyberarchive/files/cheschebec.htm (accessed November 5, 2008); Indrė Karčiauskaitė, "For Women's Rights, Church and Fatherland: The Lithuanian Catholic Women's Organisation, 1908–1940," *Aspasia* 1 (2007): 128–152.

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liberal and nationalist, participated in public political debates, ran for office, lobbied for women's political and civil rights, and wrote a great deal of activist literature. By contrast, left-wing women activists were not prominent in the broad spectrum of East European feminists.[10] A handful of women committed to communist ideology moved up through the ranks of the (mostly) illegal communist parties in Eastern Europe.[11] Overall, however, communism and social democracy as political movements remained relatively weak in this area, especially after the failed communist regime of Béla Kun in Hungary in 1919. Czechoslovakia constitutes an exception, as three socialist parties continued to receive recognition and support at the ballot box there during the interwar period. Czechoslovak left-wing feminists were indeed well represented, but they were part of a broader plurality that included staunch Catholic groups from Slovakia as well as center-right nationalists.[12]

After 1945, however, the communist regimes succeeded in destroying the institutional bases of feminist organizations, and in co-opting women as participants in these new governments' own enterprises, to the detriment of any critical progress toward closing the gap between the communist parties' rhetoric of gender equality and the reality that women inside communist regimes bore a double burden: a full workday on the job followed by a full workload at home.[13] Feminist voices continued to be heard, but only in a muted fashion. Unlike most male intellectual dissidents, who could articulate their critical position vis-à-vis the communist regime by summoning broadly accepted concepts of personal freedom, liberal moral values, or nationalism, women could not invoke the same legacies to speak about their gender-specific double burden. Communism had in fact brought women the kinds of political, civil, and economic rights that feminists had demanded in the interwar period. In a sense, the communist regime represented the fulfillment of many feminist dreams.

What communism did not do was to fundamentally question the labor division in the private sphere. East European feminists had generally embraced a maternalist view of their social identity and had demanded empowerment on the basis of gender complementarity.[14] Thus, once communist regimes offered women additional responsibilities, there was no room to argue for reduced duties in the home within the context of the local feminist discourses. Even in the Soviet Union, where more radical gender-role thinkers such as Aleksandra Kollontai had questioned the very notion of the gender division of familial roles in the early years of Zhenotdel, by the

[10] De Haan, Daskalova, and Loutfi, *A Biographical Dictionary*.

[11] Marci Shore, "'Czysto Babski': A Woman's Friendship in a Man's Revolution," *East European Politics and Societies* 16, no. 3 (Winter 2002): 810–863; Robert Levy, *Ana Pauker: The Rise and Fall of a Jewish Communist* (Berkeley, Calif., 2001); Andrea Pető, "Women's Life Stories: Feminist Genealogies in Hungary," in Jovanović and Naumović, *Gender Relations*, 211–217.

[12] Feinberg, *Elusive Equality*, 52–54.

[13] Barbara Einhorn, *Cinderella Goes to Market: Citizenship, Gender, and Women's Movements in East Central Europe* (New York, 2003); Georgeta Nazarska, "The Bulgarian Association of University Women (1924–1950)," *Aspasia* 1 (2007): 153–175; Tatyana Kotzeva, "Re-Imagining Bulgarian Women: The Marxist Legacy and Women's Self-Identity," in Chris Corrin, ed., *Gender and Identity in Central and Eastern Europe* (London, 1999), 83–98; Andrea Pető, *Women in Hungarian Politics, 1945–1951* (New York, 2001). For a critical view of the double burden as something new under communism in the Balkans, see Maria Todorova, "Historical Tradition and Transformation in Bulgaria: Women's Issues or Feminist Issues?" *Journal of Women's History* 5, no. 3 (Winter 1994): 129–143.

[14] See, for instance, Maria Bucur, *Eugenics and Modernization in Interwar Romania* (Pittsburgh, 2002); Feinberg, *Elusive Equality*; Passmore, *Gender and the Right*.

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1930s the party had come around to embracing the more traditional masculinist view of Stalin and Lenin, which placed women squarely in the home, as central to the moral upbringing of the new generation, with men acting only as their secondary partners.[15]

Thus women were put in a position of fundamental dependency on the communist state, without any tools to question the apparent boon they had received: they gained the power to be fully active in the economy, the right to vote, and access to unprecedented public services, from generous paid pre- and post-natal leaves to full-day state-funded kindergarten and birth control.[16] If the communist regime in fact provided women with the very rights and services that the most ambitious radical feminists of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries had dreamed of, how could the legacies of the pre-communist feminists offer any intellectual foundation for articulating a feminist dissident position inside the communist regime? Furthermore, there was little outside the communist world in the feminist movements of the 1960s and 1970s that engaged with the problem of this double burden in any useful way for women who actually lived under communism.

So there is little reason to wonder why, in the post-communist disarray after 1989, feminism initially appeared as a foreign import rather than a homegrown product, a vibrant legacy that had been curtailed and ultimately suppressed after 1945. The language favored by second-wave feminists, of struggle against patriarchal oppression and toward equality, of the need to mobilize socially and politically, rang hollow for people who had been schooled for several generations in the wooden double-speak of communist propaganda. Inside the one-party state, mobilization meant a form of political coercion rather than something that might reflect the interests and will of the people. This framework of authoritarian compulsion could not be quickly and easily erased from the mental landscape of most individuals living in the post-communist world.

In the two decades that have passed since 1989, however, Poles, Hungarians, Romanians, Bulgarians, and other post-communist peoples have moved away from this knee-jerk reaction to encompass a broader array of attitudes: many are still avowed non- or anti-feminists, but a growing number of individuals, even if they have not accepted the label "feminist," have at least embraced some important components of feminism.[17] Politicians, journalists, and social activists of all varieties have

[15] The Zhenotdel was the Women's Department of the Russian Communist Party, initiated by Aleksandra Kolontai and Inessa Armand in 1919 and dissolved by Josef Stalin in 1930. Wendy Z. Goldman, *Women, the State and Revolution: Soviet Family Policy and Social Life, 1917–1936* (Cambridge, 1993).

[16] Here there are some important exceptions, in particular the aggressively pro-natalist policies of the Ceauşescu regime in Romania from 1967 to 1989. See Gail Kligman, *The Politics of Duplicity: Controlling Reproduction in Ceausescu's Romania* (Berkeley, Calif., 1998).

[17] On some of the feminist directions in Eastern Europe since 1989, see Tanya Renne, ed., *Ana's Land: Sisterhood in Eastern Europe* (Boulder, Colo., 1997); Nanette Funk, "The Fate of Feminism in Eastern Europe," *Chronicle of Higher Education*, February 2, 1994, B 1–2; Jirina Siklová, "McDonalds, Terminators, Coca Cola Ads and Feminism?" in Susana Trnka and Laura Busheikin, eds., *Bodies of Bread and Butter: Reconfiguring Women's Lives in the Post-Communist Czech Republic* (Prague, 1993), 7–11; Mihaela Miroiu, "State Men, Market Women: The Effects of Left Conservatism on Gender Politics in Romanian Transition," *Feminismo/s*, no. 3 (June 2004): 207–234; Adina Brădeanu, Otilia Dragomir, Daniela Roventa-Frumuşani, and Romina Surugiu, comps., *Femei, cuvinte, şi imagini: Perspective feministe* (Iaşi, 2002). See also the papers presented at the "Gender and Feminism under Post-Communism" Roundtable at Indiana University, Bloomington, in April 2005, http://www.iub.edu/~reeiweb/events/2005/roundtables05.shtml (accessed November 5, 2008).

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begun to question the unequal economic power of women, their uneven access to investment resources, the feminization of underpaid and undervalued jobs, and the misogynist practices that often underlie "family values," such as domestic abuse.

Yet few scholars have actually accepted and begun to utilize the theoretical framework offered by Scott in her 1986 essay. The impact of "Gender" has to be understood in this specific environment: the vigorous debate that took place around this essay in American academia would have been unimaginable in Eastern Europe. Instead, one has to measure change and engagement with the scholarly challenges proposed by Scott within this very inauspicious context.

In Eastern Europe today, feminism is still a matter of political and intellectual courage, and the costs of asserting such a position are far greater than anything that those of us in American academia can imagine, ranging from continuous public humiliation and uncensored slander to crude censorship and the loss of academic status.[18] Thus the scattered attempts to embrace Scott's theoretical and implicit political (feminist) position should be appreciated more for their emergence as visible points in the scholarly landscape than for their impact on much older, established fields of historical inquiry.

One aspect of Scott's essay that connected in a more widely resonant fashion with the agenda of East European scholars was its poststructuralist stance toward categories of knowledge. In the 1970s and 1980s, poststructuralism had found an enthusiastic audience among the East European intelligentsia. Slavoj Žižek and Yuri Lotman are only the most famous figures of a cohort of philosophers, semioticians, and literary and art critics who embraced the postmodern turn behind the iron curtain.[19] Theirs, however, was not a reaction against the academic Marxism of the New Left. Instead, postmodernism, with its anti-political stance and ironic distance from the burdens of everyday reality, offered a perfect intellectual pill for scholars who questioned every premise of their political and academic setup. Simply put, a sense of self-irony and the ability to question everything about the surrounding norms and structures were the only weapons available to intellectuals in the velvet prison. They were fundamentally dependent on the corrupt state to be able to make a living, and in fact they were dependent discursively as well, as Miglena Nikolchina has persuasively argued.[20] Their only means of sustaining some sense of integrity was to create an interior anti-politics of duplicitous irony, to emphasize the emptiness of all claims to authenticity, and to underscore the ways in which all individuals were in fact both victims and perpetrators of the communist regime of lies. Yet, although the poststructuralist theoretical concepts articulated by Scott resonated with intellectuals in Eastern Europe, the notion that gender itself was a category that needed

[18] Some of these trials and tribulations are vibrantly recorded in *Nepreţuitele femei*, a collection of essays by the best-known feminist theorist and activist in Romania, Mihaela Miroiu (Iaşi, 2006). Similar humiliations have been the bitter pill served to many other feminists active in Poland, including Agnieszka Graff. See her *Świat bez kobiet: Płeć w polskim życiu publicznym* (Warsaw, 2001).

[19] See Miglena Nikolchina, "The Seminar: *Mode d'emploi*—Impure Spaces in the Light of Late Totalitarianism," *differences: A Journal of Feminist Cultural Studies* 13, no. 1 (2002): 96–127, with a special explanatory note at 122 n. 7. This intellectual trend is also described vividly in Mihaela Miroiu, *R'Estul şi vestul* (Iaşi, 2005). For some of the products of these intellectual poststructuralist debates in Eastern Europe, see Alexander Kiossef, ed., *Post-Theory, Games, and Discursive Resistance: The Bulgarian Case* (New York, 1995).

[20] Nikolchina, "The Seminar."

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to be deconstructed as an essential step toward understanding how societies work did not generate much of an echo.

THE INITIAL IMPACT OF "GENDER" on the historiography of Eastern Europe was felt in the United States. Most historians of Eastern Europe in American academia did not notice or engage with it right away. Historians of Russia, a field with an established tradition of treating women as important subjects of historical analysis, and with a solid scholarship in social history, were the first to engage with the insights opened up by Scott's essay.[21] In particular, historians such as Laura Engelstein, who embraced the postmodernist turn while keeping her feet steadily planted in more traditional political and legal history, began to show with impressive skill the usefulness of employing gender analysis when examining questions such as the modernization of the Russian tsarist legal system.[22] Both gender historians and other historians of the late tsarist regime found Engelstein's approach enlightening and worth pursuing further.

By contrast, established historians of Eastern Europe remained more inflexible toward Scott's theoretical propositions. In fact, part of the problem was that most historiography of Eastern Europe continued to be heavily engaged with questions of political history, diplomatic history, and intellectual history. Social history was still a weak area of development.[23] But anthropologists and sociologists were reading her work, as well as scholarship by other gender scholars, and they began to outline some of the basic questions connected with the history of communism in relation to gender roles and nationalism, for instance. In a pioneering essay published in 1994, Katherine Verdery offered a framework for understanding the central role of gender in the construction of nationalist discourses that attempted to legitimate late communist rule. Placing gender front and center as an essential category for understanding political ideology, and communist rule in particular, her essay became a benchmark for historians and other scholars of gender under communism.[24] Alas, many historians of politics under communism were less forthcoming in incorporating her insights.[25]

In the early to mid-1990s, however, graduate students who studied the history of

[21] I was reminded of the importance of such vigorous social history scholarship as a precursor for the development of gender history in a conversation with Krassimira Daskalova, to whom I am grateful for her observations about this important point. For examples of the early scholarship on women's history and the shift to a gender perspective of historical analysis, see Richard Stites, *The Women's Liberation Movement in Russia: Feminism, Nihilism, and Bolshevism, 1860–1930* (Princeton, N.J., 1978); Linda Edmondson, *Feminism in Russia, 1900–1917* (London, 1984); Barbara Engel, "Engendering Russia's History: Women in Post-Emancipation Russia and the Soviet Union," *Slavic Review* 51, no. 2 (1992): 309–321; Eve Levin, *Sex and Society in the World of the Orthodox Slavs, 900–1700* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1989); Elizabeth Wood, *The Baba and the Comrade: Gender and Politics in Revolutionary Russia* (Bloomington, Ind., 1997).

[22] Laura Engelstein, *The Keys to Happiness: Sex and the Search for Modernity in Fin-de-Siècle Russia* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1992).

[23] In 1992, a dedicated issue of the *AHR* offered a good picture of the state of the scholarship in and on Eastern Europe around the time of the publication of Scott's article. "Historiography of the Countries of Eastern Europe," *American Historical Review* 97, no. 4 (October 1992): 1011–1117.

[24] Katherine Verdery, "From Parent-State to Family Patriarchs: Gender and Nation in Contemporary Eastern Europe," in Verdery, *What Was Socialism and What Comes Next?* (Princeton, N.J., 1996).

[25] See, for instance, Vladimir Tismăneanu, *Stalinism for All Seasons: A Political History of Romanian*

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Eastern Europe became more aware of Scott's impact on the historiography of modern Europe in general, as well as her impact on other scholars of Eastern Europe. Verdery's work gave my generation wings, and hope that we could somehow enact a major shift in the historiography of Eastern Europe, which at that time was still dominated by old-fashioned analyses of party politics and diplomatic relations. Our mentors in East European history were not familiar with Scott, or even with the discourses in women's history that she was critiquing. And those who worked on gender history in other fields, from medieval Europe to the United States, were no longer pursuing the research agenda of the 1970s and 1980s, which had sought to give women greater visibility in social history. Within this context, scholars of my generation decided that we would simply jump over the "making women visible" stage, and instead shake up the existing historiography at the core, using the theoretical bases provided by Scott and the important addenda offered by Verdery and a few other prominent scholars of Eastern Europe, such as Susan Gal and Gail Kligman.[26]

To our great fortune, this impetus for breaking with the past of traditional East European historiography in the United States coincided with the fall of the Berlin Wall. A new generation now had the chance to enter the East European archives and libraries without the insurmountable obstacles that scholars had faced before 1989.[27] Yet greater access to such repositories remained a privilege, one that many of my colleagues from Eastern Europe did not enjoy. Thus, even as I was doing research in Romania, I saw myself becoming a symbol not of greater access to information and of freedom to communicate with colleagues there, but rather of the cocky Western imperial presence, now lording over precious resources. Research on gender was thus initially confined to non–East European historians because of the continuing disparity in access to archives.

Still, these newfound sources took historical research on Eastern Europe in an entirely new direction, with gender as a central component. From analyses of Muslim identity and social policies of the communist regimes to the relationship between gender identities and nationalist ideology in how Poles represented their story of exile in Russia during World War II, historians who wrote dissertations and soon thereafter published books on East European gender topics have opened up new areas for scholarship.[28] In the American context, these efforts have generated a community that helps to sustain those individual scholars and younger ones, even if most historians of Eastern Europe remain uninterested in such topics. The story, there-

Communism (Berkeley, Calif., 2003); and Gale Stokes, *Three Eras of Political Change in Eastern Europe* (New York, 1997).

[26] Kligman, *Politics of Duplicity*; Susan Gal and Gail Kligman, *The Politics of Gender after Socialism* (Princeton, N.J., 2000).

[27] To be sure, the post-communist archives are still in a terrible mess, both in terms of resources for preservation and cataloguing, and often also in terms of the still-thriving political and personal clientelism. But at least the "secret" catalogues were made public, and most scholars who wish to do research on any topic are given the courtesy of being allowed inside these institutions.

[28] Kristen Ghodsee, *The Red Riviera: Gender, Tourism, and Postsocialism on the Black Sea* (Durham, N.C., 2005); Mary Neuburger, *The Orient Within: Muslim Minorities and the Negotiation of Nationhood in Modern Bulgaria* (Ithaca, N.Y., 2004); Katherine Jolluck, *Exile and Identity: Polish Women in the Soviet Union during World War II* (Pittsburgh, 2002); Bucur, *Eugenics and Modernization*; Nancy Wingfield and Maria Bucur, eds., *Gender and War in Twentieth-Century Eastern Europe* (Bloomington, Ind., 2006).

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fore, is still one of islands in an archipelago; however, they are better linked now than they were a decade ago. And since the beginning of the twenty-first century, historians in Eastern Europe have started to participate in dialogue with this scholarship on gender in a voice of their own.

FOR THE FIRST POST-COMMUNIST DECADE, historians from Eastern Europe generally became interested in gender history after traveling abroad and getting acquainted with foreign scholarship. But Scott's essay was not at the forefront of their acquisitions and interests. In fact, the first translations of "Gender" came out in the 2000s, after many other recent works of historical scholarship had been translated into East European languages.[29] Gender studies itself was founded as an academic discipline in 1994, in a pioneering gesture by the unorthodox philanthropist George Soros at Central European University (CEU), the institution he had recently established in Budapest.[30] The creation of the gender studies program at CEU was contentious at the time, as few established academics in Hungary could fathom the notion of gender studies as an actual academic discipline.[31] In addition, there were only a handful of local scholars with the credentials to work in this area.[32] But Soros embraced the notion that gender studies was important for fostering a more democratic academia and civil society in post-communist Eastern Europe. It is important to underline, however, that this program was separate from the history department, and that historical scholarship was not a strength of the gender studies department in its first years, despite Scott's presence among a group of Western gender studies scholars who were working with the administration to make some important hires in this direction.[33]

From Minsk to Zagreb, a number of graduate programs in gender studies have sprung up since 1994, but the presence of historians and historical scholarship in their curriculum is often not central.[34] CEU itself, after several internal overhauls

[29] The Bulgarian and Hungarian translations came out in 2005 and 2001, respectively. Krassimira Daskalova, personal communication.

[30] Around the same time, efforts were under way in other post-communist countries, from Russia to Bulgaria, to create academic units focused on gender studies. Central European University was, however, the most generously funded one, and received greater institutional support back then. It continues to be a leader in the region in terms of its Ph.D. program (it was the first university in Eastern Europe to grant doctoral degrees in gender studies, rather than Ph.D. concentrations or M.A. degrees), its funding for graduate students in this area, and the interdisciplinary breadth of its permanent faculty.

[31] For a brief overview of the first four years of this program, which culminated in a crisis in 2000, see Laura Secor, "Gender Trouble: Who Is Afraid of Gender Studies in Eastern Europe?" *Lingua Franca* 11, no. 4 (July–August 2001): 44–53, as well as Scott, "Fictitious Unities."

[32] Credentials were important for this program, more so than for established disciplines such as history. In that area, people without doctoral degrees or relevant scholarly publications were able to rise in the hierarchy of Central European University for years to come. One such case has recently created a great scandal in Budapest. The "outing" of Sorin Antohi as a historian who had lied about his Ph.D. in history is a relevant case in point. See George Damian, "Falsul doctor Sorin Antohi," *Ziua*, October 21, 2006, http://www.ziua.ro/display.php?data=2006-10-21&id=209561 (accessed November 5, 2008).

[33] The first head of the gender studies department was Miglena Nikolchina, an outstanding postmodernist literary critic. See her "The Seminar"; *Chovekît-Utopia* (Sofia, 1992); *Smisîl i maitsebiistvo: Prochit na Virdjinia Ulf prez Iulia Krîsteva* (Sofia, 1997); and *Rodena ot glavata: Fabuli i siuzheti v zhenskata literaturna istoriia* (Sofia, 2002).

[34] "A Short Guide to Gender Studies and Women's Studies in South Eastern Europe," in Jovanović and Naumović, *Gender Relations*, 371–380.

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in the gender studies department, is currently the only program to offer a Ph.D. in gender studies, as well as a variety of graduate courses in gender history. The number of senior scholars teaching history in that program has grown to three permanent professors. And as a result, a new generation of gender historians, trained in a multidisciplinary program but with a specific interest in historical research, is now emerging in Eastern Europe.[35] In addition, students in the history department who are interested in gender topics often work closely with mentors in gender studies.[36] These young scholars hail from Lithuania to Bulgaria, and use Scott's theoretical insights as an integral component of their conceptualization of gender history.

Although historians of gender are often insular in their institutional attempts to secure recognition for gender studies at home, they have begun to collaborate to some degree, in particular engaging in efforts that cut across the East-West divide.[37] In one early such undertaking, in 1998 the CEU gender studies program brought a large group of historians of women and gender from the former Soviet Union and Eastern Europe together with Western (especially American and British) scholars in Minsk. It was the first time such a gathering had been held, and the intense three-day conversation resulted in several volumes, research projects, and other collaborative publication endeavors. Among them is a volume based on the conference, published, very significantly, in Russian, which constitutes an important signpost for the local academic communities in assessing the seriousness with which historians in Eastern Europe and elsewhere take gender and women's history.[38]

Among the other pioneering collaborative efforts in this area have been the publication of *A Biographical Dictionary of Women's Movements and Feminisms: Central, Eastern, and South Eastern Europe, 19th and 20th Centuries*, edited by Francisca de Haan, Krassimira Daskalova, and Anna Loutfi, and the yearbook *Aspasia*, which in part aims to take advantage of the insights opened up by the *Biographical Dictionary* and provide an arena for pursuing more research on women's and gender history.[39] These two endeavors are also linked in their aim to connect scholars of Central, Eastern, and Southeast Europe (inclusive of Russia) who live in the area with those

[35] Among the projects being completed by Ph.D. students in gender studies with an interest in history are Salome Asatiani, "Impaired Autarkies, Cultural Imports, and Reconfigured Gender: Soviet Georgia and Francoist Spain, 1960s–1970s"; Iwona Fedrau, "Securing State Security: Gender Regimes and the Communist Security Apparatus in Poland (1944–1982)"; Dominika Gruziel, "Women's Informal and Formal Organizations: A Gender Analysis of the Polish Partitions, 1863–1914"; Alexandre de Kappaun, "Gender in the Making of the Brazilian Social Contract: Freemasonry and Feminism in Brazil, 1880–1916"; Raluca Maria Popa, "Female Comrades, Male States? Women's Political Organizations and State-Driven Emancipation in State Socialist Hungary and Romania, 1960–1990"; Dusica Ristivojević, "Chinese and Western Women in Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth-Century China: Motives, Actions, Relations"; Eszter Varsa, "Gender, Ethnicity/'Race,' Class and the Institution of Residential Care in Hungary, 1945–1985"; and Tamar Sabedashvili, "Domestic Violence in Georgia (1991–2008)." Interestingly, and maybe not surprisingly, only some of these projects focus on Eastern Europe.

[36] See, for instance, Roxana Cheşchebec, "Feminist Ideologies and Activism in Romania (approx 1890–1940s): Nationalism and Internationalism in Romanian Projects for Women's Emancipation" (Ph.D. diss., Central European University, 2005).

[37] Ramet, *Gender Politics*; Corrin, *Gender and Identity*; Jovanović and Naumović, *Gender Relations*.

[38] Elena Gapova, Al'mira Usmanova, and Andrea Pető, eds., *Gendernye istorii Vostochnoi Evropi* (Minsk, 2002).

[39] *Aspasia* 1 (2007) is entirely dedicated to analyses of East European feminisms, primarily from a historical perspective, but also looking toward feminism during the communist and post-communist periods. See especially the forum "Is 'Communist Feminism' a *Contradictio in Terminis*?" (197–246). The next two issues focused, respectively, on "women's writing" and "the gender of everyday life." The fourth issue will have a section dedicated to "gender, the body, and sexuality."

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who work on this area elsewhere in the world. Contributions to the *Dictionary* and to the first issue of *Aspasia* include articles by scholars from Russia and Lithuania all the way south to Turkey, as well as historians from the United States.

These efforts are also connected through their broad definition of what constitutes good scholarship on women's and gender history. This is a point on which there may be some contention with scholars who have moved decidedly in the direction of gender history. My own work as an editor of *Aspasia* has been directly connected with understanding women's history through gender analysis, and in my own scholarship I have offered avenues for pursuing an interest in women's past within this theoretical context.[40] But the paucity of interest in gender history and of any scholarship that regards women as significant subjects of historical inquiry makes it imperative to provide space for many colors of scholarship that would address this gap. Gender historians in American academia might be quick to dismiss some of the current projects in Eastern Europe as lacking self-reflexivity and as overly focused on "making women visible." They might view this research as insufficiently theoretical in problematizing gender roles. While such criticisms are accurate in the context of Western academia, they are a luxury that East European historians cannot afford. It seems more advantageous to render publicly transparent divergent understandings of what it means to interrogate the constructedness of women's gender roles as a site for debate and learning.

In this transitional period of growth in the scholarship on gender history, there are some voices, especially those of younger historians, that offer hope for the future of this field. In a doctoral thesis defended at CEU on liberalism in Romania during the nineteenth century, Constantin Iordachi offered an excellent refutation of the continuing myths about the exclusively positive legacies of liberalism in Eastern Europe.[41] Iordachi's thesis is remarkable for his insistence on not confining his argument to the better-known and more easily accepted debate about Romanian antisemitism as a force that fundamentally altered the potentially progressive role of liberalism.[42] Instead, he broadened his analysis to examine how regionalist loyalties and gender differences were treated in liberal doctrine and practice. With this shift, he suggested both that Romanian liberalism was not as exceptional as others have hinted with their exclusive focus on the prevalence of antisemitism in Romania, and also that historical analysis of gender roles is essential if we are to properly understand the complexity of the political ideologies and practices of the nineteenth century. In fact, gender analysis is only one aspect of Iordachi's broad critique of political institutions and ideologies. His analysis has been accompanied by other efforts to

[40] See Wingfield and Bucur, *Gender and War*; Maria Bucur, "Between the Mother of the Wounded and the Virgin from Jiu: Romanian Women and the Gender of Heroism during the Great War," *Journal of Women's History* 12, no. 2 (Summer 2000): 30–56.

[41] See especially Constantin Iordachi, "The Unyielding Boundaries of Citizenship: The Emancipation of 'Non-Citizens' in Romania, 1866–1918," *European Review of History* 8, no. 2 (2001): 157–186. His Ph.D. thesis, "From the 'Right of the Natives' to 'Constitutional Nationalism': The Making of Romanian Citizenship, 1817–1919," is coming out in book form as *The Making of Nation-State Citizenship in Southeastern Europe: The Case of Romania, 1817–1919* (forthcoming from Central European University Press).

[42] William Oldson, *A Providential Anti-Semitism: Nationalism and Polity in Nineteenth-Century Romania* (New York, 1991); Frederick Kellogg, *The Road to Romanian Independence* (Lafayette, Ind., 1995).

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revisit the major ideological offerings of modern politics in Eastern Europe, as well as the very criteria by which such movements are evaluated by historians.[43]

GENDER HISTORY HAS THE POTENTIAL TO PLAY a much greater role in East European historiography, as we can see by looking at an important theme in post-communist historiography that is illustrative both of current weaknesses and of the possibilities for rendering gender history more central to this scholarship. Dissent under communism is one of the themes of major interest in historical research where scholars have retained a significant blind spot toward gender. This budding historiography, focusing on well-known figures such as Václav Havel, Jacek Kuroń, Adam Michnik, and a few other prominent male intellectuals, has generally avoided any engagement with basic assumptions about the gendered aspects of what can be regarded as dissent under communism.[44] By ignoring gender as an important consideration in their analysis, scholars have missed significant elements of how the intelligentsia constituted itself as an arbiter of intellectual and moral integrity.[45] An article by Miglena Nikolchina offers some observations on this matter, suggesting that women were important, if forgotten, participants in the intellectual dissident groups of the 1980s, and critiquing the implicit disregard after 1989 for women's voices in intellectual salons.[46] Although Nikolchina's essay is rich in its thick description of intellectual life under "late totalitarianism," it merely opens up an analytical space in which we can begin asking why, with all this sophistication, gender has not been placed at the same level of scrutiny and interest as other subjects of literary analysis that have taken hold of the post-communist intelligentsia.

Most historians even continue to ignore the fundamental gendered aspects of the Polish mass movement Solidarity, which in fact could do much to enrich our understanding of the strengths and weaknesses, the attraction and ultimate victory of this powerful dissident movement. Only two attempts, a rather unsuccessful one by Shana Penn and a much more effective, albeit brief, one by Padraic Kenney, have interrogated the gender-blindness of other scholars.[47] Penn simply wishes to make women visible and assign them a specific significance in the movement according to her own understanding of feminism. Only fragments of the broader religious, social, and political framework are rendered visible in her analysis, making it impossible to

[43] See also Maria Bucur and Mihaela Miroiu, eds., *Patriarhat şi emancipare în istoria gîndirii politice româneşti* (Iaşi, 2002); Passmore, *Women and the Radical Right*, especially the essays on Poland, Hungary, and Romania.

[44] See, for instance, Vladimir Tismăneanu, *Reinventing Politics: Eastern Europe from Stalin to Havel* (New York, 1992); John Keane, ed., *The Power of the Powerless: Citizens against the State in Central-Eastern Europe* (Armonk, N.Y., 1985); Keane, *Václav Havel: A Political Tragedy in Six Acts* (New York, 2000); Miklós Haraszti, *The Velvet Prison: Artists under State Socialism* (New York, 1987); Barbara J. Falk, *The Dilemmas of Dissidence in East-Central Europe: Citizen Intellectuals and Philosopher Kings* (Budapest, 2003); Kieran Williams, *The Prague Spring and Its Aftermath* (New York, 1997).

[45] See Maria Bucur, "Gendering Dissent: Of Bodies and Minds, Survival and Opposition under Communism," in Angela Brintlinger and Natasha Kolchevska, eds., *Beyond Little Vera: Women's Bodies, Women's Welfare in Russia and Central/Eastern Europe* (Bloomington, Ind., 2008), 9–28.

[46] Nikolchina, "The Seminar."

[47] Shana Penn, *Solidarity's Secret: The Women Who Defeated Communism in Poland* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 2005); Padraic Kenney, "The Gender of Resistance in Communist Poland," *American Historical Review* 104, no. 2 (April 1999): 399–425.

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truly understand gender roles in Poland in their proper context. She helps us see the misogynist discourse central to the Solidarity movement, but not to understand how this movement could be so popular and effective among hundreds of thousands of women and men. Kenney's article does just the opposite: it questions implicit assumptions about what political (and anti-political) activism meant in Poland in 1980 in terms of the broader intellectual and social environment, enabling readers to better understand the limited options that individual actors had in negotiating gender roles. His study gives us a better understanding of why men and women supported Solidarity, and fundamentally, how specific gender practices helped or hindered their cause. Alas, the contributions made by Penn and Kenney have generally not been fully incorporated into the historiography on Solidarity and dissent under communism as central aspects of these phenomena, but instead remain footnotes meant to acknowledge (yet effectively avoid engaging with) the fundamental genderedness of political and social life.

DESPITE SUCH SIGNS OF HOW LIMITED the impact of gender analysis has been on the historiography of Eastern Europe at large, Scott's essay may yet become a more important reference point in Eastern Europe because of the growth of cultural feminism in this area. Whereas feminism was deemed an exotic foreign import in the 1990s, the emergence of a definite feminist sensibility can be seen in the realm of popular culture in post-communist Eastern Europe. Public intellectuals (although seldom historians), artists, and popular talk-show personalities are becoming more interested in a women's liberation discourse, and with that, the crass misogyny of the popular entertainment discourse has been called into question. It is hard to figure out why, alongside the popularity of syrupy South American soap operas, there is also a growing feisty feminist presence among a broad spectrum of the female population. The reason may simply be that television is now the primary medium of public entertainment accessible to most people, regardless of their location, education, and income. Private television stations and cable companies have taken off and inundated every home, with options from home improvement shows to *Oprah*-like talk shows. Since the fall of communism, most East Europeans have become television junkies.

Given the popularity of cable stations and of live shows in general, producers have looked around for new models to attract and retain large audiences. Men tend to gravitate toward sports broadcasts, but in many households there are two television sets, and women will spend a few hours watching their own shows late at night. Given this ready market, a number of women talk-show hosts have created their own version of the genre branded by Oprah Winfrey. Many Romanians may have no idea who Oprah is, but more than a million viewers (out of a population of 20 million) tune in every night at ten to watch "Three Times a Woman," a talk show that focuses on women's issues and features not only famous actresses and entertainers, but also women politicians and feminist scholars.[48] Whether this is a profound change or

[48] I had the pleasure of participating in such a show, where the topic of debate was prostitution, and where virtually everyone on the panel, including a journalist, a law enforcer, a social democrat member of parliament, and the most important gender theorist in Romania, articulated sophisticated positions

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merely a trend is less important here than the notion that a space for articulating feminist positions has emerged in the mainstream media and will likely continue to grow, given its large built-in audience.

Historians, unfortunately, have not been at the forefront of this shift. They maintain a more elitist and misogynist position (be they men or women) on gender-related questions. The predominant questions of historical scholarship are still those pertaining to nationalism, to the relations of small peoples and states with the Great European powers, and to the contributions of East Europeans to European civilization at large. Somehow, within these broad parameters, most historians have yet to question some important points: How is nationalism gendered in both ideological and practical ways, despite Verdery's excellent challenge more than a decade ago? What is the scholarly significance of the masculinist assumptions about what counts as relations across borders and ethnicities, with feminist international associations cast as narrowly "women's" issues? What are the blind spots with respect to how European civilization is defined, with attitudes toward gender roles cast as secondary to the "great men" masterpiece narrative?

Yet in this larger landscape of scholarship, the work of those interested in gender analysis is becoming more visible and gaining an audience. I do not envision any great breakthroughs over the next few years in how the majority of historians from Eastern Europe view gender as a category of historical analysis. But I am certain that gender historians from Eastern Europe will gain a greater appreciation for each other's work and will find wider audiences for their perspective on the past among the younger generation of feminist students and future scholars. That kind of intellectual community will hopefully sustain this budding scholarship and encourage the building of stronger bridges between these disparate islands.

that criticized the role of big media in reproducing gender-passive roles for young women, and also drew attention to the fundamental underlying problem in our discussion—the disproportionate poverty of young women. While most of the other panelists shied away from the notion of decriminalizing prostitution, everyone agreed that responsibility for women's choice to pursue a livelihood this way is a complicated matter that needs to be connected not only to the victims themselves, but more importantly to the fundamental truth that women are generally mistreated.

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AHR Forum
The Three Ages of Joan Scott

DYAN ELLIOTT

THE STRUCTURE OF JOAN SCOTT'S NOW-CLASSIC INTERVENTION on gender might be expected to have particular resonance for the medieval historian. Her delineation of both the past and possible future potential of the kinetic categories of male and female could be read as a meditation on binaries. Yet these binaries are developed within the evolution of the term "gender"—a concept presented in terms of its past, present, and possible future applications, thus constituting something of a triune configuration. From this perspective, Scott's article could be described structurally as a study in twos and threes: an equation that in many ways parallels medieval society's own efforts at self-understanding. The medieval commitment to binaries can hardly be overstated, leaving a permanent impression on all subsequent Western thought. Theologians were remarkable adepts at manipulating categories such as body/soul, laity/clergy, letter/spirit, flesh/spirit, and church/Christ. But nowhere was their virtuosity more in evidence than in the alignment of these pairs with that urdivision of male/female. Invariably, male was associated with the category of prestige: soul, clergy, spirit, Christ. The less estimable part of the binary (body, laity, letter, flesh, church) was reserved for the female part.

This appetite for binaries was often satisfied within a structure of tripartite hierarchies. For example, the spiritual merit of an individual's sexual condition is established according to the declining scale of chastity, with virginity at the summit, chaste widowhood in the middle, and marriage lagging far behind. By the same token, labor is assessed according to the descending hierarchy of those who prayed, those who fought, and those who tilled the soil.[1] That such threefold configurations could also be put to more abstract uses is apparent in the exegetical learning curve propounded by the third-century theologian Origen. His model begins with the literal reading (the lowest), then advances to the moral interpretation, before finally reaching the high plateau of allegorical understanding. Moreover, this ascending hierarchy corresponded to the Platonic tripartite vision of humanity as body, soul, and spirit. The literal renders a "carnal" reading, associated with the body; the moral is aligned with the soul; and the allegorical soars on the wings of the spirit.

The implicitly tripartite structure of Scott's argument especially resonates with the eschatological thinking of Joachim of Fiore, the twelfth-century Calabrian abbot

I would like to thank Ruth Karras and Peter Jelavich for their help with this article.

[1] On these hierarchies, see Georges Duby, *The Three Orders: Feudal Society Imagined*, trans. Arthur Goldhammer (Chicago, 1980); and Giles Constable, *Three Studies in Medieval Religious and Social Thought* (Cambridge, 1995).

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and biblical exegete, and his Trinitarian vision of history. According to Joachim, history progressed sequentially from the pre-Christian Age of the Father through to the Age of the Son (the period inaugurated by the incarnation, which Joachim believed was drawing to a close in his own day), and culminated in the impending Age of the Spirit. In this final stage, the world, and hence time and history, would come to an end.

Medieval religious enthusiasts were quick to adapt Joachim's efforts at periodization to their own vision of history. In the mid-thirteenth century, for instance, a number of radicals associated with the Franciscan movement came to believe that their founder had ushered in the third age. Toward the end of the century, the Milanese Guglielmites identified the holy woman Guglielma as the Holy Spirit incarnate. The sectarians alleged that Guglielma's imminent resurrection and return would inaugurate a revolutionary church, ruled by a female pope and buttressed by a curia of female cardinals, thus manifesting an acute awareness of just what a difference gender could make to the masculine sweep of salvation history. This valiant effort to redress history's gender imbalance eventually drew the attention of the inquisitors, and the Guglielmite vision ended in ashes.[2]

The historical trajectory outlined in Scott's article could be construed as a latter-day attempt to adapt some semblance of a Joachimite eschatology to a gendered cause, perhaps enlivened with a smattering of Origen's hermeneutical savvy. The first age, situated at the dawn of women's history in the literal/carnal past of the 1970s, was the "Age of the Mother." This period was precedential in positioning women as the undoubted subject of the historical narrative, but it nevertheless remained a time when women were women (and men were men). In other words, gender had yet to be distinguished from biological sex. Scott was writing at a transitional moment when this was changing. The literal "carnal"-mindedness of traditional sexual differentiation was gradually giving way to a more nuanced understanding of the social construction of gender, which allows us to align her study with the dawning of the second age.[3] Indeed, it is no exaggeration to say that Scott's intervention played a pivotal role in consolidating changes that were already under way, contributing to the momentum that was propelling the historical profession into the second age, the "Age of the Daughter"—an age in which a historical personage's biological sex need not correspond with the gendered role with which he or she was invested.

The possibility of a still more theoretically adept third age, the "Age of Gender," is implicit in Scott's definition of gender: "Gender is a constitutive element of social relationships based on perceived differences between the sexes, and gender is a primary way of signifying relationships of power."[4] Scott's designation of gender as a signifier of power breaks free of the constraints of the flesh altogether, while proffering an incisive analytical tool to be wielded against institutions, ideologies, and

[2] See Barbara Newman's discussion of the sect in *From Virile Woman to WomanChrist: Studies in Medieval Religion and Literature* (Philadelphia, 1995), 182–223; and Janine Peterson, "Social Roles, Gender Inversion, and the Heretical Sect: The Case of the Guglielmites," *Viator* 35 (2004): 203–220. For parallel efforts to gender the Godhead through allegorical figures, see Barbara Newman, *God and the Goddesses: Vision, Poetry, and Belief in the Middle Ages* (Philadelphia, 2003).

[3] Joan W. Scott, "Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis," *American Historical Review* 91, no. 5 (December 1986): 1056.

[4] Ibid., 1067.

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matters of high politics. Or, to invoke a crude but nonetheless useful binary, gender was no longer to be limited to the "soft history" of women and their domestic milieu, but was ready to confront the "hard" history of male institutions and their diplomatic gravitas. Though not exactly envisaging a destruction of history or a female coup à la Guglielma, Scott's third age is not without its own revolutionary potential. Moreover, as was the case with Joachim's work, Scott's article could be regarded as functioning simultaneously as visionary text, manifesto, and instrument of reform—preparing its readers for the coming of this third age.

IS MEDIEVAL HISTORY STUCK IN THE SECOND AGE (AND HOLDING)? It is difficult to know. If the advancement of a society can be assessed by its treatment of women, as is often alleged, should a similar standard be applied to historical fields for their treatment of gender? However efficacious a gauge this might prove to be, I nevertheless experienced some trepidation about measuring my field against a reforming telos that, even after two decades, still constitutes a formidable challenge. Some of my anxiety was allayed by the sanguine conviction that our transition from the first age of sex to the second age, when at least some of the potentialities of gender were realized, was, if not precocious, at least punctual. Already in the 1970s, a number of premodern scholars were sensitive to both the endless rhetorical play of various clerical authorities and its consequences for gender identity. Feminist theologians had examined the patristic trope of the "virago" or "virile woman": a woman who successfully transcended the biological constraints of her sex, usually by renouncing all sexual activity, to become an honorary man, and hence was rewarded with the friendship of her clerical admirers.[5]

But it was through Caroline Walker Bynum's semantic blockbuster *Jesus as Mother: Studies in the Spirituality of the High Middle Ages* (1982) that medieval historians really began to appreciate the radical contingency of gender. Bynum's examination of Bernard of Clairvaux's sermons on the Song of Songs considered how the traditional designation of the human soul as female in relation to Christ, the celestial bridegroom, fostered a gender inversion that would permeate Cistercian spirituality. The nurturing persona of Christ was metamorphosed into a mother even as abbots were exhorted to offer the maternal breast to their subject brethren, sparing the paternal rod of office. Moreover, Bynum's landmark study *Holy Feast and Holy Fast: The Religious Significance of Food to Medieval Holy Women* (1987) would further confound the gendered biases of mainstream medieval historiography by overturning the traditional association of female excess in asceticism with a masochistic rejection of the body. Instead Bynum posits that the pronounced somatic nature of female spirituality actually embraced the traditional association of women with flesh as a means of uniting with the humanity of Christ, which was gendered female.[6]

[5] See Rosemary Radford Ruether's classic essay "Misogynism and Virginal Feminism in the Fathers of the Church," in Ruether, ed., *Religion and Sexism: Images of Woman in the Jewish and Christian Traditions* (New York, 1974), 150–183. See also Elizabeth A. Clark, "John Chrysostom and the Subintroductae," *Church History* 46, no. 2 (1977): 171–185, which addresses friendship between the sexes.

[6] Caroline Walker Bynum, *Jesus as Mother: Studies in the Spirituality of the High Middle Ages* (Berkeley, Calif., 1982); cf. Scott, "Gender," 1070. Bynum, *Holy Feast and Holy Fast: The Religious Significance of Food to Medieval Holy Women* (Berkeley, Calif., 1987). The genesis for this book was Bynum's article "Women Mystics and Eucharistic Devotion in the Thirteenth Century," *Women's Studies* 11 (1984):

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Significantly, Bynum's work had already received Scott's imprimatur for numbering among the most advanced historical applications of gender. It also constituted the medieval profession's induction into the second age, in which sex and gender could be analyzed discretely and even dissociated from one another. *Holy Feast and Holy Fast* also placed Bynum at the forefront of emerging studies on the body. In two subsequent books, she would make important strides in historicizing the body's symbolism, emphasizing how the radical semantic alterity of the Middle Ages contrasts with the inevitable sexualization of the body in modern culture. Her study *The Resurrection of the Body in Western Christianity, 200–1336* (1995) further deracinates Christianity's enduring commitment to the materiality of the biologically sexed body from the modern preoccupation with the gender hierarchy.[7]

Scott's early notice of Bynum was certainly predictive: Bynum provided medievalists with the first and certainly the most influential analysis of gender to date. Meanwhile, scholars continue to adapt and extend her insights. Thus Katharine Park has emphasized the links between female spirituality and medicine by identifying the cultic efforts to explore the marvels wrought on the body of the female saint as the earliest dissections.[8] Jeffrey Hamburger's examination of the iconography of female religious communities, and their special emphasis on the humanity of Christ and his passion, demonstrates how the spirituality described by Bynum extends far beyond an elite group of saintly female ascetics.[9] But Bynum's paradigm for female spirituality is not exclusive to women. Martha Newman's analysis of Cistercian hagiography indicates how the power structure implicit in the community determined the manner in which Cistercian gender inversions manifested themselves. The identification with the bride of the Canticles was seemingly reserved for the choir monks, while the lay brethren tended to follow female mystics in their identification with Christ's humanity.[10]

For other scholars, women's commonality with the broken flesh of the crucified Christ displaces the presumed heterosexual telos of their christocentric focus. Thus Karma Lochrie associates the suggestively shaped wound in Christ's side with the female genitalia, interpreting women's mystical devotion to this image as a sign of same-sex attraction.[11] My own work assesses some of the negative implications of

179–214, which was the winner of the Berkshire Prize for best article on the history of women in 1985. It is reprinted in her book *Fragmentation and Redemption: Essays on Gender and the Human Body in Medieval Religion* (New York, 1991).

[7] Caroline Walker Bynum, *The Resurrection of the Body in Western Christianity, 200–1336* (New York, 1995); see also Bynum, "Why All the Fuss about the Body? A Medievalist's Perspective," *Critical Inquiry*, no. 1 (1995): 1–33.

[8] Katharine Park, *Secrets of Women: Gender, Generation, and the Origins of Human Dissection* (New York, 2006).

[9] Jeffrey F. Hamburger, *Nuns as Artists: The Visual Culture of a Medieval Convent* (Berkeley, Calif., 1997); Hamburger, *The Visual and the Visionary: Art and Female Spirituality in Late Medieval Germany* (New York, 1998); Barbara Newman, "Visionary Texts and Visual Worlds of Religious Women," in Jeffrey F. Hamburger and Susan Marti, eds., *Crown and Veil: Female Monasticism from the Fifth to the Fifteenth Centuries*, trans. Dietlinde Hamburger (New York, 2008), 151–171.

[10] Martha Newman, "Crucified by Virtues: Monks, Lay Brothers, and Women in Thirteenth-Century Cistercian Saints' Lives," in Sharon Farmer and Carol Braun Pasternack, eds., *Gender and Difference in the Middle Ages* (Minneapolis, 2003), 182–209.

[11] Karma Lochrie, "Mystical Acts, Queer Tendencies," in Karma Lochrie, Peggy McCracken, and James A. Schultz, eds., *Constructing Medieval Sexuality* (Minneapolis, 1997), 180–200.

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female somatism: how the embodied spirituality of women was wielded propagandistically by the clergy, and how the same flesh that united women with Christ rendered them symbols of over-cranked lust, anticipating the rise of witchcraft.[12] Scholars such as John Coakley, Anne Clark, and Amy Hollywood have all contributed to our understanding of how the female voice has been mediated, highlighting the clergy's influence over the revelations of the female mystics that they transcribe.[13] The recent work on spiritual discernment, the ability to differentiate between divine and diabolical visions, underlines how the reemergence of this genre in the later Middle Ages corresponded with clerical apprehension of an emerging visionary culture. Very soon the genre would explicitly target female mystics, who were progressively entering highly charged political situations by virtue of their visions.[14]

In light of the fluidity of gender in medieval spirituality, the eschatological emphasis on a rigidly sexed body in the afterlife may seem somewhat counterintuitive, even quixotic. But this same insistence is rendered positively heroic in medical discourse, where biological factors are portrayed as constantly undermining the stability of sexual binaries. In eerie anticipation of contemporary science's destabilization of sex as presented by writers such as Anne Fausto-Sterling, the medieval categories male and female emerge as extremely fragile constructs, mere accidents of heat and moisture, ever-threatening to collapse into one another.[15] And yet destabilization in one discourse can and does ensure a modicum of stability in another. As Joan Cadden has observed, the illusion of two sexes could be preserved precisely because of the kind of gender-bending rife in the medieval religious discourse analyzed by Bynum: "the extension and abstraction of gender constructs, in part by incorporating such paradoxes as masculine women and mother abbots, worked to contain experience and expression within the two-term system."[16] The fear of a devolution from

[12] See Dyan Elliott, *Fallen Bodies: Pollution, Sexuality, and Demonology in the Middle Ages* (Philadelphia, 1999), esp. chap. 2; Elliott, *Proving Woman: Female Spirituality and Inquisitional Culture in the Later Middle Ages* (Princeton, N.J., 2004).

[13] John Coakley, "Friars as Confidants of Holy Women in Medieval Dominican Hagiography," in Renate Blumenfeld-Kosinski and Timea Szell, eds., *Images of Sainthood in Medieval Europe* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1991), 222–246; Coakley, *Women, Men, and Spiritual Power: Female Saints and Their Male Collaborators* (New York, 2006); Anne L. Clark, *Elisabeth of Schönau: A Twelfth-Century Visionary* (Philadelphia, 1992); Dyan Elliott, "*Dominae* or *Dominatae*? Female Mystics and the Trauma of Textuality," in Constance M. Rousseau and Joel T. Rosenthal, eds., *Women, Marriage, and Family in Medieval Christendom: Essays in Memory of Michael M. Sheehan, C.S.B.* (Kalamazoo, Mich., 1998), 47–77; and Amy Hollywood, "Inside Out: Beatrice of Nazareth and Her Hagiographer," in Catherine M. Mooney, ed., *Gendered Voices: Medieval Saints and Their Interpreters* (Philadelphia, 1999), 78–98. Mooney's entire collection is devoted to this issue.

[14] Rosalynn Voaden, *God's Words, Women's Voices: The Discernment of Spirits in the Writing of Late-Medieval Women Visionaries* (Woodbridge, Suffolk, 1999); Dyan Elliott, "Seeing Double: John Gerson, the Discernment of Spirits, and Joan of Arc," *American Historical Review* 107, no. 1 (February 2002): 26–54; and Nancy Caciola, *Discerning Spirits: Divine and Demonic Possession in the Middle Ages* (Ithaca, N.Y., 2003).

[15] Anne Fausto-Sterling, *Sexing the Body: Gender Politics and the Construction of Sexuality*, rev. ed. (New York, 2000).

[16] Joan Cadden, *Meanings of Sex Difference in the Middle Ages: Medicine, Science, and Culture* (Cambridge, 1993), 202. This slippage is also apparent in the spiritual realm with regard to the feminizing effect of nocturnal emissions. See Dyan Elliott, *Fallen Bodies: Pollution, Sexuality, and Demonology in the Middle Ages* (Philadelphia, 1999), 14–34; cf. Daniel Boyarin, *Carnal Israel: Reading Sex in Talmudic Culture* (Berkeley, Calif., 1993), 49–51. The issue of birth is obviously an important benchmark for stabilizing the sexes, not just from a biological standpoint, but for the way that custom and fear of pollution emphasize separate spheres yet also create a special niche for female workers, namely midwives and wet nurses. See, however, Monica H. Green's analysis of the male takeover of women's healthcare

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male into female is constantly projected upon the racial and religious minorities located at the margins of Christian society. Jewish men were represented as especially prone to this kind of slippage—a prejudice exemplified in the myth of male menses.[17]

Bynum's work also fostered what Scott described as the relational connotations of the term "gender" insisted upon by feminist historians: "that information about women is necessarily information about men."[18] Thus *Jesus as Mother* was also in the foreground of masculinity studies.[19] After its appearance, however, a twelve-year hiatus ensued, which was finally broken with the appearance of Jo Ann McNamara's remarkable "The *Herrenfrage*: The Restructuring of the Gender System, 1050–1150." By inverting the so-called *Frauenfrage*, the problematization of woman in the later Middle Ages, McNamara argues for an eleventh-century crisis in masculinity that facilitated a temporary relaxation of gender roles and the spirit of experimentation in religious life.[20]

Since McNamara's landmark article, a number of scholars have focused on the constructed nature of masculinity. Matthew Kuefler has suggested that Christianity's ultimate success was at least partly dependent on the clergy's agility in recasting sexually ambiguous points of doctrinal and disciplinary emphases, such as celibacy, within a recognizable profile of manliness that supported the status quo. With a focus on the crucial induction into manhood during adolescence, Ruth Karras has emphasized how conceptions of masculinity were constructed according to social status, which was further refined by vocation.[21] Rather than perceiving male sexuality as a monolith, scholars are beginning to explore how categories such as "sodomy" were constructed over time and differentially wielded as instruments of persecution.[22] There is also increased attention to how a range of physical interventions, whether

in *Making Women's Medicine Masculine: The Rise of Male Authority in Pre-Modern Gynaecology* (Oxford, 2008).

[17] Ann Abulafia, "Bodies in the Jewish-Christian Debate," in Sarah Kay and Miri Rubin, eds., *Framing Medieval Bodies* (Manchester, 1994), 123–137; Louise Mirrer, "Representing 'Other' Men: Muslims, Jews, and Masculine Ideals in Medieval Castilian Epic and Ballad," in Clare A. Lees, ed., *Medieval Masculinities: Regarding Men in the Middle Ages* (Minneapolis, 1994), 169–186; Willis Johnson, "The Myth of Jewish Male Menses," *Journal of Medieval History* 24 (1998): 273–295.

[18] Scott, "Gender," 1056.

[19] One could also see John Boswell's magisterial *Christianity, Social Tolerance, and Homosexuality: Gay People in Western Europe from the Beginning of the Christian Era to the Fourteenth Century* (Chicago, 1980) as an aspect of masculinity studies, even as it gave medievalists early purchase on the subject of sexuality.

[20] Jo Ann McNamara, "The *Herrenfrage*: The Restructuring of the Gender System, 1050–1150," in Lees, *Medieval Masculinities*, 3–29; cf. McNamara, "Canossa and the Ungendering of the Public Man," in Sabrina Petra Ramet and Donald W. Treadgold, eds., *Render unto Caesar: The Religious Sphere in World Politics* (Washington, D.C., 1995), 131–150. There have also been a number of recent anthologies. See, for example, Jacqueline Murray, ed., *Conflicted Identities and Multiple Masculinities: Men in the Medieval West* (New York, 1999); D. M. Hadley, ed., *Masculinity in Medieval Europe* (London, 1999); Jeffrey Jerome Cohen and Bonnie Wheeler, eds., *Becoming Male in the Middle Ages* (New York, 1997); and P. H. Cullum and Katherine J. Lewis, eds., *Holiness and Masculinity in the Middle Ages* (Cardiff, 2004).

[21] Matthew Kuefler, *The Manly Eunuch: Masculinity, Gender Ambiguity, and Christian Ideology in Late Antiquity* (Chicago, 2001); cf. Kate Cooper and Conrad Leyser, "The Gender of Grace: Impotence, Servitude, and Manliness in the Fifth-Century West," in Pauline Stafford and Anneke B. Mulder-Bakker, eds., *Gendering the Middle Ages* (Oxford, 2001), 6–21; Ruth Mazo Karras, *From Boys to Men: Formations of Masculinity in Late Medieval Europe* (Philadelphia, 2003).

[22] Mark D. Jordan, *The Invention of Sodomy in Christian Theology* (Chicago, 1997). The designation "sodomite" was also used pejoratively against religious minorities. See, for example, Gregory Hutcheson,

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through surgery or ascetic discipline, contributed to the construction of gender. As Kathryn Ringrose demonstrates, emasculation was the essential qualification for the ideal, and highly valued, servant in Byzantium, although this image of perfect service coexisted with a dark counterpart of extreme decadence and sexual profligacy.[23] This appreciation of diversity in masculinity is also reflected in efforts to construe the clergy as a third gender by virtue of their chastity.[24] And almost as if to consolidate such advances, the fascinating case of Eleanor (John) Rykener of fourteenth-century London—a transvestite male prostitute who passed as a woman, specialized in a clerical clientele, and practiced the quintessentially female craft of embroidery—came to light, providing scholars with an ample demonstration of the performative nature of gender.[25]

One must leave the medieval period altogether for a case involving a woman that exhibits anything like Eleanor/John's exemplary manipulation of gender boundaries. In the early seventeenth century, there is the extraordinary case of Benedetta Carlini, the Italian abbess-cum-visionary who assumed the persona of a male angel to violate her secretary sexually on numerous occasions, allegedly in the course of a mystical trance.[26] Clearly such an instance would be singular for any period, especially given patriarchal authorities' tendency to overlook female sexual delinquency that did not conform to a heterosexual model. This conditioned indifference may have occasionally benefited the women themselves. But the resulting lack of sources has rendered the study of female sexuality and gender alike less amenable to the multiplicity of approaches emerging in masculinity studies. Indeed, this very dearth assists in the triumph of the homogeneous, extremely "feminized" vision of women, replete with a presumed heterosexual impetus, that for the most part went unchallenged in the period.

The disappearance of the "virile woman" of the early church is instructive for understanding the role that pastoral rhetoric could perform in the service of normative gender roles.[27] David Brakke demonstrated that an important patristic strat-

"The Sodomitic Moor: Queerness in the Narrative of the *Reconquista*," in Glenn Burger and Steven F. Kruger, eds., *Queering the Middle Ages* (Minneapolis, 2001), 99–122.

[23] See Kathryn M. Ringrose, *The Perfect Servant: Eunuchs and the Social Construction of Gender in Byzantium* (Chicago, 2003).

[24] R. N. Swanson, "Angels Incarnate: Clergy and Masculinity from Gregorian Reform to Reformation," in Hadley, *Masculinity in Medieval Europe*, 160–177; see also Jo Ann McNamara, "An Unresolved Syllogism: The Search for a Christian Gender System," in Murray, *Conflicted Identities and Multiple Masculinities*, 1–24; McNamara, "Chastity as a Third Gender in the History and Hagiography of Gregory of Tours," in Kathleen Mitchell and Ian Wood, eds., *The World of Gregory of Tours* (Leiden, 2002), 199–210; cf. John Arnold, "The Labour of Continence: Masculinity and Clerical Virginity," in Anke Bernau, Ruth Evans, and Sarah Salih, eds., *Medieval Virginities* (Toronto, 2003), 102–118. A number of essays in Lisa M. Bitel and Felice Lifshitz, eds., *Gender and Christianity in Medieval Europe: New Perspectives* (Philadelphia, 2008), address this question.

[25] Ruth Mazo Karras, *Sexuality in Medieval Europe: Doing unto Others* (New York, 2005), 129; Ruth Mazo Karras and David Lorenzo Boyd, "*Ut Cum Muliere*: A Male Transvestite Prostitute in Fourteenth-Century London," in Louise Fradenburg and Carla Freccero, eds., *Premodern Sexualities* (New York, 1996), 101–116.

[26] Judith C. Brown, *Immodest Acts: The Life of a Lesbian Nun in Renaissance Italy* (New York, 1986).

[27] An attenuated tradition continues throughout the Middle Ages, however. See, for example, Felice Lifshitz, "Gender Trouble in Paradise: The Case of the Liturgical Virgin," in Debra Higgs Strickland, ed., *Images of Medieval Sanctity: Essays in Honour of Gary Dickson* (Leiden, 2007), 25–39; Anne-Marie Helvétius, "*Virgo* et *Virago*: Réflexions sur le pouvoir du voile consacré d'après les sources hagiographiques de la Gaule du Nord," in Stéphane Lebecq et al., eds., *Femmes et pouvoirs des femmes à Byzance et en Occident: VIe–XIe siècles* (Lille, 1999), 189–204.

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egy for subordinating the affluent, politically influential, and extremely independent virgins of the early church was to recast them as brides of Christ. What began as rhetoric was soon realized as discipline. Christ's brides were modestly separated from society, submissive to a celestial bridegroom (and his clerical proxies), and hence provided with an appropriately masculine point of focus.[28] The heterosexual norm will continue to be powerfully articulated in the fields of medicine, canon law, and pastoral theology.[29] Scholarly efforts to go beyond these prescriptive sources to reveal the experiences of "real" women, however, have inadvertently fostered another medieval binary: that of virgin or whore. Because of the necessary reliance on hagiography and spiritual texts, among the most prolix and detailed sources for individual women's lives, the area of female sexuality tends to be dominated by studies of virginity.[30] At the opposite extreme is a corpus of excellent studies on prostitution.[31]

Meanwhile, the evidence for same-sex attraction, which tends to be filtered through "queer" readings of religious discourse or various literary tropes, remains elusive.[32] Benedetta Carlini aside, the inferential, even phantasmagoric, nature of the discussion has been critiqued by Judith Bennett, who alludes to "how medieval nuns might have expressed same-sex desire in their kissing of images of Christ's wound; . . . how a lesbian character might have lurked in a thirteenth-century romance with a cross-dressed heroine; and how a fourteenth-century Parisian play explored the meanings of an accidental marriage between two women." Her solution

[28] David Brakke, *Athanasius and Asceticism* (1995; repr., Baltimore, 1998); Susanna Elm, *'Virgins of God': The Making of Asceticism in Late Antiquity* (Oxford, 1994).

[29] See, for example, James A. Brundage's comprehensive study of canon law, *Law, Sex, and Christian Society in Medieval Europe* (Chicago, 1987); cf. the theological orientation of Pierre J. Payer's *The Bridling of Desire: Views of Sex in the Later Middle Ages* (Toronto, 1993).

[30] There is a proliferation of works on virginity and/or chastity by both literary scholars and historians. Some recent works include Cindy L. Carlson and Angela Jane Weisl, eds., *Constructions of Widowhood and Virginity in the Middle Ages* (New York, 1999); Kathleen Coyne Kelly, *Performing Virginity and Testing Chastity in the Middle Ages* (London, 2000); Sarah Salih, *Versions of Virginity in Late Medieval England* (Woodbridge, Suffolk, 2001); Jocelyn Wogan-Browne, *Saints' Lives and Women's Literary Culture, c. 1150–1300: Virginity and Its Authorizations* (Oxford, 2001); Constant J. Mews, ed., *Listen, Daughter: The* Speculum virginum *and the Formation of Religious Women in the Middle Ages* (New York, 2001); Bernau, Evans, and Salih, *Medieval Virginities*; Ruth Evans, "Virginities," in Carolyn Dinshaw and David Wallace, eds., *The Cambridge Companion to Medieval Women's Writing* (Cambridge, 2003), 21–39; Jane Tibbetts Schulenburg, *Forgetful of Their Sex: Female Sanctity and Society, ca. 500–1100* (Chicago, 1998), esp. chap. 3; Nancy van Deusen, ed., *Chastity: A Study in Perception, Ideals, Opposition* (Leiden, 2008). For intramarital chastity, see Dyan Elliott, *Spiritual Marriage: Sexual Abstinence in Medieval Wedlock* (Princeton, N.J., 1993).

[31] Leah Lydia Otis, *Prostitution in Medieval Society: The History of an Urban Institution in Languedoc* (Chicago, 1985); Mark Meyerson, "Prostitution of Muslim Women in the Kingdom of Valencia: Religious and Sexual Discrimination in a Medieval Plural Society," in Marilyn J. Chiat and Kathryn L. Reyerson, eds., *The Medieval Mediterranean: Cross-Cultural Contacts* (St. Cloud, Minn., 1988), 87–95; Jacques Rossiaud, *Medieval Prostitution*, trans. Lydia Cochrane (Oxford, 1988); Ruth Mazo Karras, *Common Women: Prostitution and Sexuality in Medieval England* (New York, 1996). Leah Otis's study of prostitutes who converted to religious life comes closest to bridging the gap between the holy and the unholy. See Otis, "Prostitution and Repentance in Medieval Languedoc," in Julius Kirshner and Suzanne F. Wemple, eds., *Women of the Medieval World: Essays in Honor of John H. Mundy* (Oxford, 1985), 137–160. Mary Magdalene is the ultimate inspiration for such conversions. See Katherine Ludwig Jansen, *The Making of the Magdalen: Preaching and Popular Devotion in the Later Middle Ages* (Princeton, N.J., 2000).

[32] See E. Ann Matter, "My Sister, My Spouse: Woman-Identified Women in Medieval Christianity," *Journal of Feminist Studies in Religion* 2, no. 2 (1986): 81–93; Jacqueline Murray, "Twice Marginal and Twice Invisible: Lesbians in the Middle Ages," in Vern L. Bullough and James A. Brundage, eds., *Handbook of Medieval Sexuality* (New York, 1996), 191–222; and Lochrie, "Mystical Acts, Queer Tendencies."

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to the lack of empirical data is to create the much wider category of "lesbian-like," signifying the single and potentially female-identified woman.[33] If such a designation were adopted, our evidentiary problems would immediately vanish, since a sizable proportion of late medieval women would fit the criteria for "lesbian-like"—especially in the urban areas where the "surplus" women congregated.

THE HIGHLY SELECTIVE NATURE OF THIS OVERVIEW has been heavily freighted thus far with clerical sources, almost to the exclusion of all else. Although this is partly a function of my own research interests, it is nevertheless clear that some of the most dazzling analyses of gender to date have occurred in scholarship based on sources positioned at the literary end of the historical spectrum. Another potential drawback is that gender continues to partake of the liabilities common to any abstraction or concept: a susceptibility to the laws of gravity and a downward impetus toward embodiment. Nor is it the grandiose "body politic" that provides the host of choice, but, more often than not, the female body. In other words, the term "gender" continues to devolve into a code word for "women," a pattern that Scott identified two decades ago.[34] Case in point: in 1986, Fordham University's annual medieval conference was devoted to the subject of "Women and Power in the Middle Ages," eventuating in a volume bearing the same title that was widely adopted for classroom use. When the organizers decided to revisit the state of the question some two decades later, the conference and ensuing volume alike were titled "Gendering the Master Narrative: Women and Power in the Middle Ages."[35]

Of course, what might be taken for a theoretical recalcitrance may indicate that we are still in a transitional phase between one age of gender and the next, more advanced age, in which our capacity for distinguishing medieval constructions of gender is more assured. But it could also be deliberate. As Scott herself acknowledges, the term "gender" was considered the path of least resistance at the time when she was writing. While titles containing the word "women" were associated with an explicit feminist agenda, the term "gender" conveyed the "scholarly seriousness of a work" and possessed a "more neutral and objective sound."[36] Although such a substitution might have been expedient in the 1980s, it could become an unacceptable compromise in the twenty-first century. In the climate of present-day academe, in which students are dismissive of, even derisive toward, any self-identified feminist undertaking, feminists might become progressively more inclined to favor the category of "women" over "gender."

[33] Judith M. Bennett, *History Matters: Patriarchy and the Challenge of Feminism* (Philadelphia, 2007), 109; an earlier version of this argument appeared as Bennett, "'Lesbian-Like' and the Social History of Medieval Lesbianisms," *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 9, no. 1/2 (2000): 1–24. On the omnipresence of celibate women, see Maryanne Kowaleski, "Singlewomen in Medieval and Early Modern Europe: The Demographic Perspective," in Judith M. Bennett and Amy M. Froide, eds., *Singlewomen in the European Past, 1250–1800* (Philadelphia, 1998), 31–81.

[34] Scott, "Gender," 1056.

[35] Mary Erler and Maryanne Kowaleski, eds., *Women and Power in the Middle Ages* (Athens, Ga., 1988); Erler and Kowaleski, eds., *Gendering the Master Narrative: Women and Power in the Middle Ages* (Ithaca, N.Y., 2003).

[36] Scott, "Gender," 1056. See also Bennett's discussion of women's history versus gender history in *History Matters*, 13–19.

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And yet the category of "women" clearly does not do all of the same work as "gender." As Scott makes clear in the last section of her article, gender as an analytical construct has the potential for enhancing social history by illuminating not only the practical constitution of sexual roles, but also the symbolic potential inherent in the categories male and female. She astutely observes that "sexual difference is a primary way of signifying differentiation"—the basic building blocks of meaning-making.[37] In theory, this opens up new horizons that were generally considered not conducive to the study of women. Not only are religious and political discourse rife with imagery employing male and female signifiers, but such imagery has particular salience for the second part of Scott's definition: gender as a basic element in the relations of power. The analysis of political rhetoric, or even political structures, could provide access to areas from which feminist historians have been barred just as surely as the women they study: "High politics itself is a gendered concept, for it establishes crucial importance and public power, the reasons for and the fact of its highest authority, precisely in its exclusion of women from its work."[38] In other words, gender offers opportunity for analysis even when there are no women present.

But from a feminist perspective, the possibility of gender history without women is clearly a situation in which the glass is both half full and half empty. Scott made a good case for possible forays into high politics. But a less optimistic assessment, one shared by a number of second-wave feminists after the appearance of her article, construed gender's potential to eliminate "real" women from the field of analysis as an unnerving prospect.[39] In fact, in much of the work described above, female imagery abounds, but women themselves are either spectral (as, for instance, in a sermon written for a female religious community) or altogether absent. And it is in this context that latent tensions between the study of women and the study of gender might have been expected to emerge.

Many of the anticipated problems never materialized. As Bennett has observed, women's history and gender history not only are generally regarded as compatible but have become sufficiently assimilated to warrant the initials WGH.[40] This could be construed as a watering-down of gender's analytical puissance insofar as "gender" seems to continue operating as a code word for "women." If this were the case, one might argue that the category of women has ultimately trumped gender, that the biological women who continue to dominate women's social history have retained and doubtless will continue to retain biological women as their analytical crux, and that their tacit feminist compact with their dead subjects is complicit with gender's tendency to revert to a sexed body. From a symbolic standpoint, this incarnate deployment of the term "gender" could even be perceived as a latter-day backlash against the predisposition of the Western intellectual tradition in general, but the medieval clergy in particular, to elevate the abstract over the concrete, the spiritual over the material. It is a tendency that has invariably depreciated all things female.

[37] Scott, "Gender," 1070.
[38] Ibid., 1073.
[39] See, for example, Joan Hoff's "Gender as a Postmodern Category of Paralysis," *Women's History Review* 3, no. 2 (1994): 149–168.
[40] Bennett, *History Matters*, 16, 19.

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And while this hierarchical mode of thinking may have been reflexive for the medieval intellectual, it may at times seem disingenuous for the medieval feminist.

Alternatively, there is the bleaker possibility that gender could eventually trump women—vindicating certain feminist forebodings, albeit in an unexpected form. I was alerted to this potential by a panel on medieval women and the economy at the 2008 annual meeting of the Medieval Academy of America in Vancouver. Several of the participants were frankly dismayed by the widespread tendency among graduate students interested in women/gender studies who gravitate toward literary sources rather than sources traditionally associated with social history. And much of this apparent defection could be linked with the emphasis on gender. For there is little doubt that the theological treatise, the chronicle, the sermon, is much more susceptible to prestidigital feats of gender-bending than the manorial roll, the episcopal visitation record, the census, or the will—in other words, the stock-in-trade of medieval social history. Moreover, it is also likely that literary sources render faster, if not flashier, returns—which may be a crucial consideration from the perspective of the job market. If this is, in fact, a realistic assessment of the wave of the future, it is indeed a somber one: there are still many archival sources that have never been examined, let alone edited. And it would seem reprehensible if history's women were abandoned to oblivion just because it is easier to manipulate gender categories when there are no bodies attached.

And so, while there is little doubt that the study of women has become considerably more sophisticated with its induction into gender analysis, there is still the danger of losing ground in other respects. But however one assesses the credits and debits, the emergent gender/women hybrid is sometimes cumbersome and has not yet reached—and may even have deferred—the long-awaited day when gender would function as a kind of analytical siege engine against the bastion of institutional history and high politics. Where is our gendered discussion of the deliberations of the Parlement, the Office of the Exchequer, the papal camera, or other institutional arms of politics? How does gender militate against the female-free zone that surrounds the charter, the treaty, the chronicle—the traditional fare of high politics? Shouldn't we be writing a gendered account of the Hundred Years' War? In short, will the third age never come? And if it does come, should we rejoice or grieve?

If the third age means that students are, in fact, turning away from the study of real women in favor of gender analyses, this is an apocalypse to be dreaded. And here I am appealing to the essentialist at the heart of many medieval historians who are committed to learning all they can about women's lives. There is still so much to be done. Recent studies of nobles such as Countess Ermengard of Narbonne or Emma and Edith, the last of the Anglo-Saxon queens, are poignant reminders of how little we still know about key female players on the political stage.[41] By the same token, there is a productive rethinking of what was hitherto received wisdom about subjects such as the twelfth-century decline in female monasticism or women's purported attraction to heresy.[42]

[41] Frederic L. Cheyette, *Ermengard of Narbonne and the World of the Troubadours* (Ithaca, N.Y., 2002); Pauline Stafford, *Queen Emma and Queen Edith: Queenship and Women's Power in Eleventh-Century England* (Oxford, 1997).

[42] See Constance Hoffman Berman's argument for the presence of Cistercian nuns in the twelfth

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Joan Kelly's decades-old challenge regarding the differential fortunes of men and women in a given period still pertains. For instance, there have been important advances in understanding the wage differential between men and women, and energetic debates over the possibility of a female "Golden Age" for working women in the wake of the plague.[43] Clearly a number of historians are still very much committed to a version of feminist politics intent on understanding the admittedly vexed concept of "patriarchy": the role of patriarchal structures in enforcing female subordination, and the remarkable resilience of these same structures.[44]

And yet one could also answer with the resounding optimism of realized eschatology that the third age is already upon us. Scott's breakthrough article was pivotal in both heralding and anticipating its realization. But prophecy never was a precise science. History has been transformed, and the historians who pioneered in some of the many nuanced ways of approaching gender were clear catalysts in this process. There is little doubt that historians have become better readers, learning to approach their "documents" as "texts." But it is essential that the euphoria associated with our new critical acumen not overwhelm our responsibility to engage with historical women. Since the appearance of Scott's article, medieval scholarship has been attempting to maintain a healthy balance. There has been groundbreaking work focusing on topics such as family structure;[45] the relationship between marital status, lifecycle, and female autonomy;[46] patterns in marital practice;[47] indigence and class;[48]

century, *The Cistercian Evolution: The Invention of a Religious Order in Twelfth-Century Europe* (Philadelphia, 2000); Fiona J. Griffiths counters the received wisdom of an intellectual decline in convents in *The Garden of Delights: Reform and Renaissance for Women in the Twelfth Century* (Philadelphia, 2007); Shannon McSheffrey, *Gender and Heresy: Women and Men in Lollard Communities, 1420–1530* (Philadelphia, 1995).

[43] Joan Kelly, "Did Women Have a Renaissance?" in Kelly, *Women, History, and Theory: The Essays of Joan Kelly* (Chicago, 1984), 19–50. Sandy Bardsley, "Women's Work Reconsidered: Gender and Wage Differentiation in Late Medieval England," *Past and Present* 165 (November 1999): 3–29. See also Bennett, *History Matters*, 82–107. See Caroline M. Barron, "The 'Golden Age' of Women in Medieval London," in Keith Bate, ed., *Medieval Women in Southern England* (Reading, 1989), 35–58; and Judith Bennett's rebuttal, "Medieval Women, Modern Women: Across the Great Divide," in David Aers, ed., *Culture and History, 1350–1600: Essays on English Communities, Identities, and Writing* (London, 1992), 147–175. Barbara Hanawalt's *The Wealth of Wives: Women, Law, and Economy in Late Medieval London* (Oxford, 2007) likewise debunks this theory explicitly (e.g., 11, 183) and implicitly throughout.

[44] See, for example, Hanawalt, *The Wealth of Wives*, vii, 4–5, 183. For Scott's discussion of the limitations of the term for purposes of historical analysis, see "Gender," 1058–1059. See Bennett's spirited defense of the term in *History Matters*, 54–81.

[45] See, for example, David Herlihy and Christiane Klapisch-Zuber's groundbreaking *Tuscans and Their Families: A Study of the Florentine Catasto of 1427* (New Haven, Conn., 1985).

[46] See, for example, Judith M. Bennett, *Women in the Medieval Countryside: Gender and Household in Brigstock before the Plague* (Oxford, 1987); P. J. P. Goldberg, *Women, Work, and Life Cycle in a Medieval Economy: Women in York and Yorkshire, c. 1300–1520* (Oxford, 1992); Caroline M. Barron and Anne F. Sutton, eds., *Medieval London Widows, 1300–1500* (London, 1994); Bennett and Froide, *Singlewomen*.

[47] For instance, see Christiane Klapisch-Zuber, *Women, Family, and Ritual in Renaissance Italy*, trans. Lydia Cochrane (Chicago, 1985); Barbara A. Hanawalt, *Ties That Bound: Peasant Families in Medieval England* (Oxford, 1986); Martha C. Howell, *The Marriage Exchange: Property, Social Place, and Gender in Cities in the Low Countries, 1300–1550* (Chicago, 1998); and Shannon McSheffrey, *Marriage, Sex, and Civic Culture in Late Medieval London* (Philadelphia, 2006).

[48] See, for example, Sharon Farmer, "Down and Out and Female in Thirteenth-Century Paris," *American Historical Review* 103, no. 2 (April 1998): 345–372; and Farmer, *Surviving Poverty in Medieval Paris: Gender, Ideology, and the Daily Lives of the Poor* (Ithaca, N.Y., 2002).

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economic exchanges across religious barriers;[49] and women in the labor force.[50] On the religious front, we are learning more about the quotidian and devotional life of the cloister,[51] including exposure to little-known female-authored texts;[52] the idiosyncratic vocation of the anchoress;[53] the pursuit of a lay vocation in the heart of the city and its economic viability;[54] and the religious pulse of the average parishioner.[55] New perspectives on material culture have led to the gendering of both religious and domestic spheres.[56] Then there are the studies of women who were somehow beyond the pale: whether in the literal geographical sense or when factors such as a woman's age or lifelong celibacy have militated against her becoming the subject of historical inquiry.[57] Collectively, the work of social historians constitutes a vivid *tableau vivant* of women who once lived and breathed. And it is these women who animate and are animated by the various constructions of gender that loom so large in recent studies of spirituality and sexuality, creating as intimate a binary as that of body and soul. The fact that it is impossible to identify which of these fields is body and which is soul renders this coupling closer still.

Scott looked to gender as an analytical construct that would secure access to the masculine world of politics even when there were no women to be had. But because of these cumulative advances in the social and cultural history of women and gender, politics instead came to us, and were forever changed as a result. Gradually the activities of men that had traditionally constituted the stuff of "high" politics have come to seem "low" without the mantle of female coverture. Thus the vector of historical inquiry shifted away from the diplomatic and institutional in favor of a social and cultural history that not only accommodated women but seemed incom-

[49] William Chester Jordan examines the exchanges between Jewish and Christian women in *Women and Credit in Pre-Industrial and Developing Societies* (Philadelphia, 1993).

[50] Some representative studies are Martha C. Howell, *Women, Production, and Patriarchy in Late Medieval Cities* (Chicago, 1986); Judith M. Bennett, *Ale, Beer, and Brewsters in England: Women's Work in a Changing World, 1300–1600* (New York, 1996); and Barbara A. Hanawalt, ed., *Women and Work in Preindustrial Europe* (Bloomington, Ind., 1986).

[51] Among the most important works are Suzanne Fonay Wemple, *Women in Frankish Society: Marriage and the Cloister, 500–900* (Philadelphia, 1981); Penelope D. Johnson, *Equal in Monastic Profession: Religious Women in Medieval France* (Chicago, 1991); Jo Ann Kay McNamara, *Sisters in Arms: Catholic Nuns through Two Millennia* (Cambridge, Mass., 1996); Bruce L. Venarde, *Women's Monasticism and Medieval Society: Nunneries in France and England, 890–1215* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1997); Schulenburg, *Forgetful of Their Sex*; Nancy Bradley Warren, *Spiritual Economies: Female Monasticism in Later Medieval England* (Philadelphia, 2001).

[52] Gertrud Jaron Lewis, *By Women, for Women, about Women: The Sister-Books of Fourteenth-Century Germany* (Toronto, 1996). See also Hamburger and Marti, *Crown and Veil*.

[53] Anneke B. Mulder-Bakker, *Lives of the Anchoresses: The Rise of the Urban Recluse in Medieval Europe*, trans. Myra Heerspink Scholz (Philadelphia, 2005).

[54] See Walter Simons, *Cities of Ladies: Beguine Communities in the Medieval Low Countries, 1200–1565* (Philadelphia, 2001); see also Mulder-Bakker, *Lives of the Anchoresses*.

[55] Katherine L. French, *The Good Women of the Parish: Gender and Religion after the Black Death* (Philadelphia, 2008).

[56] See Roberta Gilchrist, *Gender and Material Culture: The Archaeology of Religious Women* (London, 1994); Gilchrist, *Contemplation and Action: The Other Monasticism* (London, 1995); Carola Jäggi and Uwe Lobbedey, "Church and Cloister: The Architecture of Female Monasticism in the Middle Ages," in Hamburger and Marti, *Crown and Veil*, 109–131; Sarah Rees Jones, "Women's Influence on the Design of Urban Homes," in Erler and Kowaleski, *Gendering the Master Narrative*, 190–211.

[57] See, for instance, Lisa M. Bitel, *Land of Women: Tales of Sex and Gender from Early Ireland* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1996); Konrad Eisenbichler, ed., *The Premodern Teenager: Youth in Society, 1150–1650* (Toronto, 2002); Katherine J. Lewis, Noël James Menuge, and Kim M. Phillips, eds., *Young Medieval Women* (Stroud, 1999).

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prehensible without them. History has been transformed, and new areas of historical inquiry have opened up. Scholars have begun to emphasize women's role in the preservation of collective memory; female-inflected phenomena such as gossip have become the focus of research; and the history of related subjects, such as the emotions, is under way.[58] Recent work on religious minorities and fear of miscegenation places new emphasis on women's centrality to the notions of cultural integrity.[59] Many of these areas would be inconceivable without gender analysis.

Meanwhile, traditional areas of research have been renewed. For instance, queenship is now being analyzed from the perspective of its integral role in sustaining patriarchal structures as opposed to the older construction of female empowerment as a function of stolen moments and subterfuge. Rather than regarding the queen's traditional intercessory role as merely extrajudicial, scholars have demonstrated its crucial importance in permitting the king to reverse judgment without losing face.[60] Celestial celebrities such as Catherine of Siena are being reassessed for their involvement in secular politics, even as the saintly princess, who is paradigmatically described as rejecting her royal background, is being examined for the political work she achieves on behalf of her noble kin.[61] Moreover, in the realm of the imaginary, many of the spectral enigmas such as Pope Joan, whether construed as protofeminist exemplars or sorry products of clerical misogyny, have finally been exorcised, and subsequently received last rites as myths.[62]

The first age of women's history, the "Age of the Mother," was grounded in the conviction that the act of rendering women visible would transform history altogether. Scott's influence has advanced this recuperative work by lending it greater sophistication and precision. And the fruits of this combination have served as our passport into the third age.

[58] Elisabeth van Houts, *Memory and Gender in Medieval Europe, 900–1200* (Toronto, 1999); Sandy Bardsley, *Venomous Tongues: Speech and Gender in Late Medieval England* (Philadelphia, 2006); Barbara H. Rosenwein, ed., *Anger's Past: The Social Uses of an Emotion in the Middle Ages* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1998); Alexandra Cuffel, *Gendering Disgust in Medieval Religious Polemic* (Notre Dame, Ind., 2007).

[59] See, for example, David Nirenberg,, "Conversion, Sex, and Segregation: Jews and Christians in Medieval Spain," *American Historical Review* 107, no. 4 (October 2002): 1065–1093.

[60] See Paul Strohm, *Hochon's Arrow: The Social Imagination of Fourteenth-Century Texts* (Princeton, N.J., 1992), 95–119. See also Lois Huneycutt, "Intercession and the High Medieval Queen: The Esther Topos," in Jennifer Carpenter and Sally-Beth MacLean, eds., *Power of the Weak: Studies on Medieval Women* (Urbana, Ill., 1995), 126–146; and John Carmi Parsons, ed., *Medieval Queenship* (New York, 1993).

[61] F. Thomas Luongo, *The Saintly Politics of Catherine of Siena* (Ithaca, N.Y., 2006); Gábor Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers and Blessed Princesses: Dynastic Cults in Medieval Central Europe*, trans. Éva Pálmai (Cambridge, 2002).

[62] See Alain Boureau, *The Myth of Pope Joan*, trans. Lydia G. Cochrane (Chicago, 2001); see also Boureau, *The Lord's First Night: The Myth of the Droit de Cuissage*, trans. Lydia G. Cochrane (Chicago, 1998).

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AHR Forum

Chinese History: A Useful Category of Gender Analysis

GAIL HERSHATTER and WANG ZHENG

FOR CHINA SCHOLARS, JOAN SCOTT'S WORK has been less a roadmap than a working guide on how to bushwhack and read partially obscured tracks. The specific ways in which Scott's insights might be applied depend on the terrain, as well as the eye of the explorer. "Gender" as scholarly practice, no less than "gender" as category, requires historical analysis. In recent China scholarship, gender (the concept) has proven extremely productive of new knowledge in both English- and Chinese-language writing, but "Gender" (Scott's specific working guide) has been less influential in Chinese-language scholarship than in the Anglophone world.

The scholarly trajectory of gender in Euro-American (primarily U.S.-based) historical scholarship differs from that in the People's Republic of China. These are not hermetically sealed scholarly geographies—cross-talk between these two locales, as well as with scholars in Japan, Hong Kong, Taiwan, and elsewhere, has been important, as was an earlier wave of traveling feminist theories in the early twentieth century.[1] What follows, however, is not an attempt at comprehensive coverage. Tracing out two distinct but entangled contemporary scholarly formations is complex enough, and perhaps can suggest ways in which others might further expand the conversation.

Scott's essay "Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis" was published at a propitious moment for Anglophone scholars of China. From the early 1970s on, feminist scholarship on China had devoted itself to three basic lines of inquiry. The

The authors thank Emily Honig, Susan Mann, and Marilyn Young for their speedy and insightful comments. All remaining shortcomings are our responsibility. We dedicate this essay to the memory of Elisabeth Croll, with respect and gratitude.

[1] Two important works on Chinese women's history published by scholars in Taiwan are Li Yu-ning and Zhang Yufa, eds., *Zhongguo funü shi lunwen ji* [Essays on Chinese Women's History] (Taipei, 1981), and Li Yu-ning and Zhang Yufa, eds., *Jindai Zhongguo nüquan yundong shiliao, 1842–1911* [Historical Materials on the Women's Rights Movement, 1842–1911], 2 vols. (Taipei, 1995). See also the influential journal *Jindai Zhongguo funü shi yanjiu/Research on Women in Modern Chinese History*, published since 1993 by the Institute of Modern History at Academia Sinica, Taipei. Two recent articles in that journal survey the current state of women's history scholarship in Taiwan and the PRC/Hong Kong: Yu Chien-ming, "Shi buchong lishi yihuo gaixie lishi? Jin ershiwu nianlai Taiwan diqu de jindai Zhongguo yu Taiwan funü shi yanjiu" [Supplement to History or Rewriting of History? Twenty-Five Years of Taiwan Research on Modern Chinese and Taiwanese Women's History], *Jindai Zhongguo funü shi yanjiu/Research on Women in Modern Chinese History*, no. 13 (December 2005): 65–103; Hon-ming Yip [Ye Hanming], "Funü, xingbie ji qita: Jin ershi nian Zhongguo dalu he Xianggang de jindai Zhongguo funü shi yanjiu ji qi fazhan qianjing" [Women, Gender, and Other Matters: Twenty Years of China Mainland and Hong Kong Research on Modern Chinese Women's History and Its Prospects for Development], ibid., 107–163.

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first, pioneered by anthropologist Margery Wolf, analyzed kinship practices with women at the center of the analysis. Women, Wolf pointed out, married out of their home villages, entering a marital kinship network as isolated, vulnerable, and potentially threatening strangers. Their status and emotional well-being depended on the production of children and an affective network she dubbed the "uterine family," distinct from but compatible with the patrilineal family. This beautifully elaborated insight reconfigured kinship as a profoundly gendered realm.[2]

The second project engaged historians, anthropologists, and political scientists, asking whether the twentieth-century Communist revolution had been good or bad for women. The answers were mixed. Feminist scholars praised Communist organizers from the 1920s through the 1980s for paying attention to the status of women in the family, women's need for education, and the potential of women as heroic participants in building socialism. But scholars also noted that whenever the goal of mobilizing peasants conflicted with that of liberating women, the former was given priority. Paralleling conversations on the 1960s activist left, scholars variously blamed inadequacies in Marxist theory, political exigency in Chinese Communism's formative years, or perduring sexism among male peasants and party members. A subset of this literature expressed the worry that the post-Mao reforms, which were just getting under way in the early 1980s, would roll back whatever gains women had made under Maoist socialism. Doleful book titles summarized these judgments: *The Unfinished Liberation of Chinese Women*; *Patriarchy and Socialist Revolution in China*; *Revolution Postponed*.[3]

A third project in the 1980s took advantage of new access to Chinese libraries and archives, endeavoring to "make the invisible visible." Scholars began to write women into the labor history of major coastal cities and the internal history of the nascent Communist Party, whose earlier versions had underplayed the presence of women.[4]

Collectively, this body of scholarship introduced consistent attention to women into the China field, but it left key assumptions unexamined. Like the Chinese rev-

[2] Joan W. Scott, "Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis," *American Historical Review* 91, no. 5 (December 1986): 1053–1075; Margery Wolf, *Women and the Family in Rural Taiwan* (Stanford, Calif., 1972).

[3] Important works from this body of literature, in order of publication date, include Marilyn B. Young, ed., *Women in China: Studies in Social Change and Feminism* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1973); Margery Wolf and Roxane Witke, eds., *Women in Chinese Society* (Stanford, Calif., 1975); Delia Davin, *Woman-Work: Women and the Party in Revolutionary China* (Oxford, 1976); Roxane Witke, *Comrade Chiang Ch'ing* (Boston, 1977); Elisabeth J. Croll, *Feminism and Socialism in China* (1978; repr., New York, 1980); Yi-tsi Mei Feuerwerker, *Ding Ling's Fiction: Ideology and Narrative in Modern Chinese Literature* (Cambridge, Mass., 1982); Phyllis Andors, *The Unfinished Liberation of Chinese Women, 1949–1980* (Bloomington, Ind., 1983); Kay Ann Johnson, *Women, the Family, and Peasant Revolution in China* (Chicago, 1983); Judith Stacey, *Patriarchy and Socialist Revolution in China* (Berkeley, Calif., 1983); Kazuko Ono, *Chinese Women in a Century of Revolution, 1850–1950*, ed. Joshua A. Fogel, trans. Kathryn Bernhardt et al. (Stanford, Calif., 1989); Margery Wolf, *Revolution Postponed: Women in Contemporary China* (Stanford, Calif., 1985); Emily Honig and Gail Hershatter, *Personal Voices: Chinese Women in the 1980s* (Stanford, Calif., 1988).

[4] Gail Hershatter, *The Workers of Tianjin* (Stanford, Calif., 1986); Emily Honig, *Sisters and Strangers: Women in the Shanghai Cotton Mills, 1919–1949* (Stanford, Calif., 1986); Christina K. Gilmartin, "Gender, Politics, and Patriarchy in China: The Experiences of Early Women Communists, 1920–27," in Sonia Kruks, Rayna Rapp, and Marilyn B. Young, eds., *Promissory Notes: Women in the Transition to Socialism* (New York, 1989), 82–105; Patricia Stranahan, *Yan'an Women and the Communist Party* (Berkeley, Calif., 1983).

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olutionaries who led an assault on "tradition" beginning in the early twentieth century, the new women's historians regarded imperial China as a time of unchanging subordination for women, mistaking a particular depiction of gender hierarchy in classical writings for a complete description of social practice. The footbound, cloistered, uneducated, ignorant woman had been a central figure of distress when Chinese intellectuals discussed national weakness and semicolonialism in the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Euro-American feminist scholars reversed the valence—woman became a powerful embodiment of revolutionary potential—but left the longer history intact. The focus on whether the revolution had done right by women generally stopped short of asking how gender had shaped, enabled, and limited the revolutionary process, or how it might help to enlarge historical understanding beyond a revolutionary storyline. "Add women and stir," not yet exhausted as an activity, was nevertheless at a conceptual impasse.

"Gender: A Useful Category" enlarged the project beyond women to gender and beyond a male-female binary to a broader inquiry into relationships of power. Scott's essay authorized a more capacious examination of gender's entanglement with family, labor, state-building, and national revolution, one that was emergent but not yet fully articulated in the work of Anglophone China historians. Like the U.S. historians described in Joanne Meyerowitz's essay in this forum, China historians made selective use of Scott's approach. A few began to draw on Foucault, still fewer on Derrida, but Scott's suggestions about the importance of culturally available symbols, normative concepts, politics and social institutions, and subjective identity marked an important conceptual turn, clarifying inchoate questions and suggesting productive ways of getting at them.

A key moment in articulating this expanded agenda was the 1992 conference "Engendering China: Women, Culture, and the State" at Harvard University, which brought together scholars writing in English and Chinese to consider the mischievously named project of "engendering China." The introduction to the resulting conference volume drew upon Scott's essay, commenting that "By proposing to 'engender China,' we make the claim that research on women and gender does not rest in a corner of sinological endeavors, but revises the most basic categories through which we strive to apprehend Chinese social relations, institutions, and cultural productions."[5] In the years that followed, gender-inflected studies of China in English proliferated.[6]

[5] Christina K. Gilmartin, Gail Hershatter, Lisa Rofel, and Tyrene White, eds., *Engendering China: Women, Culture, and the State* (Cambridge, Mass., 1994), 1–2.

[6] For a survey of more than 650 English-language works in history and the social sciences focusing on Chinese women in the long twentieth century alone—many of them influenced by Scott's mode of analysis—see Gail Hershatter, *Women in China's Long Twentieth Century* (Berkeley, Calif., 2007), http://repositories.cdlib.org/gaia/gaia_books/1 (accessed September 30, 2008). Interested readers should also consult Tani Barlow, "The Direction of History and Women in China," *Journal of Colonialism and Colonial History* 4, no. 1 (Spring 2003), http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/journal_of_colonialism_and_colonial_history/v004/4.1barlow.html (accessed September 30, 2008). The literature on pre-twentieth-century gender is also extremely rich, and the selection of works mentioned in this essay should be understood as emblematic rather than exhaustive. This limited survey also necessarily neglects the ways in which scholarship has changed over the two decades in question, as the use of "gender" has become more common as well as more subtle with the accretion of a substantial body of scholarship. The analysis of masculinities, an important emergent topic regrettably not included here, is ably introduced in Susan Brownell and Jeffrey Wasserstrom, eds., *Chinese Femininities, Chinese Masculinities: A Reader* (Berkeley,

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One fruitful area of inquiry is a renewed look at gender in China's longer history, in which scholars have moved away from a portrayal of the pre-twentieth-century period as an undifferentiated interval of women's oppression. Recent works have looked at the role of bodily practices and spatial arrangements in gender construction, the centrality of virtue to women's subjectivity and to statecraft, and the ways in which women's labor ensured family survival and the perpetuation of a lettered elite. Patricia Ebrey's work on women's lives in the Song (960–1279), for instance, paid attention to the production of gender distinctions through footbinding and arrangements of domestic space.[7] Christian de Pee explored how Song marriage rituals provided brides with new subject positions (daughter-in-law, wife), while giving men exclusive access to "a place in the larger community as a social subject, a Man."[8] Dorothy Ko drew explicitly on Scott's delineation of gender, emphasizing "normative concepts of gender gleaned from the Confucian classics and precepts, the key roles played by . . . kinship and education in the social construction of gender, and the subjective gender identities of seventeenth-century elite women as revealed in their own writings."[9] In later work, Ko moved to unsettle one of the most fixed emblems of women's subordination—footbinding—by exploring its significance as a woman-controlled practice that helped establish a gendered subjective identity anchored in Confucian goals, while simultaneously creating a complex erotics of concealment.[10]

Scholars of the pre-twentieth-century period also traced out the links between gender and the politics of the empire, validating Scott's insight that gender's legitimizing function is often found in its analogical use to express the relationship between ruler and ruled. Beverly Bossler argued that during the period of Mongol threat and subsequent conquest, loyal male officials were celebrated for defending their jurisdictions to the death, while women won praise for killing themselves to avoid rape or dishonor.[11] Under the Mongol Yuan dynasty, faithful widows who did not commit suicide or remarry but who remained alive to serve their in-laws and raise their husbands' heirs garnered government honors, a pattern that Susan Mann also found recurring in the next conquest dynasty, the Qing (1644–1911).[12] Katherine Carlitz explored virtue as normative concept and subjective identity in her accounts of Ming-era (1368–1644) women who took similar actions; for generations of men

Calif., 2002); the volume's introduction also surveys anthropological literature on gender in China, which is not covered extensively in this essay. On masculinities, see also the five articles in the *AHR* Forum "Gender and Manhood in Chinese History," *American Historical Review* 105, no. 5 (December 2000): 1599–1666.

[7] Patricia Buckley Ebrey, *The Inner Quarters: Marriage and the Lives of Chinese Women in the Sung Period* (Berkeley, Calif., 1993).

[8] Christian de Pee, "The Ritual and Sexual Bodies of the Groom and the Bride in Ritual Manuals of the Sung Dynasty," in Harriet T. Zurndorfer, ed., *Chinese Women in the Imperial Past: New Perspectives* (Leiden, 1999), 53–100. Other essays in that volume also put "gender" to productive use.

[9] Dorothy Ko, *Teachers of the Inner Chambers: Women and Culture in Seventeenth-Century China* (Stanford, Calif., 1994), 5. For further exploration of representations by and of women in late imperial China, see Ellen Widmer and Kang-I Sun Chang, eds., *Writing Women in Late Imperial China* (Stanford, Calif., 1997).

[10] Dorothy Ko, *Cinderella's Sisters: A Revisionist History of Footbinding* (Berkeley, Calif., 2005).

[11] Beverly Bossler, "Gender and Empire: A View from Yuan China," *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 34, no. 1 (2004): 197–223, quotations from 197 and 201.

[12] Ibid.; Susan Mann, "Widows in the Kinship, Class, and Community Structures of Qing Dynasty China," *Journal of Asian Studies* 46, no. 1 (1987): 37–56; Mann, *Precious Records: Women in China's Long Eighteenth Century* (Stanford, Calif., 1997).

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who avidly wrote and read such stories, these women became models of the loyalty that a virtuous man owed his ruler.[13] Janet Theiss argued that eighteenth-century Qing rulers, ever conscious of their status as non-Han outsiders, attempted to bureaucratize moral transformation, creating a state cult in which the chaste woman was rendered as model imperial subject.[14] Officials and elite men drew multiple connections between gendered virtue, elite status, and good government, reflected in the awards and literary encomia bestowed on virtuous women.

In dying heroically, women embodied loyalty and faithfulness. By living in a chaste, frugal, and industrious manner, they ensured the continuation of their families and the stability of the empire. Francesca Bray's *Technology and Gender* examined the building of houses, the production of cloth, and the biological and social mothering of persons, highlighting women as simultaneously products of a gender system and producers of knowledge and commodities.[15] Mann explored how women in the Qing period participated in shaping the family, the economy, and the broader culture through writing and publishing, the performance of manual labor, intense lifelong relationships with their sons, and religious practice. Mann saw an expanding eighteenth-century market for women's labor, one that increased the value of women, set off heated public debates about their role, and stimulated efforts by respectable women to mark their distinction from courtesans.[16] The millennium prior to the nineteenth century emerged in this body of scholarship as a time of both subtle and momentous change, rather than an inert precursor to revolutionary China. Scott's injunction to attend to expanded meanings of gender was important to this reconfiguration of the imperial period.

Scott's ideas have also helped scholars move away from the binary formulation of "Western impact, Chinese response" to describe the nineteenth-century years of intense Western expansion into China. This formulation was a problem not because of its components—imperialist expansion certainly had a profound impact on recent Chinese history, and China was not inert—but because of its homogenizing impulse. "The West" was not a coherent entity, "Chinese" responses were multiple, and the degree to which "the West" and "China" constituted each other in the course of these often violent and unequal contacts bears examination. In all these respects, gender has been important. Mann, examining the poems of what she calls "the talented women of the Zhang family," showed that declining literati families depended on both the literary work of such women and their household management skills to eke out survival against a background of nineteenth-century rebellion, rural unrest, and

[13] Katherine Carlitz, "Desire, Danger, and the Body: Stories of Women's Virtue in Late Ming China," in Gilmartin, Hershatter, Rofel, and White, *Engendering China*, 101–122; Carlitz, "Shrines, Governing-Class Identity, and the Cult of Widow Fidelity in Mid-Ming Jiangnan," *Journal of Asian Studies* 56, no. 3 (1997): 612–640; Carlitz, "The Daughter, the Singing-Girl, and the Seduction of Suicide," *Nan Nü: Men, Women and Gender in Early and Imperial China* 3, no. 1 (2001): 22–46. This special issue of *Nan Nü* has been reprinted as Paul S. Ropp, Paola Zamperini, and Harriot T. Zurndorfer, eds., *Passionate Women: Female Suicide in Late Imperial China* (Leiden, 2001).

[14] Janet Theiss, *Disgraceful Matters: The Politics of Chastity in Eighteenth-Century China* (Berkeley, Calif., 2004).

[15] Francesca Bray, *Technology and Gender: Fabrics of Power in Late Imperial China* (Berkeley, Calif., 1997). For an important account of how changing medical theory and practice from the Song through the Qing shaped understandings of women as powerful, dangerous, and frail, see Charlotte Furth, *A Flourishing Yin: Gender in China's Medical History, 960–1665* (Berkeley, Calif., 1999).

[16] Mann, *Precious Records*.

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growing anti-Manchu sentiment. Among the Zhang women's works are poems on maritime defense and politics.[17] Qian Nanxiu looked at women reformers in the 1890s who sought to draw upon earlier practices of women's learning to educate girls and strengthen the nation.[18] Joan Judge helped uncover the important role of Chinese women students who went abroad to study in Japan and returned to help overthrow the Qing dynasty.[19] Paola Zamperini and Catherine Yeh, working from late-nineteenth-century literary sources, described the ways in which the dress, accoutrements, and romantic liaisons of Shanghai courtesans introduced and mediated aspects of Euro-American modernity.[20]

Most Chinese intellectuals of the early twentieth century, however, told a less sanguine story about gender and the emergent nation, in which women's footbound, cloistered status was equated with ignorance, economic parasitism, and China's humiliation at the hands of more virile powers. This formulation entailed forgetting a great deal: maternal power in a generationally ordered family configuration; the vast corpus of writing about women and the smaller body of writing by women; the economic contributions of women of all classes to the welfare of their households. Nevertheless, the "discovery" of women's benighted status produced exhortations to rearrange family practices, educate women, and make them productive citizens in order to stave off complete colonization and save the nation. The "woman question" provided language, symbols, policy imperatives, individual aspirations, and visions of national modernity as well as dystopic imaginings of calamitous alternatives. These have been highlighted in recent works by Rey Chow on translation and literary production, Rebecca Karl on slavery and citizenship, Hu Ying on the New Woman, Gail Hershatter and Christian Henriot on prostitution, Tani Barlow on several generations of Chinese feminism, Christina Gilmartin on radical women in the early years of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP), Weili Ye on women students abroad in the United States, Antonia Finnane on the debate over national dress for women, Susan Glosser on urban visions of companionate domestic life, Eugenia Lean on public sympathy, gender, and the law, Madeleine Yue Dong and Louise Edwards on women's suffrage, and Bryna Goodman and Wang Zheng on urban career women.[21]

[17] Susan Mann, *The Talented Women of the Zhang Family* (Berkeley, Calif., 2007).

[18] Nanxiu Qian, "Revitalizing the Xianyuan (Worthy Ladies) Tradition: Women in the 1898 Reforms," *Modern China* 29, no. 4 (October 2003): 399–454; Nanxiu Qian, " 'Borrowing Foreign Mirrors and Candles to Illuminate Chinese Civilization': Xue Shaohui's Moral Vision in *The Biographies of Foreign Women*," in Grace S. Fong, Nanxiu Qian, and Harriet T. Zurndorfer, eds., *Beyond Tradition and Modernity: Gender, Genre, and Cosmopolitanism in Late Qing China* (Leiden, 2004), 60–101. For a useful summary of the current scholarship on women at the turn of the twentieth century, see Susan Mann's "Introduction" in the same volume, 3–11.

[19] Joan Judge, "Talent, Virtue, and the Nation: Chinese Nationalisms and Female Subjectivities in the Early Twentieth Century," *American Historical Review* 106, no. 3 (June 2001): 765–803; Judge, "Citizens or Mothers of Citizens? Gender and the Meaning of Modern Chinese Citizenship," in Merle Goldman and Elizabeth J. Perry, eds., *Changing Meanings of Citizenship in Modern China* (Cambridge, Mass., 2002), 23–43; Judge, "Between *Nei* and *Wai:* Chinese Women Students in Japan in the Early Twentieth Century," in Bryna Goodman and Wendy Larson, eds., *Gender in Motion: Divisions of Labor and Cultural Change in Late Imperial and Modern China* (Lanham, Md., 2005), 121–143; Judge, *The Precious Raft of History* (Stanford, Calif., 2008).

[20] Paola Zamperini, "On Their Dress They Wore a Body: Fashion and Identity in Late Qing Shanghai," *positions: east asia cultures critique* 11, no. 2 (Fall 2003): 301–330; Catherine Yeh, *Shanghai Love: Courtesans, Intellectuals, and Entertainment Culture, 1850–1910* (Seattle, Wash., 2006).

[21] Rey Chow, *Woman and Chinese Modernity: The Politics of Reading between East and West* (Minneapolis, Minn., 1991); Rebecca E. Karl, " 'Slavery,' Citizenship, and Gender in Late Qing China's

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Opening up the discussion of gender has dislodged what Dorothy Ko has called the May Fourth story, in which intellectuals and the CCP were said to have freed women (and China) from a backward and stagnant past. It has begun to replace this comfortable teleology with exploration of a much messier process, in which Woman often has been linked with the state and the nation rather than with Man, not always with salutary results. It has encouraged the proliferation of histories of all sorts of women, putting the Communist revolution into a richer, more contingent context. Twentieth-century Chinese history can no longer be conceptualized without Scott's formulations of "gender [a]s a constitutive element of social relationships based on perceived differences between the sexes, and gender [a]s a primary way of signifying relationships of power."

Which returns us to the history of the Chinese revolution, particularly after the People's Republic of China (PRC) was established in 1949, and the question of what can be asked about that revolution, in addition to "Was it good or bad for women?" The recent literature on contemporary China suggests at least six possibilities. First, Harriet Evans analyzed the ways in which gender discourse in the 1950s, later recirculated in the 1980s and 1990s, remained beholden to scientistic notions of immutable biological difference, with women emotionally and sexually dependent upon men as initiators.[22] Second, bodily difference notwithstanding, in PRC political discourse women were repeatedly held up as models who "could do everything that men could do." The effect of this formulation on publicly acknowledged and personally experienced gender possibilities, particularly for the period from the 1950s through the 1970s, was explored by many scholars, including Tina Mai Chen, Gail Hershatter, Emily Honig, Harriet Evans, and the contributors to the biographical anthology *Some of Us*.[23] Third, the combination of biological fixity and political malleability

Global Context," in Rebecca E. Karl and Peter Zarrow, eds., *Rethinking the 1898 Reform Period: Political and Cultural Change in Late Qing China* (Cambridge, Mass., 2002), 212–244; Hu Ying, "Naming the First 'New Woman,'" ibid., 180–211; Gail Hershatter, *Dangerous Pleasures: Prostitution and Modernity in Twentieth-Century Shanghai* (Berkeley, Calif., 1997); Christian Henriot, *Belles de Shanghai: Prostitution et sexualité en Chine aux XIXe–XXe siècles* [Beauties of Shanghai: Prostitution and Sexuality in China, Nineteenth to Twentieth Centuries] (Paris, 1997), trans. Noël Castelino as *Prostitution and Sexuality in Shanghai: A Social History, 1849–1949* (Cambridge, 2001); Tani Barlow, *The Question of Women in Chinese Feminism* (Durham, N.C., 2004); Christina Kelley Gilmartin, *Engendering the Chinese Revolution: Radical Women, Communist Politics, and Mass Movements in the 1920s* (Berkeley, Calif., 1995); Weili Ye, *Seeking Modernity in China's Name: Chinese Students in the United States, 1900–1927* (Stanford, Calif., 2001); Antonia Finnane, "What Should Chinese Women Wear? A National Problem," *Modern China* 22, no. 2 (April 1996): 99–131; Susan Glosser, *Chinese Visions of Family and State, 1915–1953* (Berkeley, Calif., 2003); Eugenia Lean, *Public Passions: The Trial of Shi Jianqiao and the Rise of Popular Sympathy in Republican China* (Berkeley, Calif., 2007); Madeleine Yue Dong, "Unofficial History and Gender Boundary Crossing in the Early Chinese Republic: Shen Peizhen and Xiaofengxian," in Goodman and Larson, *Gender in Motion*, 169–187; Louise Edwards, *Gender, Politics, and Democracy: Women's Suffrage in China* (Stanford, Calif., 2007); Bryna Goodman, "The New Woman Commits Suicide: The Press, Cultural Memory, and the New Republic," *Journal of Asian Studies* 62, no. 1 (February 2005): 67–101; Goodman, "The Vocational Woman and the Elusiveness of 'Personhood' in Early Republican China," in Goodman and Larson, *Gender in Motion*, 265–286; Wang Zheng, *Women in the Chinese Enlightenment: Oral and Textual Histories* (Berkeley, Calif., 1999).

[22] Harriet Evans, *Women and Sexuality in China: Dominant Discourses of Female Sexuality and Gender since 1949* (London, 1997). For Republican-era antecedents, see Frank Dikötter, *Sex, Culture, and Modernity in China* (Honolulu, 1995).

[23] Tina Mai Chen, "Female Icons, Feminist Iconography? Socialist Rhetoric and Women's Agency in 1950s China," *Gender and History* 15, no. 2 (August 2003): 268–295; Gail Hershatter, "Local Meanings of Gender and Work in Rural Shaanxi in the 1950s," in Barbara Entwisle and Gail E. Henderson, eds.,

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produced a gendered division of labor that remained naturalized even as its contents constantly shifted,[24] a crushing but largely invisible burden of domestic labor,[25] and generational differences about what was understood to be proper, possible, or desirable for women.[26] Fourth, attention to gender helped to illuminate important differences within the Communist Party, particularly over the degree of commitment to the May Fourth agenda of raising women's status, promoting companionate monogamous marriage, and providing access to education and employment.[27] Fifth, policies intended to alter gender relationships, such as the 1950 Marriage Law, often had unintended class effects, disadvantaging poor men and improving the position of high officials and young rural women in a marriage market that remained hypergamous.[28] More recently, gender in the post-Mao reform period was used both to articulate and to obscure emerging class tensions in an environment where the language of class is now largely shunned.[29] And sixth, gender in all the permutations that Scott defined—policies, social practices, subjectivity, symbolic language—provided a useful metric for tracking where revolutionary discourse did and did not go, and the often unexpected and unintended ways in which it transformed lives. Elisabeth Croll and Gail Hershatter, for instance, both explored rural women's sense of temporality and how it is different from that of men. Even the temporality of sustained socialist revolution, it appears, can fracture along gender lines.[30]

All the scholars cited here have benefited from improved opportunities to con-

Re-Drawing Boundaries: Work, Households, and Gender in China (Berkeley, Calif., 2000), 79–96; Emily Honig, "Iron Girls Revisited: Gender and the Politics of Work in the Cultural Revolution, 1966–76," ibid., 97–110; Honig, "Maoist Mappings of Gender: Reassessing the Red Guards," in Brownell and Wasserstrom, *Chinese Femininities, Chinese Masculinities*, 255–268; Honig, "Socialist Sex: The Cultural Revolution Revisited," *Modern China* 29, no. 2 (April 2003): 143–175; Harriet Evans, "The Language of Liberation: Gender and *Jiefang* in Early Chinese Communist Party Discourse," *Intersections*, no. 1 (September 1998), http://intersections.anu.edu.au/issue1/harriet.html (accessed September 30, 2008), reprinted in Jeffrey Wasserstrom, ed., *Twentieth-Century China: New Approaches* (London, 2003), 193–220; Evans, " 'Comrade Sisters': Gendered Bodies and Spaces," in Harriet Evans and Stephanie Donald, eds., *Picturing Power in the People's Republic of China: Posters of the Cultural Revolution* (Lanham, Md., 1999), 63–78; Xueping Zhong, Wang Zheng, and Bai Di, *Some of Us: Chinese Women Growing Up in the Mao Era* (New Brunswick, N.J., 2001).

[24] Wolf, *Revolution Postponed*; Honig and Hershatter, *Personal Voices*; Tamara Jacka, *Women's Work in Rural China: Change and Continuity in an Era of Reform* (Cambridge, 1997); Jacka, *Rural Women in Urban China: Gender, Migration, and Social Change* (Armonk, N.Y., 2005).

[25] Gail Hershatter, "Making the Visible Invisible: The Fate of 'the Private' in Revolutionary China," in Lü Fangshang, ed., *Jindai Zhongguo de funü yu guojia (1600–1950)* [Women and the Nation in Modern China (1600–1950)], vol. 1 of *Wusheng zhi sheng* [Voices amid Silence] (Taiwan, 2003), 257–281.

[26] Harriet Evans, "Past, Perfect or Imperfect: Changing Images of the Ideal Wife," in Brownell and Wasserstrom, *Chinese Femininities, Chinese Masculinities*, 335–360; Evans, *The Subject of Gender: Daughters and Mothers in Urban China* (Lanham, Md., 2008), Gail Hershatter, "Virtue at Work: Rural Shaanxi Women Remember the 1950s," in Goodman and Larson, *Gender in Motion*, 309–328; Lisa Rofel, *Other Modernities: Gendered Yearnings in China after Socialism* (Berkeley, Calif., 1999).

[27] Wang Zheng, "Dilemmas of Inside Agitators: Chinese State Feminists in 1957," *China Quarterly*, no. 188 (December 2006): 913–932.

[28] Neil J. Diamant, *Revolutionizing the Family: Politics, Love, and Divorce in Urban and Rural China, 1949–1968* (Berkeley, Calif., 2000).

[29] Wang Zheng, "Feminist Activism in Contemporary China," in You-tien Hsing and Ching Kwan Lee, eds., *Reclaiming Chinese Society: Politics of Redistribution, Recognition, and Representation* (London, forthcoming).

[30] Elisabeth Croll, *Changing Identities of Chinese Women: Rhetoric, Experience and Self-Perception in Twentieth-Century China* (Hong Kong, 1995); Gail Hershatter, "The Gender of Memory: Rural Chinese Women and the 1950s," *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 28, no. 1 (Fall 2002): 43–70.

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duct research in China and increased interchange with their Chinese counterparts. As a glance at their footnotes illustrates, Anglophone scholars write with appreciation of Chinese-language scholarship. Nevertheless, they are often more involved in the controversies, insights, and framing devices drawn from Euro-American conversations about gender, sexuality, and feminism than they are with corresponding formations in the Chinese scholarly world. In the English-speaking China field, Scott's essay intervened in an ongoing conversation, one specific to the China field but with a notable resemblance to the conversations described in the other essays in this forum.

IN CHINA, HOWEVER, THE INTRODUCTION OF GENDER arrived in a very different context, marked by a history of semicolonialism, revolutionary Marxism, and the beginnings of a massive social transformation, as the Chinese state, still operating under the direction of the Communist Party, moved into an ever-closer relationship with global capitalism. Feminism in China has had a long history as a radical vision, a term of opprobrium, and a state project, establishing a particular scholarly and political terrain into which "gender" was introduced.

It may be that "gender" has been slow to catch on as an innovative concept in Chinese-language scholarship precisely because it seems deceptively familiar to Chinese historians. Its locally specific prehistory extends well back into the imperial era, when *nan/nü* (man/woman) was recognized by male scholars as a foundational organizing principle of society. Because the Chinese family was understood to be the foundation of the state, and because women were the designated managers of the family, elite male writers historically paid attention to the role of virtuous and diligent women in the family and the importance of managing heterosexual relations. Across the twentieth century, the relationship between women and family, as well as the institution of family itself, was transformed to such an extent that classical texts on *nan/nü* are no longer guides to social practice, although they exert continuing (if uneven) ideological power. Nevertheless, *nan/nü*, understood as a historical Chinese framing of gender, has a long and extensively elaborated textual record, most of it produced by male scholars.

When male intellectuals concerned with building a nation-state began to write about women at the turn of the twentieth century, they were continuing the practice of prescribing women's conduct, this time for an enlarged role in society.[31] Scholarly interest in women flourished during the high tide of feminism and the New Culture movement of the 1920s and 1930s. Research on prominent women, marriage, sexuality, prostitution, domestic slaves, law, and other topics was produced largely by male scholars critical of "old" culture and social institutions, who understood an enlightened approach to "the woman question" as a marker of modern positionality. Constructing narratives of both "tradition" and "modernity," these scholars produced a historiography of women organized in a binary scheme of "oppressed victim" vs. "liberated modern subject." The empirical emphasis of this period, however, en-

[31] One famous text of this period is Jin Tianhe's *Nüjie zhong* [The Women's Bell] (1903; repr., Shanghai, 2003), in which the male author laid out a blueprint to create modern women in order to transform China into a strong and prosperous modern civilization.

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abled the excavation of many valuable source materials that were not always containable by this binary. Some of these works, such as Chen Dongyuan's 1928 *Zhongguo funü shenghuoshi* [A History of the Lives of Chinese Women], later became classics that are frequently cited by scholars inside and beyond China.[32]

The early years of the People's Republic produced some literary research on women's writing, including one major 1957 index of works by more than four thousand women writers—a source that later helped to inspire research by many Anglophone scholars.[33] The Mao era (1949–1976), however, when class was the dominant analytical category, saw little scholarship on women, although women workers, peasants, and revolutionaries were prominently represented in cultural production.

Beginning in the late 1970s, women of diverse backgrounds played a major role in reviving and redefining women's history. In late 1979, the All-China Women's Federation (ACWF), a mass organization under the leadership of the party, began to compile a history of the Chinese women's movement, a project originally begun in 1961 but halted by subsequent political turmoil.[34] Inaugurated with high-level political backing, the women's history project was conducted in a mass campaign style that commanded public resources and publicity.[35] This campaign produced seven volumes of source materials on Chinese women's activism since 1900, a volume on the Chinese women's movement by the ACWF, and more than two dozen provincial and municipal volumes of source materials and local histories.[36] These works

[32] Chen Dongyuan, *Zhongguo funü shenghuo shi* [A History of the Lives of Chinese Women] (Shanghai, 1928).

[33] Hu Wenkai, *Lidai funü zhuzuo kao* [A Survey of Women Writers through the Ages] (1957; repr., Shanghai, 1985).

[34] In the wake of the Cultural Revolution, as the CCP began rewriting its own history as a means to reconstitute the party, the ACWF reactivated the project of a history of the Chinese women's movement as an important way to claim women's crucial role in the history of Chinese revolution. The other two mass organizations of the CCP, the Trade Union and the Youth Association, also began history projects on workers' and youth movements respectively.

[35] Deng Yingchao, wife of the late premier Zhou Enlai and a senior party leader, lent her strong support to the project. Deng had been a renowned feminist activist in the May Fourth period before she joined the CCP in 1925. Throughout her long Communist career, she promoted women's rights and interests, either overtly or covertly. After the Cultural Revolution, Deng reached the peak of her political career, becoming a member of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the CCP, vice-president of the National People's Congress, and president of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference. An extremely cautious and tactful survivor of party politics, at this point she did not have to camouflage her strong concern for women's interests. Her support helped turn the women's history project into a nationwide campaign within the ACWF system. For a discussion of Deng's role in the early stage of the ACWF, see Wang Zheng, " 'State Feminism?' Gender and Socialist State Formation in Maoist China," *Feminist Studies* 31, no. 3 (Fall 2005): 519–551.

[36] The following volumes were edited and written by the Women's Movement History Research Office of the AWCF: *Wusi shiqi funü wenti wenxuan* [Selected Articles on Women's Problems in the May Fourth Era] (Beijing, 1981); *Zhongguo funü yundong lishi ziliao (1921–1927)* [Historical Source Materials of the Chinese Women's Movement (1921–1927)] (Beijing, 1986); *Zhongguo funü yundong lishi ziliao (1840–1918)* [Historical Source Materials of the Chinese Women's Movement (1840–1918)] (Beijing, 1991); *Zhongguo funü yundong lishi ziliao (1927–1937)* [Historical Source Materials of the Chinese Women's Movement (1927–1937)] (Beijing, 1991); *Zhongguo funü yundong lishi ziliao (1937–1945)* [Historical Source Materials of the Chinese Women's Movement (1937–1945)] (Beijing, 1991); *Zhongguo funü yundong lishi ziliao (1945–1949)* [Historical Source Materials of the Chinese Women's Movement (1945–1949)] (Beijing, 1991); and *Zhongguo funü yundongshi* [A History of the Chinese Women's Movement] (Beijing, 1989). The Chinese Women Cadres School of the ACWF also edited two volumes of source materials from 1949 to 1983, *Zhongguo funü yundong wenxuan ziliao huibian* [An Anthology of Source Materials on the Chinese Women's Movement] (Beijing, 1988). The anthology is classified as an internal document, not for public circulation.

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focused on the women's movement led by the CCP, celebrating women's contribution to the Communist revolution and demonstrating the strides that Chinese women had made toward liberation. The volumes illuminate the formation of Chinese state feminism, its relationship to the Communist revolution, and the often fraught relationship between class and gender in the revolutionary process.

The ACWF's promotion of women's history signaled the legitimacy of this new direction of historical research to scholars nationwide.[37] Between 1978 and 2000, more than a thousand articles on women's history in modern China were published, including accounts of women's diverse activism before the founding of the CCP and beyond the CCP base areas.[38] Mary Beth Norton, a U.S. historian who lectured on U.S. women's history in China in 1988, noticed that when Chinese scholars were told that she could talk about any aspect of the history of American women, they would often ask her to speak on modern American feminism. "Clearly, as far as they were concerned, that subject constituted the essence of women's history," she observed.[39] This comment reflects the high tide of production of histories of the women's movement in China at the time of Norton's visit.[40]

This focus on women's movement history soon broadened. In the 1980s, historians were eager to look for research topics that would enable them to break away from the constraints of a CCP historiography centered on class struggle, peasant rebellion, and revolution. Social history, cultural history, and women's history thus became new areas of increasing interest. In producing this work, scholars drew upon the earlier practices of historical writing from the 1920s and 1930s, identifying the roots of Mao's absolute power in the "old feudalism." Continuing the 1920s enlightenment agenda became a mainstream intellectual theme. Works originally published in the 1930s were reprinted in the 1980s, and earlier research topics were picked up by a new generation of scholars.[41] For the medieval and late imperial

[37] The published works included sections on *nüquan yundong* (the feminist movement) and prominent women activists prior to the ascendance of the CCP. Non-Communist women who had participated in a variety of women's movements were also asked to write their memoirs. Memoir writing more generally became a lively forum for political struggles in the 1980s, when the new CCP leadership began to clear the names of those wrongly accused of political crimes or errors in the Cultural Revolution and previous political campaigns. One important way for people who had been so labeled to fight against marginalization and erasure, or to stake a claim regarding their contribution to the Communist revolution or nationalist movements, was to write memoirs, autobiographies, or biographies. Many women joined this discursive struggle, which had no direct relationship to the ACWF's project.

[38] Zheng Yongfu and Lü Meiyi conducted a survey of women's history in the post-Mao era, "Funü shi" [Women's History], which is collected in Zeng Yeying, Huang Chunsheng, and Xu Xiuli, eds., *Wushi nian lai Zhongguo jindai shi yanjiu* [Research on Modern Chinese History in the Past Fifty Years] (Shanghai, 2000), 382–428. Aside from the works by the Women's Federation system, historians also produced several volumes on the history of the women's movement, including Liu Jucai, *Zhongguo jindai funü yundong shi* [A History of the Women's Movement in Modern China] (Beijing, 1989), and Lü Meiyi and Zheng Yongfu, *Zhongguo funü yundong, 1840–1921* [The Chinese Women's Movement, 1840–1921] (Zhengzhou, 1990).

[39] Mary Beth Norton, "Women's History and Feminism in China Today: A Report from Peking University," *Journal of Women's History* 1, no. 1 (Spring 1989): 109.

[40] In an excellent review essay, Hong Kong–based historian Hon-ming Yip notes the continuity of this concentration on the history of women's movements well into the twenty-first century. See Hon-ming Yip, "Funü, xingbie ji qita."

[41] A few male historians started to teach and write about women's history in the early 1980s. One of them, Rong Tiesheng, was a mentor to Lü and Zheng, co-authors of two of the very few histories of women in modern China: Lü Meiyi and Zheng Yongfu, *Zhongguo funü yundong*; and Zheng Yongfu and Lü Meiyi, *Jindai Zhongguo funü shenghuo* [A History of Women's Life in Modern China] (Zhengzhou,

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periods, research topics included marriage, family, women's economic role, property rights, women and imperial rule, women's associations, and rituals and social customs relating to women. For the period from 1840 (historians in China date modern China from the Opium War of 1839–1842) to 1949 (the year the People's Republic of China was founded), research topics included women's movements affiliated with the CCP and the Nationalist Party as well as unaffiliated movements; women's journals; women's associations; the anti-footbinding movement; women's education, political participation, economic role, and career advancement; marriage and family; prostitution; attire; and women and religion.[42]

The surge of academic interest in women's history in the 1980s was not an entirely homegrown phenomenon. Chinese scholars were extremely eager to "join the world" after decades of intellectual isolation. Scientific modernity, exemplified by the West, was advocated as holding the key to dismantling Maoism and building a democratic China. Transnational flows of ideas, people, and money constituted a prominent part of the enormous transformations then getting under way in China. Officials in the Women's Federation system and women academics embraced "women's studies" as a new area of women's activism. Since the term "women's studies" was understood variously as "research on women" (*funü yanjiu*) or "the academic study of women" (*funü xue*), anyone engaged in a research project on women could be seen as doing "women's studies," regardless of her or his specific institutional affiliation or conceptual framework. To many women scholars at universities, the English term "women's studies" connoted a new academic field that had legitimized women as the subject of scientific study in the West, an inspiring new concept that might enable them to create new intellectual and social spaces. Women scholars in Beijing, Shanghai, Zhengzhou, and other cities began to organize forums or salons to discuss feminist scholarship, often joined by feminist scholars from abroad. Courses on women's literature and women's history appeared at several universities, where women scholars also set up centers for research on women.[43]

In the 1980s, Li Xiaojiang, a literature scholar at Zhengzhou University, played a prominent role in promoting scholarship on women, obtaining funds from the Ford Foundation to host national conferences and organize publications of scholarly works. The English phrase "gendered person" was rendered by Li Xiaojiang as *youxing ren*, "sexed person." Li theorized that the configuration and evolution of a female sex precedes and transcends class in nature: "The two belong to different categories (women belong to a human ontological category, and class belongs to a social historical category)."[44] This essentialized female sex, often explained in biological

1993). The latter is a pioneering work on the social history of women. The other major work on women in modern China that departs from political history is Luo Suwen, *Nüxing yu jindai Zhongguo shehui* [Women and Modern Chinese Society] (Shanghai, 1996).

[42] See Hon-ming Yip, "Funü, xingbie ji qita," and Zheng Yongfu and Lü Meiyi, "Funü shi," for detailed discussions of major works on women in modern China. Li Yu-ning and Zhang Yufa, *Jindai Zhongguo nüquan yundong shiliao*, was a major source of material for mainland historians working on the modern period.

[43] For a detailed discussion of the rise of research on women in the 1980s, see Wang Zheng, "Research on Women in Contemporary China," in Gail Hershatter et al., eds., *Guide to Women's Studies in China* (Berkeley, Calif., 1999), 1–43.

[44] Li Xiaojiang, *Xiawa de tansuo* [The Exploration of Eve] (Zhengzhou, 1988), 32.

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terms, helped to dislodge Maoist class analysis and enable the emergence of "woman" as a legitimate subject of research. Li edited an interdisciplinary series, including several volumes on Chinese women's history that examined women and marriage in ancient times, concepts of women in early China, women's movements before the rise of the CCP, and the transformation of women's lives in modern China.[45]

Although historians in the post-Mao era have consciously explored new ways of doing history, it is never easy to start anew conceptually.[46] For historians trained in Chinese "traditional" historiography—that is, empirical research plus Marxist historical materialism—it has been difficult to maintain a critical distance from deeply entrenched concepts such as linear progress, stage theory, scientific truth and objectivity, and the basic laws of historical development.[47] Historian Yang Nianqun identifies an emphasis on empiricism, a foundational Marxist political economics, and a dominant framework of modernity as conceptual constraints that currently affect many Chinese historians.[48] Like mainstream historians, women's history scholars have found it difficult to depart from this dominant paradigm that provided "a model of 'from oppression to liberation.'"[49]

IT WAS IN THE PROCESS OF PREPARING for the Fourth UN Conference on Women in 1995 that women scholars in China experienced a significant "gender turn," shifting from the 1980s emphasis on essentialized sex to an enthusiastic exploration of "gender analysis." International funding agencies such as the Ford Foundation increased

[45] The series includes the following works on women's history: Zheng Huisheng, *Shanggu huaxia funü yu hunyin* [Chinese Women and Marriage in Antiquity] (Zhengzhou, 1988); Du Fangqin, *Nüxing guannian de yanbian* [Transformations of the Concept of Women] (Zhengzhou, 1988); Lü Meiyi and Zheng Yongfu, *Zhongguo funü yundong*; and Zheng Yongfu and Lü Meiyi, *Jindai Zhongguo funü shenghuo*. In the early 1990s, Li Xiaojiang also started a large oral history project and compiled a four-volume series of women's life stories collected by women scholars in different parts of China. Li Xiaojiang, ed., *20 shiji Zhongguo: Funü koushu shi congshu* [Twentieth-Century China: A Series of Women's Oral Histories], vol. 1: *Rang nüren ziji shuohua: Wenhua xunzong* [Let Women Themselves Talk: Cultural Diversity]; vol. 2: *Rang nüren ziji shuohua: Minzu xushi* [Let Women Themselves Talk: Ethnic Stories]; vol. 3: *Rang nüren ziji shuohua: Qinli zhanzheng* [Let Women Themselves Talk: War Experiences]; and vol. 4: *Rang nüren ziji shuohua: Duli de licheng* [Let Women Themselves Talk: The Road to Independence] (Beijing, 2003).

[46] At a workshop on women's and gender history in 2000, Gao Shiyu highlighted the continuing intellectual constraints on mainstream Chinese historians: "Empirical historiography as the basis, plus a Marxist and Leninist framework, has formed a fixed paradigm that has become a new norm that historians have followed. If you don't write history this way, editors will not accept your work, as they will not consider it academic." Gao Shiyu, "Funü shi: Dui chuantong shixue de jiejian yu chaoyue" [Women's History: Learning from and Transcending the Traditional Historiography], in Du Fangqin, ed., "Yinru shehui xingbie, shixue fazhan xin qushi" [Introducing Gender: New Trends in Historiography] (unpublished conference proceedings, 2000).

[47] See debates and discussions at faculty training workshops in 1999 and 2000 recorded in two volumes compiled as unpublished conference proceedings: Cai Yiping, Wang Zheng, and Du Fangqin, eds., "Fu lishi yanjiu yi shehui xingbie" [Engendering the Study of History] (1999); and Du Fangqin, "Yinru shehui xingbie."

[48] Yang Nianqun, "Meiguo Zhongguo xue yanjiu de fanshi zhuanbian yu Zhongguo shi yanjiu de xianshi chujing" [The Paradigm Shift in China Studies in the U.S. and the Current State of Chinese History], *Qingshi yanjiu* [Studies in Qing History], no. 4 (November 2000): 65–76.

[49] Du Fangqin, "Cong shehui xingbie shijiao yanjiu Zhongguo lishi: Geren jingyan" [Studying Chinese History from a Gender Perspective: A Personal Experience], in Du Fangqin, ed., *Funü xue he funü shi de bentu tansuo* [Local Exploration of Women's Studies and Women's History] (Tianjin, 2002), 183–199.

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their support of Chinese feminists' participation in international conferences, as well as collaborative research and activist projects on women and gender, enabling large numbers of women scholars in China to interact with feminists outside China. At the "Engendering China" conference at Harvard in 1992, a group of renowned PRC scholars met with feminist scholars from the United States, Canada, England, and a number of other nations, as well as Chinese feminist scholars in the U.S.

This first gathering of women scholars from multiple locations, however, did not eliminate conceptual chasms, including the central one of "gender." The U.S. conference organizers were clear about their ambition to engender the field of Chinese studies and, with their empirical research on China, to critique universalizing tendencies in feminist theory. The PRC conference participants had published on a range of topics relating to women, but they were largely unaware of the feminist concept of gender. Prior to this point, the term "gender" may well have been used when English-speaking feminist scholars lectured at Chinese universities. But the Chinese translation of "gender," *xingbie*, either did not catch scholarly attention or generated ambiguous understandings. *Xingbie* is a modern Chinese word for "sex" that appears in household registration pamphlets and on many forms. People think that they know what *xingbie* is. At the conference, not surprisingly, much was lost in translation, beginning with the conference title itself. *Zhongguo zhi xingbie guannian*, as it was rendered in Chinese, meant "The Concept of Sex in China." The meaning of "Engendering China," and by implication the feminist agenda of the conference organizers, were basically opaque to the PRC participants.

The conference, however, brought together two groups of Chinese women scholars interested in feminist scholarship: those based in China and those in diaspora. The latter were members of the Chinese Society for Women's Studies (CSWS), founded in 1989 by PRC women pursuing graduate study in the United States. The two groups of women planned their first collaboration, a two-week workshop in China, in the summer of 1993, at which members of the CSWS called the attention of the participants to the feminist concept "gender," translating the term as *shehui xingbie* (social sex) to highlight its difference from the commonly used term *xingbie* (sex).[50]

The CSWS subsequently produced several volumes introducing feminist scholarship to Chinese readers. Joan Scott's "Gender" was quoted in all three Chinese texts produced by the CSWS in 1995, and one gave a detailed summary of Scott's definition of gender and her arguments.[51] In 1997, a full translation of the essay appeared in a volume of translated feminist texts titled *Women: The Longest Revolution*, selected by Lin Chun, a CSWS member.[52] In 1998, the CSWS collectively

[50] This workshop on "Chinese Women and Development—Status, Health, and Employment" was hosted by the Center for Women's Studies at Tianjin Normal University, and was funded by the Ford Foundation. Six members of the CSWS joined more than one hundred women scholars from different parts of China, many of them key players in the emergent field of women's studies or renowned scholars on women's issues.

[51] Sharon K. Hom and Xin Chunying, eds., *English-Chinese Lexicon of Women and Law* (Beijing, 1995); Bao Xiaolan, ed., *Xifang nüxing zhuyi yanjiu pingjie* [An Introduction to Western Feminist Studies] (Beijing, 1995); Wang Zheng, *Nüxing de jueqi: Dangdai Meiguo nüquan yundong* [The Rise of Women: The Contemporary Feminist Movement in the United States] (Beijing, 1995).

[52] Li Yinhe, Lin Chun, and Tan Shen, eds., *Funü: Zui manchang de geming* [Women: The Longest Revolution] (Beijing, 1997).

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produced a volume of translations, *Selected Works on Gender Studies*, which aimed to introduce the interdisciplinary field of women's and gender studies.[53] Included in this volume were Gayle Rubin's theorization of the "sex/gender" system and Joan Scott's conceptualization of "difference."

The question of which translated concepts will gain traction is a complicated issue determined by specific local dynamics. Of the many feminist theoretical concepts introduced to China by the CSWS, perhaps Maxine Molyneux's formulation of practical gender interest and strategic gender interest has the widest circulation, because many Chinese feminist scholars have been working on gender and development projects sponsored by international donors.[54] But this translated feminist concept took on local meaning through its use by a viable feminist movement seeking to intervene in the process of China's development. Equipped with a UN mandate to "mainstream gender" after 1995, feminists within and outside the Women's Federation system organized gender training workshops all over the country, pursuing both strategic and practical gender interests and widely circulating terms such as "mainstream gender," "gender analysis," "gender perspective," and "gender sensitivity" among policymakers, government officials, and participants in development projects.

Since the early 1990s, China has witnessed a drastic paradigm shift: from a dominant class analysis that erased gender relations, to the rise of gender as a legitimate category of analysis and a simultaneous eclipse of class analysis. By the time of the "gender turn," the Chinese Communist Party, with the support of a rising educated elite, had abandoned "class" as a category of analysis in the process of accelerating privatization and a capitalist economy. For feminists in the 1990s, "gender" became an empowering concept that provided them with a tool to critique hierarchical power relations without having to resort to Marxist or Maoist class analysis. Socialist practices and the discourse of equality between men and women, with all its flaws and inadequacies, had powerfully shaped the subjectivity of the urban educated women who constituted the main force of the post-Mao feminist movement. Many were keenly aware of the paucity of analytical tools when confronted with women's problems in a market economy. In this context, embracing "gender" expressed both a feminist attempt to promote the value of social justice against the resurgent ideology of Social Darwinism in the capitalist economy, and a feminist evasion of more sensitive issues such as class in the current context of political control.

Chinese academia has been slow to embrace gender as a useful category of analysis. This academic "backwardness" has been addressed to some extent since 1999, with important initiatives to support women's and gender studies curriculum development by the Ford Foundation, the Henry Luce Foundation, Oxfam, and the Lingnan Foundation.[55] With these crucial resources, feminist academics inside and

[53] Wang Zheng and Du Fangqin, eds., *Shehui xingbie yanjiu xuanyi* [Selected Works on Gender Studies] (Beijing, 1998).

[54] The concept entered circulation in China through Caroline O. N. Moser's article "Gender Planning in the Third World: Meeting Practical and Strategic Needs," *World Development*, no. 17 (November 1989): 1799–1825, translated in Wang Zheng and Du Fangqin, *Shehui xingbie yanjiu xuanyi*.

[55] The Ford Foundation's decision to sponsor a large feminist academic project was not made suddenly or in isolation. Feminists inside and outside China had worked closely for years to convince the Ford Foundation of the importance of women's and gender studies curriculum development in China.

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outside China have collaborated to run faculty training workshops, publish teaching materials, translate feminist scholarship, create courses on women and gender, organize conferences, and set up graduate programs on gender studies.

While gender has been used as a central category in recent monographs in sociology, literature, education, international relations, anthropology, and public policy, historical studies have been slower to emerge.[56] Research and publications on contemporary topics are more likely to attract funding from the government and international foundations, and lack of publication funding has meant that historical monographs on women's history are few.[57] Nor has publishing articles on women's history been easy; most have appeared in minor university journals.[58]

Still, feminist promotion of gender history has begun to make visible inroads in the historical discipline. Feminist historians compiled *Women and Gender in Chinese History*, the first collective attempt by Chinese historians to explore historical subjects from a gender perspective.[59] In 2004, the academic journal *Shixue lilun yanjiu* [Research on Historiography] created a special forum on women's and gender history, in which interested historians explore ways to apply Western feminist concepts to the study of Chinese history. They often express a sense of perplexity in this exploration, suggestive of the complexities involved in a major paradigm shift in the field of history in China.[60]

The heritage of women's history in China legitimizes women as the subject of historical research without in any way requiring a feminist critical stance. Thus, viewing women's history as a feminist project is not an automatic move for Chinese historians of women's history. As a 2006 article puts it, historians' views of women's history fall roughly into two groups: one holding that any historical research on the subject of women is women's history, and a second arguing that only historical research involving feminist perspectives and positions is women's history.[61] Those in the first group characterize a non-feminist women's history with male scholarly participation as a unique characteristic of Chinese women's history that marks a

The unsuccessful earlier attempts in this regard affected the orientation of the CSWS in the 1990s and made it focus more on activism in gender and development.

[56] Several important studies on gendered historical topics have been published by scholars from religious studies, anthropology, literature, and sociology. See, for instance, Shui Jingjun and Maria Jaschok, *Zhongguo qingzhen nüsi shi* [A History of Muslim Women's Mosques in China] (Beijing, 2002); Xia Xiaohong, *Wan Qing nüxing yu jindai Zhongguo* [Women in the Late Qing Dynasty and Modern China] (Beijing, 2004); Huang Yufu, *Jingju, Qiao he Zhongguo de xingbie guanxi (1902–1937)* [Chinese Gender Relations as Seen through Qiao in Peking Opera (1902–1937)] (Beijing, 1998).

[57] Major works on women's history in premodern China include Gao Shiyu, *Tangdai funü* [Women in the Tang Dynasty] (Xian, 1988), and Ding Yizhuang, *Manzu de funü shenghuo yu hunyin zhidu yanjiu* [Manchu Women's Lives and Marriage Institutions] (Beijing, 1999).

[58] According to Gao Shiyu, a historian of women in medieval China and a former editor of the prestigious journal *Lishi yanjiu* [Historical Research], until 1998 the journal had never published on women's history. From 1998 to 2000, when she was editor, the journal published four articles on women.

[59] Du Fangqin and Wang Zheng, eds., *Zhongguo lishi zhong de funü yu xingbie* [Women and Gender in Chinese History] (Tianjin, 2004).

[60] Gao Shiyu, in her discussion titled "Development and Perplexity," maps out major intellectual concerns of Chinese historians facing unfamiliar theories from the West. *Shixue lilun yanjiu* [Research on Historiography], no. 3 (2004): 97–107.

[61] Lin Xiaofang, "Shehui xingbie lilun yu Zhongguo funü shi yanjiu" [Gender Theory and Chinese Women's History], *Gannan shifan xueyuan xuebao* [Journal of Gannan Teachers College], no. 2 (2006): 73–76.

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positive difference from Western feminist scholarship by exemplifying a "harmonious" relationship between men and women in China.[62] The move to identify or retain "Chinese characteristics" expresses a nationalistic desire to resist the onslaught of Western theories and paradigms, and/or a determination to engage in theoretical exploration of unique features of Chinese history that may revise and question Western theories.

The prominent role of men in elaborating the classical gender formation of *nan/nü* and in inaugurating the early-twentieth-century writing of Chinese women's history must be considered in theorizing gender as a locally useful category of historical analysis. More time and exploration may permit the emergence of a clearer delineation of differences between the historical elaboration of sex/gender in Chinese male scholarly writings on *nan/nü* and the contemporary Western feminist theory of sex/gender. Anglophone historians of premodern China have already begun to pursue this line of inquiry. Their works demonstrate that feminist gender theory *is* novel in suggesting different and critical ways to study an ancient topic in Chinese scholarship—the *nan/nü* relationship.

Because the birth of women's history in modern China was entangled in nationalist discourse in which women's liberation figured prominently as a sign of modernity, it is a tricky business to launch a critique of nationalism without compromising the legitimacy of both women's history and women's liberation in mainstream discourse. It is exactly in this realm, however, that gender holds significant potential in the field of Chinese history. Global circulation of feminist scholarship could well enable the emergence of a critical examination of the construction of nationalism in modern China by placing male elites under the analytical lens of gender. Critical reflections and explorations of the history of Chinese feminism and its relationship with nationalism have already appeared.[63] Gender analysis has the potential to be used by Chinese feminists to redefine and remake both women's history and women's liberation, an intellectual project that will challenge still-dominant narratives of modern Chinese history centered on party history, nationalism, and modernity.[64]

An ongoing issue is translation. Past efforts to translate feminist theories did not address the need to provide concrete examples of work in gender history. The recent availability in Chinese of Anglophone historical works that use gender as a key analytical category may facilitate intellectual exploration and development of new his-

[62] Li Xiaojiang is the most vocal scholarly advocate of this view. Li Xiaojiang, "Wushinian, women zoudao nali?" [How Far Have We Come in Fifty Years?], *Zhejiang xuekan* [Zhejiang Academic Journal] 1 (2000): 59–65; Li Xiaojiang, ed., *Wenhua, jiaoyu yu xingbie* [Culture, Education, and Sex] (Nanjing, 2002).

[63] See Wang Zheng, Lydia Liu, and Dorothy Ko, "Cong 'nüjie zhong' dao 'nanjie zhong': Nanxing zhuti, guozu zhuyi yu xiandaixing" [From 'Women's Bell' to 'Men's Bell': Male Subjectivity, Nationalism, and Modernity], in *Shehui xingbie* [Gender Studies], vol. 2, ed. Du Fangqin and Wang Zheng (Tianjin, 2004), 32–58; Song Shaopeng, "Minzu zhuyi yu nüquan zhuyi: Jindai minzu guojia guannian de jiangou yu nüxing geti guomin shenfen de queli" [Nationalism and Feminism: The Construction of the Concept of a Modern Nation-State and the Establishment of the Identity of Female Citizen], in *Shehui xingbie* [Gender Studies], vol. 3, ed. Du Fangqin (Tianjin, 2006), 125–151. A recent special issue of the journal *Gender and History* titled *Translating Feminisms in China*, edited by Dorothy Ko and Wang Zheng, also presents critical examinations of both nationalism and feminism in Chinese history; *Gender and History* 18, no. 3 (November 2006).

[64] Hon-ming Yip, in "Funü, xingbie ji qita," astutely assesses both the current state of efforts to develop gender history and the potential of gender history to transform the large field of Chinese history.

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toriography on the part of Chinese historians.[65] Gendered history written in China, however, will have its own contours, and we should expect it not only to pose challenges to mainstream historical practice in China, but also to move beyond and offer critical reflections on the China scholarship already engendered by Joan Scott's work.

[65] A recent series of translated works on women and gender in the China field, edited by Beijing University literature professor Liu Dong, has helped to make Anglophone feminist historical work more widely available to historians in China. Gender historians at the University of Michigan are collaborating with historians at Fudan University on setting up a Ph.D. program with a focus on gender history.

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AHR Forum
Unanswered Questions

JOAN W. SCOTT

WHEN I SUBMITTED MY "GENDER" ARTICLE to the *AHR* in 1986, its title was "Is Gender a Useful Category of Historical Analysis?" The editors made me turn the question into a statement because, they said, interrogatives were not allowed in article titles. Dutifully, I complied with this convention, though I thought the revision eliminated a certain rhetorical punch. Some twenty years later, the articles prepared for this forum seem to answer the question in the affirmative, and they do so with a rich variety of examples from recent historical writing. At the same time, they suggest that questions about gender are never completely answered; indeed, I want to insist that the term *gender* is useful only as a question.

As I read the articles, I couldn't help remembering the scowls that greeted the initial presentation of the paper, at a seminar at the Institute for Advanced Study in the fall of 1985. The Princeton historians had turned out to hear my talk—my first as a newly appointed member of the Institute faculty—and they were, to a man, appalled. Arms folded tightly across their chests, they drew themselves farther and farther back in their chairs and then left without a word. Later, some of their comments were reported back to me by friendly colleagues. Philosophy, not history, opined Lawrence Stone to all who would listen. I was spared the more negative reactions, though they were evident in that resounding silence. The establishment was clearly ready neither for gender nor for the poststructuralist theory that helped me formulate my ideas. I was shaken, but undaunted, since thinking in these new ways was far too interesting to send me back to orthodox history.

At the meetings of the American Historical Association in December, the paper got an entirely different reaction: critical but engaged responses from feminists, historians of women, and the growing band of our supporters. I was giving voice to—not inventing—some of the ideas and questions that the feminist movement had posed, looking for ways to turn political questions into historical ones. The paper was an amalgam of two sets of influences, one coming from history, the other from literature. The history side was the product of those amazing early Berkshire Conferences on the History of Women in the 1970s. It was there that I first heard mention of gender, in a talk by Natalie Zemon Davis, who reminded us that "women" were always defined in some relation to men. "Our goal," she said, "is to understand the significance of the *sexes*, of gender groups in the historical past. Our goal is to discover the range in sex roles and in sexual symbolism in different societies and periods, to find out what meanings they had and how they functioned to maintain the

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social order or to promote change."[1] The literary side was a result of my time at Brown University in the early 1980s, working with feminist poststructuralist and psychoanalytic critics, among them Elizabeth Weed, Naomi Schor, Mary Anne Doane, and Ellen Rooney. They taught me how to think about the productive operations of difference, to understand that differences of sex were not set by nature but were established through language, and to analyze language as a volatile, mutable system whose meanings could never finally be secured.

I think it's right that the authors of the forum pieces remind us that I was not the origin of the gender concept, even among historians, but that my paper was a site where several lines of thought converged. "Joan Scott" is not, from this perspective, a person, but a placeholder, a representative for a collective endeavor of which I (Joan Scott the person) was only a part. That's probably why the article has endured: it had a familiar resonance, even for readers who did not agree with all of its arguments and who had no intention of following its suggestions. It set out some terms that we had to contend with, some theories that had to be engaged, and above all, it captured something of the excitement of those times: a way beyond ideas that had become stifling or stale, a set of openings to knowledge that we had yet to produce. "Gender" is about asking historical questions; it is not a programmatic or methodological treatise. It is above all an invitation to think critically about how the meanings of sexed bodies are produced, deployed, and changed; that, finally, is what accounts for its longevity.

The articles prepared for this forum testify to the myriad uses of the concept of gender as a way of interrogating history. They insist on the importance of context—temporal, geographic, political, ideological—for understanding the analyses it has enabled. No simple characterization can be based on the work they report. It's not a matter of how historians in and of different countries and eras rightly or wrongly applied some original idea of gender. As Heidi Tinsman puts it, "what constitutes useful categories of feminist analysis is a matter of geopolitics rather than epistemological catch-up." Another way to say this is that questions about gender can be asked and answered only in specific contexts. It is evident from these articles that gender is not a universally applicable concept with fixed parameters or referents; like "class," it is most useful when it points the way to specific investigations of meanings, whether of social relationships or rhetorical proclamations. There is no "language of gender" whose import can be extracted from its usages in order to measure its impact in good social scientific fashion. There are only diverse usages whose meanings must be read. And all that these readings can offer is deeper insight into the history we study, whatever its period or topic.

One of the striking things about these articles is their emphasis on the ways historians have looked at ideas about men and women, masculine and feminine, in order to illuminate politics writ large: war, empire, states, nations and nationalism, racism, revolution, resistance, communism and post-communism, party conflict, economic development. Various representations of masculinity and femininity have been invoked to mobilize constituencies, to tar enemies, to put groups and individuals in their place. Gender *is*, after all, "a primary way of signifying power." Two decades

[1] Natalie Zemon Davis, "'Women's History' in Transition: The European Case," *Feminist Studies* 3, no. 3–4 (1976): 90.

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of research has made it abundantly clear that (to quote "Joan Scott") "gender constructs politics."

But oddly, or perhaps predictably, there are fewer questions posed about the ways in which "politics constructs gender," about the changing meanings of "women" (and "men"), and about the ways they are articulated by and through other concepts that seemingly have nothing to do with sex (such as war, race, citizen, reason, spirituality, nature, or the universal). Attention to gender, which emanated from the field of women's history, has not so much historicized "women" as it has worked with a fixed meaning for the category, taking the physical commonality of females as a synonym for a collective entity designated "women." Gender is said to be about the relationship between women and men, assumed to be not only hierarchical, but invariably so; the particular terms used to depict the relationship are seemingly less important than the asymmetry itself. And despite much innovative research on sexuality, gender—at least in historical discourse—most often refers to sexual difference, to an enduring male/female opposition, a normatively (if not distinctly biological) heterosexual coupling, even when homosexuality is the topic being addressed. It's not that women aren't given a history; of course they are. Ideas about them are said to change, as do their experiences; these vary in time and by class, ethnicity, culture, religion, and geography. The bountiful literature on women's social history is full of important distinctions that insist on the particularity of working or peasant or lesbian or medieval or Jewish or African American or Muslim or Latino or Eastern European women. But however much they attend to the quotidian lives of diverse populations, these differences take for granted an "underlying continuity of real women above whose constant bodies changing aerial descriptions dance."[2] Paradoxically, the history of women has kept "women" outside history. And the result is that "women" as a natural phenomenon is reinscribed, even as we assert that women are discursively constructed. To put it another way, the sex/gender binary, which defined gender as the social assignment of meaning to biologically given sex differences, remains in place despite a generation of scholarship aimed at deconstructing that opposition. (The deconstruction insisted that sex, like gender, had to be understood as a system of attributed meaning. Neither was about nature; both were products of culture. Sex was not a transparent phenomenon; it acquired its natural status retrospectively, as justification for the assignment of gender roles.) As long as "women" continue to "form a passive backdrop to changing conceptions of gender," our history will rest on a biological foundation that feminists—theoretically, at least—want to contest.[3]

This was the argument, already two decades ago, of Denise Riley's *"Am I That Name?" Feminism and the Category of "Women" in History*. It was published in 1988, the same year as my *Gender and the Politics of History*.[4] The two books share a similar concern with feminism and history; both turn to poststructuralist theory for help; each speaks to the other. While my book addresses the question of gender as an analytic category, Riley's takes on the task of treating "women" in the same way. She

[2] Denise Riley, *"Am I That Name?" Feminism and the Category of "Women" in History* (London, 1988), 7.

[3] Ibid.

[4] Joan Wallach Scott, *Gender and the Politics of History* (1988; 2nd ed., New York, 1999).

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offers a Foucauldian genealogy of "women"—a term more often treated as a transparent description. Even as she distinguishes "female persons" from "women," her reading has often been mistaken for "a sort of Woman through the Ages approach"—something she specifically wanted to avoid.[5] That this has been the case is a measure of how resistant history as a discipline has been to Foucault's radical epistemological challenge, and also how well-disciplined history's seemingly rebellious daughters have turned out to be.

It is worth considering Riley's arguments a bit more because they illustrate a way to implement "Joan Scott's" exhortation to ask not only how gender constructs politics, but how politics constructs gender. Politics, in that phrase, stands for more than power relations; it refers to the "external" influences on conceptions of women and men that apparently have nothing to do with them—notions of the soul or the universal or the human, for example, or of reason, imagination, science, and desire. Asking how "women" are defined in relation to ideas such as these is, for me, part of the unfinished business of the transformation in historical consciousness that the "Gender" article has come to signify.

Riley's book is addressed to feminists, and to the difficulty posed for us by the need at once to insist on and to refuse the identity of "women." This, she maintains, is not a liability, but the condition that gives rise to feminism. "'Women' is indeed an unstable category . . . this instability has a historical foundation, and . . . feminism is the site of the systematic fighting-out of that instability." It is not only that there are different kinds of women assembled under the term, but also that the collective identity means different things at different times. Even for individuals, one is not always conscious of "being a woman." The identity, Riley says, does not pervade us and so is "inconstant, and can't provide an ontological foundation." "The body" doesn't provide that foundation either, since it is itself a concept that must be "read in relation to whatever else supports and surrounds it." "For all its corporeality," Riley points out, the body is not "an originating point nor yet a terminus; it is a result or an effect."[6]

The absence of an ontological foundation might suggest the futility of women's history; if there are no women, some of her critics have complained, how can there be women's history, or for that matter, feminism?[7] In fact, Riley makes "women" the object of historical investigation. She asks when the category comes under discussion and in what terms, and she points to the ways in which, at different historical moments, there have been different kinds of openings created for feminist claims. "The arrangements of people under the banners of 'men' or 'women' are enmeshed in the histories of other concepts too, including those of 'the social' and 'the body.' And that has profound repercussions for feminism."[8] Riley shows how, in early modern Europe, notions of the androgynous soul defined one kind of relation of "women" to humanity, whereas by the eighteenth century, attention to nature and the body led to an increasing emphasis on women's sexuality. As "the social" found a place between "the domestic" and "the political" in the nineteenth century, it "established

[5] Riley, *"Am I That Name?"* 7.
[6] Ibid., 5, 2, 104, 102.
[7] See, for example, Tania Modleski, *Feminism without Women: Culture and Criticism in a "Postfeminist" Age* (New York, 1991).
[8] Riley, *"Am I That Name?"* 7.

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'women' as a new kind of sociological collectivity."[9] And, of course, until individuals were defined as political subjects, there could be no claim for citizenship or *political* rights for women. It's not just that women have different kinds of possibilities in their lives, but that "women" is something different in each of these moments. There is no essence of womanhood (or of manhood) to provide a stable subject for our histories; there are only successive iterations of a word that doesn't have a fixed referent and so doesn't mean the same thing.

DYAN ELLIOTT'S ESSAY DEMONSTRATES THIS as she reviews the work of Caroline Bynum and others on the gender fluidity of medieval spirituality: Christ as mother; viragos designated honorary men; lay brethren casting themselves in the image of female mystics. Medical discourse, she tells us, insisted that biological factors undermined "the stability of sexual binaries . . . the medieval categories male and female emerge as extremely fragile constructs, mere accidents of heat and moisture, ever-threatening to collapse into one another." Even if this led theologians to insist more firmly on maintaining male/female distinctions in other arenas, one sees that the distinctions are not the same as those offered by today's church fathers. And objections to those distinctions, however eloquent and courageous, could not have been the same as those that feminists would make today, despite Elliott's claim that their fragility is "in eerie anticipation of contemporary science's destabilization of sex as presented by writers such as Anne Fausto-Sterling." "Women" in the Middle Ages were not "women" as we think of them today; and this has important implications for the way we study women and write their history. It is not enough to illuminate material life in all its facets. Social histories of family structure or religious institutions or economic exchange are incomplete without attention to the question of *how* the collectivity named "women" comes into existence, who counts as included in that collectivity, and when its nature and behavior become a matter of concern.

It is interesting that there is a great deal of attention paid to the difficulty of translating the term *gender* into languages in which it doesn't exist, but there's no apparent problem with *women*. That's because gender is taken to be a conceptual category, while *women* is thought to be a descriptive term. Yet what "Gender" (the article) actually does is posit "women" and "men" as conceptual categories. It refuses the idea that those two words transparently describe enduring objects (or bodies) and instead asks how those bodies are thought. It assumes, with Foucault, that bodies are "totally imprinted by history" and that "nothing in man, not even his body, is sufficiently stable to serve as the basis for self-recognition or for understanding other men."[10] Riley elaborates this point for the admittedly different bodies of women:

> we would need to maintain that women only sometimes live in the flesh distinctively of women, as it were, and this is a function of historical categorisations as well as of an individual daily phenomenology. To say that is by no means to deny that because of the cyclical aspects of female physiology, there may be a greater overall degree of slipping in and out of the consciousness of the body for many women. But even this will always be subject to different

[9] Ibid., 50.

[10] Michel Foucault, "Nietzsche, Genealogy, History," in Donald F. Bouchard and Sherry Simon, eds. and trans., *Language, Counter-Memory, Practice: Selected Essays and Interviews* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1977), 148.

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interpretations, and nothing more radical than the facts of intermittent physiology really holds the bodies of women together . . . The body becomes visible as a body, and as a female body, only under some particular gaze—including that of politics.[11]

It was feminist politics that brought "women" into view as an object of historical investigation. But, ironically, the project of creating a subject for contemporary feminism (an active, protesting collectivity, asserting their rights, seeking emancipation from oppression) tended to blur the lines of difference, whether temporal, cultural, or social. "Gender" was meant to historicize and relativize women and to conceive of them as integral to history, not simply as agents, but as "women." The point was that the current subject of feminism (our collectivity) could not be projected retrospectively or laterally. Global feminism is an imaginary unity, a political vision, not an entity that preexists its articulation. "Gender" suggested that we had to problematize the very notion of how we came to think of ourselves in the way we did. It was not self-evident that women were conscious of themselves as "women," not at all clear that "our bodies" defined "ourselves." There was no "false consciousness" about what it meant to be a woman (even if consciousness-raising was a mobilizing technique). Rather, there were appeals to specific interests and experiences that, at a particular moment, got organized under the sign of "women." The questions were, how and when did that happen, and under what conditions? To understand feminism (in its current and its historical manifestations), one had to think of it as a strategic intervention in a set of discourses that were not restricted to "women."

Although there was a great deal of concern voiced about whether *gender*, added to or substituted for *women* (in book titles and course curricula), would weaken feminist claims, in fact *gender* signaled a deepening of the commitment to the history both of women and of "women." I am arguing that no history of women is complete without a history of "women." "Gender" was a call to disrupt the powerful pull of biology by opening every aspect of sexed identity to interrogation, including the question of whether or not male/female, masculine/feminine was the contrast being invoked. Riley reminds us that the insistence on the fixity of that opposition (on the essential "truth" of sexual difference) is itself the product of a certain history, and not one we should consider inviolate. Indeed, the tripartite hierarchies invoked by Dyan Elliott suggest that there were (and are) other terms than binary ones for thinking about how gender and sexuality have been imagined and lived.

JOANNE MEYEROWITZ WRITES IN HER CONTRIBUTION to this forum that when I "questioned the ongoing vitality of the term 'gender' " in the 1999 edition of *Gender and the Politics of History*, I was "mov[ing] in new directions." That's not exactly right. Nor, in my book on the French feminist movement, *Parité*, did I focus "less on the language of sex difference and more on the language of universalism in contemporary France."[12] My ongoing concern is with the question of how the differences between the sexes are conceived and what the effects of that construction are,

[11] Riley, *"Am I That Name?"* 105–106.

[12] Joan Wallach Scott, *Parité! Sexual Equality and the Crisis of French Universalism* (Chicago, 2005), 10.

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whether the object of analysis is French universalism, feminist movements, or the politics of the veil. It is true that in 1999 I was worrying about the fact that gender had "lost its critical edge," and so its ability to problematize historical materials. Instead of asking how differences were constructed and in what terms, it referred increasingly to an unchanging, taken-for-granted opposition between women and men. According to the *American Heritage Dictionary*, the nature/culture distinction between sex and gender did not apply to ordinary usage: gender had become synonymous with sex or the difference between the sexes. The very language that needed to be analyzed was being used to reinscribe the biological body as the ground on which gender was constructed. The question was, and is, how can we disrupt that fixed association in the history we write?

Perhaps it is sexual difference that now needs to be problematized so that gender can be freed to do its critical work. For this I've found it useful to turn to psychoanalytic theory, not to its conservative articulations (which have, among other things, been used to shore up the heterosexual family as *the* key to normal psyches and stable cultures), but to the places where it addresses the difficulties associated with establishing the boundaries and meanings of sexed identities. On the one hand, "the psychic knowledge of sexual difference . . . is something one cannot not know."[13] On the other hand, there is no certain knowledge of what it means. Its meanings are offered in the realms of individual fantasy and collective myth, and these aren't necessarily in sync with one another; nor do they determine the ways in which subjects relate to masculinity or femininity (assuming it, refusing it, rejecting the divide between them). Psychoanalysis sees no necessary correspondence between the psychic positions of masculinity and femininity and a physical body; indeed, it is "the body that comes to represent the psychic realization of sexual difference and not the reverse."[14] The theory posits no fixed definition for masculine/feminine or for the differences between them; rather, it requires analysis to get at what they mean.

Of course, the analysis aims at uncovering the idiosyncratic meanings developed by individual psyches, but these are not forged independent of the conscious awareness of normative categories and their enforcement. Nor are the normative categories simply rational statements of desirable identification. They are attempts to eliminate the psychic confusion that sexual difference generates, to bring individual fantasy in line with cultural myth and social organization. Gender, I would argue, is the study of the relationship (around sexuality) between the normative and the psychic, the attempt at once to collectivize fantasy and to use it for some political or social end, whether that end is nation-building or family structure. In the process, it is gender that produces meanings for sex and sexual difference, not sex that determines the meanings of gender. If that is the case, then (as some feminists have long insisted) not only is there no distinction between sex and gender, but gender is the key to sex. And if that is the case, then gender is a useful category of historical analysis because it requires us to historicize the ways that sex and sexual difference have been conceived.

[13] Elizabeth Weed, "Joan W. Scott's Useful Category of Analysis" (paper presented at the conference "In Terms of Gender," held at the Center for 21st Century Studies at the University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee, May 4–5, 2007), 6.

[14] Ibid.

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The "language of gender" cannot be codified in dictionaries; nor can its meanings be easily assumed or translated. It doesn't reduce to some known quantity of masculine or feminine, male or female. It's precisely the particular meanings that need to be teased out of the historical materials we examine. When gender is an open question about how these meanings are established, what they signify, and in what contexts, it remains a useful category of historical analysis. Perhaps that question mark I had to remove from the title of the *AHR* article ought to have remained after all, if only to remind us that gender itself is a question that is only ever answered piecemeal through the investigations of scholars, historians among them.

Joan W. Scott is Harold F. Linder Professor of Social Science at the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton, N.J. Among her books are *The Glassworkers of Carmaux: French Craftsmen and Political Action in a Nineteenth-Century City* (Harvard University Press, 1974), *Gender and the Politics of History* (Columbia University Press, 1988), and most recently *The Politics of the Veil* (Princeton University Press, 2008).

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Richard C. Hoffmann



Nancy Langston



James C. McCann



Peter C. Perdue



Lise Sedrez

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AHR *Conversation: Environmental Historians and Environmental Crisis*

PARTICIPANTS:

RICHARD C. HOFFMANN, NANCY LANGSTON, JAMES C. MCCANN, PETER C. PERDUE, and LISE SEDREZ

Environmental history is no longer new. Neither, of course, is the notion of environmental crisis. But they are bound together. It might be said, in fact, that historians' interest in the environment as a legitimate and urgent subject for historical study only crystallized as a field when the deteriorating state of the environment became an issue of public concern in the 1970s. Thus, if environmental historians are not solely interested in dramatic and often cataclysmic change, they surely have been alert to the ways in which human history has been marked, often disastrously, by profound alterations in our natural world.

The topic of this year's *AHR* Conversation is "Environmental Historians and Environmental Crisis." We were obviously moved to choose this topic by present-day concerns with the environment , but the discussion itself provides a historical perspective on the problem, something that is usually missing from contemporary discussion. It also stresses the methodological issues and challenges of doing environmental history, providing, we hope, readers with a snapshot of the field in its present state.

The five participants represent a global and chronological mix of perspectives. Richard C. Hoffmann is an early modern and medieval historian at York University, Toronto; Nancy Langston is a U.S. historian at the University of Wisconsin–Madison; James C. McCann is an African historian at Boston University; Peter C. Perdue is a specialist in China at Yale University; and Lise Sedrez is a Latin American historian at California State University, Long Beach. The Conversation was moderated by the *AHR* Editor.

AHR Editor: Before we launch into the discussion of our particular topic, I think it would be interesting, maybe even crucial, to spend some time talking about how the field of environmental history has changed over the last generation. I hope most historians have an appreciation of the importance and historiographical impact of the field; indeed, a book like William Cronon's *Changes in the Land* is a perennial staple on undergraduate and graduate reading lists, and is, I would venture, one of

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the handful of monographs that virtually every practicing historian has read.[1] But I would also guess that these same historians remain unaware of how the field has changed—to what degree methodological sophistication, interdisciplinarity, sensitivity to regional and temporal differences, political engagement, as well as deep and, to most historians, unfamiliar thinking about the problematic role of humans—both as subjects and objects—in the study of the environment, especially over very long stretches of time, continue to transform the field. So my question is: From your different perspectives, both regional and chronological, what new methods, approaches, questions, or other factors have changed the study of environmental history? And if possible, I would like you to comment on how the field considers the nature of time—how environmental history's sense of a very much enlarged expanse of time makes its approach to chronology, development, or "history" very different from that of most historians.

Lise Sedrez: This first question reminds me of some very classic "reviews of the field," such as the roundtable with Don Worster, Richard White, Carolyn Merchant, William Cronon, Stephen Pyne, and Al Crosby in 1990, and the two pieces by Richard White in the *Pacific Historical Review* in 1985 and 2001.[2] Or so I flatter myself. The first and most obvious change, in my point of view, is the expansion of environmental history to non-U.S. areas—and somehow, the composition of this Conversation, in contrast with that 1990 roundtable, is representative of this change. Maybe "expansion" is not really a good word, since investigations on nature and society are quite traditional in the Latin American historiography—as well as in African and Asian history—and predate the formal establishment of the discipline of environmental history (see, for instance, *Rebellion in the Backlands* by Euclides da Cunha, or *Visions of Paradise* by Sérgio Buarque de Holanda).[3] What I have seen in the last decade is a reinterpretation of classic debates on nature and nation, nature and society, nature and frontier, and others in the Latin American historiography, within a new framework of questions, methodologies, and references provided by the new discipline.[4]

A second characteristic of environmental history in the twenty-first century is that it seems to be—slowly—leaving its niche; that is, it is no longer the exclusive domain of "environmental historians." I recall an article by Al Crosby in the *AHR* in 1995

[1] William Cronon, *Changes in the Land: Indians, Colonists, and the Ecology of New England* (New York, 1983).

[2] See Alfred W. Crosby, Jr., "The Past and Present of Environmental History," *American Historical Review* 100, no. 4 (October 1995): 1177–1190; Donald Worster et al., "A Round Table: Environmental History," *Journal of American History* 76, no. 4 (March 1990): 1111–1146; Richard White, "Historiographical Essay, American Environmental History: The Development of a New Field," *Pacific Historical Review* 54 (1985): 297–335; White, "Environmental History: Watching a Historical Field Mature," *Pacific Historical Review* 70 (2001): 103–111.

[3] Euclides da Cunha, *Os Sertões* (Rio de Janeiro, 1911); Sérgio Buarque de Holanda, *Visão do paraíso: Os motivos edênicos no descobrimento e na colonização do Brasil* (São Paulo, 1985).

[4] As, for example, in José Augusto Pádua, *Um sopro de destruição: Pensamento político e crítica ambiental no Brasil escravista, 1786–1888* (Rio de Janeiro, 2002), which revisits well-known Brazilian authors of the nineteenth century; or Reinaldo Funes Monzonte, *From Rainforest to Cane Field in Cuba: An Environmental History since 1492*, trans. Alex Martin (Chapel Hill, N.C., 2008), an environmental history approach to the sugar economy in Cuba.

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in which he describes how environmental historians, in the time-honored tradition of American outsiders, had founded "their own sect, the American Society for Environmental History, with its own journal."[5] I have always read this particular sentence as a warning against the risks of isolation of the field. I believe, however, that the last ten years have shown exactly the opposite movement, that is, an active inclusion of environmental history's concerns and debates by "mainstream historians"—whatever this label means. (Incidentally, in the same article, Crosby wrote that "the last ten years of the *AHR* includes more pages on film than on environmental history. Environmental history exists as an independent subdivision of the discipline, but it remains a minor one."[6] I didn't check, but I doubt this claim would hold today.)

The second part of the *AHR* Editor's question, regarding the nature of time, is an old favorite of mine. I have long maintained that all environmental historians owe a debt of gratitude to Fernand Braudel (a geographer) and his three movements of historical time—individual time, social time, and geographical time—even if this debt requires them to challenge his formulation in that wonderful masterpiece.[7] (I admit, I am a big Braudel's fan; sue me.) In environmental history, there is a bit of the total history proposed by Braudel, in which historians must address these three ideas of time—but not in the way Braudel suggested. So when Linda Lear writes a beautiful biography on Rachel Carson, individual, social, and geographical times are mixed together; the same is true of the new book by Chuck Walker on the 1746 earthquake-tsunami in Lima, Peru.[8] Nature, society, and individuals are taken together; *long durée* and *histoire événementielle* are not opposed but interlocked narratives.

Richard C. Hoffmann: My first response differs, though only in degree, from Lise's, perhaps because I came only some twenty years ago to see myself as doing environmental history, though I had for the previous twenty thought myself an historian. Deep into the 1980s, self-conscious environmental history was largely an affair of Americanists and a few modernists in other fields. Even a pioneer of the long-term and broad vision, Al Crosby, in his 1995 *AHR* overview of environmental history still assumed that state records, scientific reports, policy debates, and other attributes of modernity were essential to research in it. We others did economic history, agrarian history, history of technology, historical geography, some aspects of medical, social, or intellectual history, etc., but environmental history, unknowingly, we did only in retrospect.

The change came with rapidly diffusing recognition that the reciprocal relationship between humans and the rest of nature was not circumscribed by the topics and periods of the pioneers, but integrated many formerly separate historical issues and problems. The new awareness resulted in an explosion of diversity in the times and

[5] Crosby, "The Past and Present of Environmental History," 1188.
[6] Ibid.
[7] Fernand Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II* (New York, 1972).
[8] Linda J. Lear, *Rachel Carson: Witness for Nature* (New York, 1997); Charles F. Walker, *Shaky Colonialism: The 1746 Earthquake-Tsunami in Lima, Peru, and Its Long Aftermath* (Durham, N.C., 2008).

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spaces that are now objects of self-defined environmental history scholarship, and, I believe, in knowledge of the human and planetary past. Exploring other parts of the world with more deeply documented pasts forced environmental historians to transcend the North American preoccupation with wilderness, declensionism, recent politics, and determinism. More complex stories had to be told. Studies of the colonial Americas, Africa, South and East Asia, and Europe let historians see evolving relationships in the long term. In a place like the medieval and early modern Netherlands, we can watch people respond to a succession of environmental problems, some of which were themselves unintended consequences of previous human adaptations. In the process, both stability and change had to be historicized. Environmental history puts traditional political, institutional, and ideological chronologies to the test. I am, for instance, grappling with the efficacy of the traditional Middle Ages as a period for European environmental history; some of the grounds I would now offer refer to aspects of fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Europe previously little noted by historians.

At the same time, at least in fields with which I am familiar, environmental history has enjoyed a great upswing in interdisciplinary collaboration, especially with paleoscientists. Ancient DNA, dendrochronology, trace element analysis, paleoclimatology, soil science, archaeozoology, paleobotany, sediment studies, etc., open new windows on the historical past and call for traditional historians' skills to find and link the verbal record and to synthesize the results. Given mutual respect for different disciplinary purposes and cultures, interdisciplinary criticisms and corroborations enable deeper and more complete reconstruction of both probable and implausible past human environments. Systematic environmental archaeology undertaken before new high-speed rail lines were built in the lower Rhone valley, for example, has reconfigured understanding of social and cultural changes from late antiquity to the early Middle Ages. We can now start to grasp how individual households and whole regional societies handled multigenerational shifts in weather patterns and local security conditions that together kept recalibrating appropriate subsistence strategies.[9] Meanwhile, methods that Swiss historian Christian Pfister devised for systematic critical use of traditional written records have made possible

[9] Jean-François Berger and Jacques-Léopold Brochier, "Paysages et climates en moyenne vallée du Rhône: Apports de la géo-archéologie," in Odile Maufras, ed., *Habitats, necropoles et paysages dans la moyenne et la basse vallée du Rhône (VIIe–XVe s.): Contribution des travaux du TGV-Méditerranée à l'étude des sociétés rurales médiévales* (Paris, 2006), 163–208; Mireille Provansal et al., "Paléohydrologie holocène dans la basse vallée du Rhône, d'Orange à la mere," in Jean-Paul Bravard and Michel Magny, eds., *Les fleuves ont une histoire: Paléo-environnement des rivières et des lacs français depuis 15 000 ans* (Paris, 2002), 251–258. A slightly earlier parallel study is summarized in Sander van der Leeuw, François Favory, and Jean-Jacques Girardot, "The Archaeological Study of Environmental Degradation: An Example from Southeastern France," in Charles L. Redman, S. R. James, P. R. Fish, and J. D. Rogers, eds., *The Archaeology of Global Change: The Impact of Humans on Their Environment* (Washington, D.C., 2004), 112–129, and reported in great detail in Sander E. van der Leeuw, ed., *The Archaeomedes Project: Understanding the Natural and Anthropogenic Causes of Land Degradation and Desertification in the Mediterranean Basin* (Luxembourg, 1998), and Sander E. van der Leeuw, François Favory, and Jean-Luc Fiche, eds., *Archéologie et systèmes socio-environnementaux: Études multiscalaires sur la vallée du Rhône dans le programme Archaeomedes* (Paris, 2003). For a historian's attempt to integrate traditional evidence and new climatological data in this area, see Frederic L. Cheyette, "The Disappearance of the Ancient Landscape and the Climatic Anomaly of the Early Middle Ages: A Question to Be Pursued," *Early Medieval Europe* 16 (2008): 127–165.

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the season-by-season, even week-to-week, reconstruction of early modern weather events.[10] Extended to the scale of the European subcontinent and anchored to GIS, the results are so precise, they serve both to test atmospheric scientists' theories of long-term planetary circulation and to show cultural historians what triggered certain specific local persecutions for witchcraft.[11]

Great expansion in time, space, data collection, and range of theories enables today's environmental history to inform present-day issues from a far wider base of past human experience than was available a generation ago.

Jim McCann: I write from my hotel balcony in a provincial town in Ethiopia (Jimma) from where I go daily to a much smaller market town and thence to a community of farmers whose experience with malaria and settlement of a waterlogged valley is the basis of my research project. Their lives and their local landscape are the backdrop of what I seek to narrate, along with the local mosquito, and futile attempts to control it. It is landscape ecology as a changing historical canvas that I seek. The story I have in mind is a counterpoint to modernist optimism about the silver bullet of a malaria vaccine.

I am writing this note on a laptop but face the dangers of downloading the note to a flash drive and taking it to a small Internet connection across the (now) muddy street and across a small bridge made of eucalyptus sticks. The danger is not the mud, but the prospect of my flash drive coming back with 10–100 of the local viruses that circulate here. The analogy of computer viruses here is remarkably similar to a biomedical phenomenon of infection and contagion. There are few McAfee upgrades around, and the rate of new infections from the Internet follows the patterns of an epidemic. I'll take a chance and send this off (and then throw away the flash drive like a used hypodermic). Ironically, the most infections from a single download have been from a connection to the World Health Organization's computer files in Addis Ababa.

[10] Pfister's methods are described in Werner Schwarz-Zanetti, Christian Pfister, Gabriela Schwarz-Zanetti, and Hannes Schüle, "The EURO-CLIMHIST Data Base: A Tool for Reconstructing the Climate of Europe in the Pre-instrumental Period from High Resolution Proxy Data," in Burkhard Frenzel, ed., *European Climate Reconstructed from Documentary Data: Methods and Results* (Stuttgart, 1992), 193–210, and more fully in Christian Pfister, *Das Klima der Schweiz von 1525–1860 und seine Bedeutung in der Geschichte von Bevölkerung und Landwirtschaft*, 2nd ed. 2 vols. (Bern, 1985). For a broader recent overview, see Rudolf Brázdil, Christian Pfister, et al., "Historical Climatology in Europe: The State of the Art," *Climatic Change* 70 (2005): 363–430. Some representative applications include Rüdiger Glaser, *Klimageschichte Mitteleuropas: 1000 Jahre Wetter, Klima, Katastrophen* (Darmstadt, 2001), notably 93–180; Christian Pfister and Rudolf Brázdil, "Social Vulnerability to Climate in the 'Little Ice Age': An Example from Central Europe in the Early 1770s," *Climate of the Past* 2 (2006): 115–129; and Nazzareno Diodato, "A 425-Year Precipitation History from Documentary Weather Anomalies and Climate Records at Palermo, Italy," *PAGES News* 14, no. 1 (April 2006): 34–35.

[11] Wolfgang Behringer, "Weather, Hunger and Fear: Origins of the European Witch-Hunts in Climate, Society and Mentality," *German History* 13 (1995): 1–27; Behringer, "Climatic Change and Witch-Hunting: The Impact of the Little Ice Age on Mentalities," *Climatic Change* 43, no. 1 (September 1999): 335–351; Emily Oster, "Witchcraft, Weather and Economic Growth in Renaissance Europe," *Journal of Economic Perspectives* 18 (2004): 215–228; Christian Pfister, "Climatic Extremes, Recurrent Crises and Witch Hunts: Strategies of European Societies in Coping with Exogenous Shocks in the Late Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Centuries," *Medieval History Journal* 10, no. 1–2 (2007): 33–73.

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Our moderator has asked us to write on two issues: one is to assess the nature of change in the field of environmental history in the past couple of decades, and the other is the nature of time as a conceptual framework in our geographic or thematic subfield (in my case Africa). The question strikes me as deserving of a single answer that encompasses both questions. He leads by citing the ubiquitous nature of Bill Cronon's *Changes in the Land*. I agree that that work is the single most read monograph in environmental history. I once saw a fellow passenger on Boston's Red Line underground standing and reading a marked-up galley proof of the book around fifteen years after its original publication.

What was remarkable about Cronon's book, and what has sustained it, is its narrative power that reaches several audiences. Much of that appeal comes from its engagement with a familiar landscape (New England) and its multiple narrations (colonial settlers, native Americans, and the landscape itself). One of our questions might be whether we as historians of other times, other themes, and other places can achieve that level of narrative. I am now attempting to do that by combining the bioscience of malarial transmission with the agro-ecology of a particular place, and the life narratives of the people who found themselves there. How it will work is not quite clear to me yet, but I have in mind the blending of science with human place that has worked in contexts of social history (Ginzburg or Demos, for example).

It seems to me that the other disciplines that we share with environmental themes (geography, anthropology, natural sciences) do not use historians' tools of sources and human narrative. Telling the story is one of the things we should do best (although those skills are still rare even among historians). We can each think of a few historians who have displayed those skills and still maintain strong links to the sciences of ecology, geology, epidemiology, etc.

Peter C. Perdue: I would echo what Lise Sedrez says about changes in the field of environmental history. From my perspective, the biggest change has been the extension of environmental history to the non-Western world. In the 1980s, when I applied to the Chinese archives in Beijing to study floods in one Chinese province, the authorities would not give me an affiliation because they claimed that "this was not a historical topic." They suggested that I should go to the hydroelectric ministry instead. (In fact, China's hydroelectric ministry had compiled extensive quantitative data about the historical incidence of floods and droughts, but they omitted the political and institutional documents. I wonder if the U.S. Department of the Interior does the same?) Fortunately, I eventually did get into the archives, which proved to have extremely rich source material on agrarian production and famines. Now, of course, studies of China's environment have exploded, and every year there are major conferences on disasters, pollution, and sustainability. Historians still play only a small role in this discussion, but crises do tend to focus attention on a subject. China, like Latin America, has also had a long tradition of study of historical geography, into which environmental study fits well.

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Despite these encouraging signs, we have to recognize that environmental history is still only tangential to the mainstream of the fields of history or Asian studies. The program of the upcoming AHA meeting lists only 4 panels out of 220 with "environment" as a topic (they cover national parks, urban environments, marine environments, and the culture of nature). There are a lot of other panels on food and global themes, but they mainly seem to concern the eating, drinking, buying, and selling of commodities, not their connection to nature. Of the twenty-odd books submitted for the Association of Asian Studies prize for best work on China before 1900, only one—Lillian Li's study of famine—addresses an environmental topic.[12] Unfortunately, environmental history has not transformed the institutional and public face of these fields, despite its promise. Is there more we could do? We haven't yet convinced most of our colleagues of its potential, but its perspectives have trickled into many related studies. Environmental history has provided fresh inspiration for comparative communication between historians of different regions. This is particularly important for historians of East Asia, each of whom tends to view his or her country of choice as unique.

The two foundational traditions of the Annales school and the American frontier school have both contributed to environmental history in Asia, in different ways. Scholars of East Asia, however, had to modify these Western perspectives to make them useful for analyzing imperial China. The Bloch-Braudel tradition of attention to agrarian structures, the *longue durée*, and constraints of nature inspired me and others to use local gazetteers and official sources to reconstruct long-term agrarian change in the early modern period. But the Annales tradition emphasized the limits of human activity faced with natural phenomena, and the relative unimportance of great political events. Early modern states, in the Annales program, did not matter much to the peasant. (To be fair, only the programmatic manifestos of the Annales school really promoted the extreme denigration of politics; the actual work of Braudel and others had much to say about early modern state formation.) In China, we could not kick the state out. The power of the Chinese imperial state to transform the natural and human environment constantly reappears in our work. I would go so far as to say that the bureaucratic states of China have shaped the natural environment for a longer period and more profoundly than the ancient or early modern states of Europe.[13]

The American tradition stresses much more the transformative power of capitalism and frontier settlement, in its agrarian (early Cronon) and industrial (later Cronon, Worster, etc.) modes.[14] Unexpectedly, I found this perspective more useful than the Annales for my second book, on Chinese imperial expansion. The aggressive de-

[12] Lillian M. Li, *Fighting Famine in North China: State, Market, and Environmental Decline, 1690s–1990s* (Stanford, Calif., 2007).

[13] Mark Elvin and Liu Ts'ui-jung, eds., *Sediments of Time: Environment and Society in Chinese History* (Cambridge, 1995); Philip C. C. Huang, *The Peasant Economy and Social Change in North China* (Stanford, Calif., 1985); Peter C. Perdue, *Exhausting the Earth: State and Peasant in Hunan, 1500–1850* (Cambridge, Mass., 1987); R. Keith Schoppa, *Xiang Lake: Nine Centuries of Chinese Life* (New Haven, Conn., 1989); Schoppa, *Song Full of Tears: Nine Centuries of Chinese Life around Xiang Lake* (Boulder, Colo., 2002).

[14] Cronon, *Changes in the Land*; Cronon, *Nature's Metropolis: Chicago and the Great West* (New York,

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velopmental role of the Chinese state and the settler populations it ruled, even in a pre-industrial situation, has striking analogies with American frontier settlement. (To be sure, China historians have unfortunately drawn inspiration almost entirely from the U.S. experience, ignoring Latin American or Canadian analogies.)

Both approaches have generated new ways of looking at temporal divisions in China. The main goal is to replace classic divisions by dynasty with broader units like "early modern" (ca. 1500–1800) that are more comparable with the rest of Eurasia. Nature's cycles differ from human ones: how to combine the natural and human rhythms is a major challenge for all of us. Geological deep time does not intersect human time very well, and efforts to root human activity in 100,000-year periods, like Diamond's, do not work. But shorter rhythms, like the Little Ice Age or ENSO phenomena, do affect human action significantly, and we can document the effects.[15]

Jim McCann's comments on settlement of malarial regions also indicate a different approach to time. Chinese have moved south into malarial and plague-ridden regions at least since the twelfth century C.E. For a long time, the disease barrier of the south protected indigenous peoples and limited Han settlement, but active military and official pressure for expansion encouraged penetration by Han settlers, who gradually developed immunities and pushed out the local population. By the end of the eighteenth century, they had taken over all of the core of China as far as Yunnan, despite local resistance.[16] This example shows that environments constrain but do not determine settlement. State policies over the long term can conquer disease regimes, natural limitations, and indigenous resistance. Today, the Chinese still believe this, like most Americans, and they have intensified pressures for ecological devastation and ethnic assimilation driven by a modernist vision. But is this war on nature and indigenous peoples sustainable much longer? What time scale matters most: millennia of steadily increasing pressure, or the immediacy of current disasters? Environmental historians can ask these inconvenient questions with evidence and nuance.

Lise Sedrez: A brief side comment: Peter, in 1998 I was finishing my M.S. in environmental policy studies and about to begin my Ph.D. work in history. I went to a conference in Florence, Italy, held by the International Union of Forestry Research Organizations, and before I could re-enter the USA, I had to obtain a new J-1 visa at the American Embassy. It took me some time to convince the American officer at the embassy that someone *could* enter a doctoral program in history with a background in environmental studies, and no, it was not just a weak plot to remain in the U.S. illegally.

1991); Donald Worster, *Rivers of Empire: Water, Aridity, and the Growth of the American West* (New York, 1985).

[15] Mike Davis, *Late Victorian Holocausts: El Niño Famines and the Making of the Third World* (New York, 2001); Jared M. Diamond, *Guns, Germs, and Steel: The Fates of Human Societies* (New York, 1997); Jean M. Grove, *Little Ice Ages: Ancient and Modern*, 2nd ed. (London, 2004).

[16] David Bello, "To Go Where No Han Could Go for Long: Malaria and the Qing Construction of Ethnic Administrative Space in Frontier Yunnan," *Modern China* 31, no. 3 (July 2005): 283–317.

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More on topic, I agree with Peter that most comparative studies on Latin American environmental history have focused on the U.S. experience, but there have recently been some efforts to establish parallels with Africa and Asia, particularly the colonial experiences in South Africa and India. I am looking forward to seeing the publications of these efforts.[17]

Nancy Langston: I agree that as the field has matured, we have broadened our perspectives from American wilderness history to global analyses. A turn to cultural history has also marked the past decade, and historians of gender, class, and race have brought important perspectives into the field as well.

Yet for all the changes, it's worth noting certain continuities. Jim stresses the importance of narrative to environmental history, and I would argue that it is one key feature that distinguishes our work from that of our colleagues in landscape ecology, rural sociology, and medical epidemiology. I work with a group of ecologists who use many of the same sources historians are familiar with, but the kinds of questions the ecologists ask of those sources are quite different. Working across disciplinary borders while retaining the importance of narrative in our analyses is something that environmental historians have done since the beginning of the field.

I love Peter's ending question about what time scale matters the most. This seems to strike at the heart of what many environmental historians are now trying to do, and what distinguishes us from other fields of history: while paying attention to the human time scales that matter to traditional history, many of us are also attempting to incorporate much longer time spans into our analyses. Edmund Russell's call for an evolutionary environmental history is emblematic of some of the new directions in environmental history that seem particularly promising.[18]

Richard C. Hoffmann: On the distinctive role of storytelling as historian's art, we have all concurred, but we ought not oversell the efficacy or exclusiveness of this mode of discourse as our contribution to understanding. Stories relate change very well, less so its absence. If you think, as I do, that punctuated equilibria are a significant aspect of our interactive cultural and natural pasts, historians need also to explain or depict stability across the temporal scale. This bears directly on present-day environmental concern with sustainability and resilience. Nor are historians the only storytellers: as distinct from literary fiction or cultural myth, our stories assert some connection to an empirical "truth" resting on our sources. Third, historical training and critical method equip us to find, contextualize, and assess source materials that are inaccessible and opaque to paleoscientists and both present-day environmental activists and their opponents. Much that is alleged about past as compared to present environmental conditions needs to be put to the test. This, too, is

[17] One example is the now-classic Ramachandra Guha and Juan Martínez-Alier, *Varieties of Environmentalism: Essays North and South* (London, 1997). Ravi Rajan and José Padua, however, have been working together on a larger comparative project, not yet published.

[18] Edmund Russell, "Evolutionary History: Prospectus for a New Field," *Environmental History* 8 (2003): 204–228.

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a task well-suited to historical scholarship, as witness that of Shepard Krech III, Joachim Radkau, or Sam Cohn, Jr.[19]

Jim McCann: Thanks to all of you for your recent contributions. Sorry for my silence. I am now almost totally cut off, since power cuts in Addis make it almost impossible to find a working Internet cafe. And the landlord of the place where I am staying tried to double the rent. When shown the contract, he then cut off the water and the phone. So much for the Internet. But this is an overall phenomenon here, as grain prices have trebled and famine conditions in the east ripple through the national economy. Lots of food in the shops, but Amartya Sen's entitlement thesis explaining famine is fully in place here.

I much agree with Richard's note on the particular vision of historical training to read sources that are opaque to other disciplines. (But Shep Krech is an anthropologist, no? It's just a matter of his coming over to the right side, as some anthropologists do.) In many ways I think that Peter's earlier statement about the way environmental history opens new time frames for disease, climate, hydrology, etc., offers really challenging ways to address time sequence and causation. Yes, it is Annaliste, but more than that.

AHR Editor: I would like to pursue a bit more this question of time and join it with the issue of periodization. Several of you have noted that environmental history is no longer marginalized as it once was but in many cases manages now to find its way into larger historical analysis and narratives. Indeed, Jim McCann specifically points to the need for fashioning historical narratives while still deriving analytical power from disciplines that are discursively non-narrative. But some of you acknowledge the ways environmental history stands apart from most historical approaches: specifically in the capacious sense of time it can encompass, and the challenge it offers to the traditional boundaries and categories of historical periodization (something noted by both Rich Hoffman and Peter Perdue). Is there a contradiction here? And this might offer an opportunity for us to segue into the question of crisis. The subjective human perception of crisis is usually bounded by a short-term perspective: it is something that happens to "us." Even historians tend to see crisis within the chronological context of years or decades, or occasionally centuries. Does environmental history, with its much deeper sense of time, force us to rethink our chronological appreciation of crisis?

Nancy Langston: I would argue: probably not. Speaking as a former evolutionary ecologist, I actually think that the largest crisis we now face—global warming—is really a humanistic tragedy in historical time, not an environmental tragedy in evolutionary time. It's not the earth that's going to be devastated by climate change. Mass extinctions in evolutionary history are typically followed by mass speciations. New species will evolve to fill the niches vacated by the extinctions piling up in ever

[19] Shepard Krech III, *The Ecological Indian: Myth and History* (New York, 1999); Joachim Radkau, "Zur angeblichen Energiekrise des 18. Jahrhunderts: Revisionistische Betrachtungen über die 'Holznot,'" *Vierteljahrsschrift für Sozial und Wirtschafatsgeschichte* 73 (1986): 1–37; Samuel K. Cohn, Jr., "The Black Death: End of a Paradigm," *American Historical Review* 107, no. 3 (June 2002): 703–738.

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greater numbers. The earth will persist—different, surely, but that's the way things go in evolutionary time, over thousands of generations. The crisis of global warming—massive fires, floods, famines, with refugees in the millions fleeing too much water in Bangladesh, too little water in the Sudan—these are problems people will contend with over decades or centuries, not evolutionary problems over millennia.

What's threatened by global warming is not the earth but ourselves. What won't persist is our sense of place and time—our own human histories on this earth. It's the places we love, the relationships we cherish, the connections and patterns and birdsongs in spring, that help to make us human. As Wallace Stegner reminded us, we see the world through our "own human eyes," and it's that human vision of the world that is under threat.[20]

Lise Sedrez: I concur with Nancy's comments. I would also argue that what our moderator calls a "deeper sense of time" is associated more closely with the very traditional "natural history" than with "environmental history." In fact, one of the many differences between these two disciplines is the emphasis on "historical time"—which is not exactly "a shorter time," but a time that is connected to societies, to communities, to individuals, over centuries, decades, years, or months. Yes, it is true that environmental historians must be attuned to a "natural time." I believe it was Cronon who said once that "environmental history must make ecological sense," and thus we must understand the time for reproduction of disease vectors, the time for El Niño, the time for ecological successions, the time for seasonal variations—but most likely we are still within "the chronological context of years or decades" or centuries.[21]

Recently, for instance, some research has been done regarding the return of dengue/yellow fever mosquitoes to coastal cities in Brazil. They had been virtually eliminated from Rio de Janeiro in 1904, in a well-studied sanitary campaign. Less than a century later, dengue mosquitoes are again dangerously active in Rio, a process we can connect to the urbanization trends of the twentieth century, and which is expected to increase in the longer summers of the twenty-first century.[22] There are many interesting questions that environmental historians may ask in this crisis—about state policies, about sanitation, about urban inequality, and about the evolution/adaptation of mosquitoes in this new context of global warming. But do these questions really offer "a much deeper sense of time" than, for example, studies on religion in the Middle Ages or gender relations in ancient Greece? I am not convinced that "a deeper sense of time" is the contribution of environmental history to the study of

[20] Wallace Stegner, "The Sense of Place," in Stegner, *Where the Bluebird Sings to the Lemonade Springs: Living and Writing in the West* (1992; repr., New York, 2002), 199–206.

[21] The citation is in J. Donald Hughes, *What Is Environmental History?* (Cambridge, 2006), 1; originally in William Cronon, "A Place for Stories: Nature, History and Narrative," *Journal of American History* 78, no. 4 (1992): 1347–1376.

[22] See in particular the work in progress by Dilene Raimundo do Nascimento, from the Fundação Casa Oswaldo Cruz, on the history of dengue epidemics in Brazil. Some of the initial findings are in Dilene Raimundo Nascimento and Anny Jackeline Torres Silveira, "A doença revelando a história: Uma historiografia das doenças," in Dilene Raimundo do Nascimento and Diana Maul de Carvalho, eds., *Uma história brasileira das doenças*, vol. 1 (Brasília, 2004), 13–30.

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crisis. Rather, environmental history could offer a deeper sense of how our natural environmental may change dramatically within historical time (in floods, droughts, pollution, animal and human migration, mass extinctions, or epidemics).

Richard C. Hoffmann: Two points from Nancy's remarks did catch my eye. While I strongly concur with her emphasis on the natural importance of change, I think it legitimate to draw distinctions of scale between changes arising from natural processes, slow or abrupt, and those arising from present-day human impacts. I have worked hard to show human cultures affecting the natural world in premodern times—much of Europe was cleared for agricultural use in about the same 200-to-300-year span of time during which North America went through a similar process; still, I would go along with John McNeill's *Something New under the Sun* to consider whether contemporary fossil-fuel civilization is not having historically unprecedented effects, whether consciously or not.[23] Whether we assess such changes as threats or opportunities, we still need to be able to describe and compare the processes. Second, the issue of seeing the world through human eyes: I thought one of the contributions of environmental history was at least to raise the possibility of imagining other points of view—as implicit in Lise's Brazilian mosquitoes. Anthropocentrism may be an epistemologically inescapable position and numerically dominant stance among environmental historians, but I doubt that all who practice in the field think this necessary or sufficient to grasp the relevant issues. Diversity of perspective is a valued, if challenging, quality of environmental history.

Peter C. Perdue: Our moderator asks if there is a contradiction between the ambitions of environmental history to explore deeper senses of time and also contribute to conventional historical narratives. I agree that there is such a contradiction, or maybe creative tension, which we have not solved, but which we should work on. It is not a fundamentally different challenge from that facing all historians who want to do original work but also be accessible, but it has special features because of the deep time scale and the engagement of environmental history with the non-human world.

Parenthetically, I recently attended the annual meeting of the Social Science History Association, whose theme for this year was "It's About Time: Temporality and Interdisciplinary Research." Social scientists of many persuasions have realized that introducing temporal scales into their research challenges many received paradigms. Historians have always had a lot to say about time, though in rather unsystematic ways compared to other social science disciplines. What was interesting about the conference for our discussion was the large number of panels and papers that raised environmental themes. Note that the SSHA is organized into sixteen networks, none of which specifically includes the environment. Networks like health/medicine/body, historical geography, rural, and macro-historical dynamics, however, naturally include some environmental themes. In a simple content search on terms like "nature," "disease," "health," "agrarian," "ecology," or "food," for example, I found 15 out of

[23] J. R. McNeill, *Something New under the Sun: An Environmental History of the Twentieth-Century World* (New York, 2000).

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160 panels with some environmental content. Ten percent is not huge, but it is twice the presence of environment in the AHA. Dialogue with social scientists over the importance of time can be a useful way to introduce environmental themes.

Let's consider three environmental scales of time and how they might fit together (analogous to the three levels in Braudel's *Mediterranean*). First, geological and biological, covering millennia; second, structural and conjunctural, mainly a few centuries; and third, political, event-centered, in decades, years, or days. Humans and nature act on all three scales. For ancient civilizations like China or the Middle East, we have records going back millennia, and clear evidence of human impact on land and water over the long term: deforestation, settlement, direction of rivers, erosion, and species extinction all combine human and natural action on a very long time scale. We can tell this story as one transcending the boundaries of particular states or political changes, linking the persistence or disappearance of certain forms of human ecology with natural change. (Braudel's "structures" were in fact not static constructions, but also included human and natural dynamics.) On the second scale, familiar as the *longue durée*, historians join economic changes with social changes to look at the rise and fall of dynasties and *ancien régimes*, especially as seen in food provisioning, economic activity in trade and production, and land settlement on frontiers. See, for example, John Richards's *The Unending Frontier*, which covers three centuries.[24] This is familiar territory for the social historian, although it is usually not the best-seller audience. The third scale is the most popular, limited to short-term crises, usually in recent times. Journalists, political historians, and social scientists overlap in the focus on particular natural disasters in comparative perspective. Environmental activists expect academic research to justify immediate solutions for contemporary crises. They may be disappointed to find out that the same crises have occurred in the past, and don't have obvious solutions, or that the reigning mythologies used to motivate action in the modern world (wilderness myths or static equilibria, for example) have little historical or scientific backing.

It may not be possible to unite all these scales in a single narrative. Braudel divided his great book up into three large sections, and critics have charged that it has no unity. I think that there is a unity to *The Mediterranean*, but it does not fit conventional narrative models. But global climate change is a good example of environmental history that spans many time scales, from millennial cycles to immediate disasters, and deserves integrated treatment. The main contribution of environmental history is to offset the overwhelming focus on the immediate present by pointing to larger perspectives on major social and natural changes, and to replace conventional periodization, for example by dynasty in the case of China, with more naturally appropriate, globally comparative divisions (e.g., "early modern" or "organic energy society").[25] Although it's true that we are mainly interested in what happens to "us" or our children in the short term, the current crisis has deep roots not only in in-

[24] John F. Richards, *The Unending Frontier: An Environmental History of the Early Modern World* (Berkeley, Calif., 2003).

[25] Victor Lieberman, "The Qing Dynasty and Its Neighbors: Early Modern China in World History," *Social Science History* 32, no. 2 (2008): 281–304; Sanjay Subrahmanyam, "Connected Histories: Notes toward a Reconfiguration of Early Modern Eurasia," *Modern Asian Studies* 31, no. 3 (1997): 735–762.

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dustrial civilization of the past two hundred years, but also in agrarian civilization of the past five millennia. The history of food, in short, is a very long-term one. We have to change basic features of both in order to solve the crisis, so we need to know their historical tracks. John McNeill may be right that something new under the sun has happened in the twentieth century because of the global impact of technological developments, but as Richard Hoffmann notes, humans had shaped the environment at local or larger scales for many millennia before that.[26] We ought to address directly the question of when and how changes in rates and scales of variation become sharp enough to count as new periods of world history—when does quantity change into quality, as the dialecticians put it?

Re-viewing the past, as Richard Hoffmann notes, also means seeing it through the eyes of other species: the elephants' and tigers' view of China, the wolves' view of Japan, or the positions of cats and other domestic animals in England.[27] These are really studies of human views of animals more than the other way around (can the subaltern really bark?), but they do bring in more of the emotional force of nature than do studies of rocks and trees.

I might add that we need to change the training of future historians so that they can learn to think beyond conventional boundaries of time and space. Too many historians fear numbers and science. Quantitative reasoning and engagement with the natural sciences should be expected. Even more important, following natural phenomena across political boundaries generally means learning quite a few foreign languages. Likewise, GIS techniques and other mapping approaches should broaden our spatial and temporal visions.

Jim McCann: Peter Perdue's last missive addressed the *AHR* Editor's question about inherent tensions between historians engaging longer-term time frames, geographic scope, and the needs of coherent narrative history. He uses Braudel's *Mediterranean* as an example of the dangers of losing narrative coherence for the sake of the need to broaden scale. I think one of the failures of the Annales (though I have always been a fan) has been the difficulty faced by their innovative use of mundane sources, including climate records. But there are other ways to build narrative pizzazz into longer-term/wider-scope reconstructions of the past. This past summer I read Steven Saylor's epic historical novel *Roma*.[28] In it he covers the history of Roman political culture, geographic scale, and historical persona in a single volume that pulls the reader along. Yes, he is a novelist, but his approach is to follow his-

[26] McNeill, *Something New under the Sun*; Geoff Wade, Zheng Yangwen, and Asia Research Institute, "Asian Expansions: The Historical Processes of Polity Expansion in Asia" (paper presented at the Workshop on Asian Expansions: Historical Processes of Polity Expansion in Asia, Singapore, 2006).

[27] Mark Elvin, *The Retreat of the Elephants: An Environmental History of China* (New Haven, Conn., 2004); Robert B Marks, *Tigers, Rice, Silk, and Silt: Environment and Economy in Late Imperial South China* (Cambridge, 1998); Marks, "Asian Tigers: The Real, the Symbolic, the Commodity," *Nature and Culture* 1, no. 1 (Spring 2006): 63–87; Gregory M. Pflugfelder and Brett L. Walker, eds., *JAPANimals: History and Culture in Japan's Animal Life* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 2005); Harriet Ritvo, *The Animal Estate: The English and Other Creatures* (Cambridge, Mass., 1987); Brett L. Walker, *The Lost Wolves of Japan* (Seattle, 2005).

[28] Steven Saylor, *Roma: The Novel of Ancient Rome* (New York, 2007).

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torical evidence on a particular known landscape (the seven hills), its generations of human occupants (who became Romans), and broader forces of economic change (regional trade, water management) from the first salt traders on Isola Tiberina (the island in mid-Tiber near the Forum) to Caesar's assassination. That is more than half a millennium. Saylor's novel is not environmental history, but that scope that will attract a wide readership might well be useful in telling history on a grand scale. Couldn't one do that in using records of the Harvard forest and local archives to do a regional/community study? A landscape itself could be a central motif that parallels human generations through a millennium. Cronon's *Nature's Metropolis* sort of does that, but without such a strong human narration.

One could argue that choosing only well-known landscapes panders to a general audience at the expense of focus on ecological processes (species extinction, deforestation, suburbanization, etc.) that have a role in public education. Yet the use of the environmental historian's skills in archival research, GIS, botanical evidence, or crop plant morphology could be an essential ingredient of human stories. I imagine that our group could think of a few examples of that. Peter Perdue's citations of writing from the perspective of different species (dogs, wolves, mosquitoes, etc.) all have possibilities or examples already in place.

Environmental history as a self-conscious subfield is still young. The new generation of Ph.D. students (and undergraduate majors) is just now in the process of building skills and databases from which they will eventually draw evidence for writing landscape and ecological narratives with a broad public audience as one of the goals. Cartoons and Pixar films are already building strong (some might say overly so) environmental messages into their techno-methods (think of Wall-E and Happy Feet). Saturday morning superheroes are already environmentally conscious, although usually in a politically simplistic way. And of course cable television is full of archaeology, nature programs, *National Geographic* specials, etc. (still often quite half-baked).

My point here is that environmental history as a subfield combines the historian's skill at finding evidence of change in archives and in science. Raising new questions that seem esoteric and assembling narratives for a broader audience are two parts of the same enterprise. Making new graduate students and undergraduate classes aware of these two lines of development is an important task for both our research and our teaching.

Richard C. Hoffmann: Like Peter and Jim, I came back home and to our conversation from experiences in unfamiliar and visibly historic landscapes that encourage reflection on what it is we environmental historians do or at least think we hope to do. Yet I confess that my unruly thoughts run at a tangent or across the grain of the Editor's still-live question. Apologies if these meanderings fail to engage your imaginations.

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Northern England is not, of course, all that exotic, but it was new to me and stimulating to think how thousands of men labored for five to eight years to construct Hadrian's Wall, a landscape feature still recognizably anthropogenic, but also for well more than a millennium itself a "natural" resource actively mined to build new churches, castles, cottages, pigsties, railway bridges, etc. Where Anglian monks had once found refuge in a devastated land for their holy patron Cuthbert, later Normans constructed Durham Cathedral to anchor and display their power in a long-ambiguous border landscape. War, we now acknowledge, is also a parameter for environmental history. During the more than two recent centuries when coal pits pockmarked the surrounding terrain, Durham was acknowledged as "the miners' cathedral." The last colliery in County Durham shut down in 1983, so a once-stereotypical landscape must now be reconstructed as "heritage." Romans, Christians, Normans, and industrialization brought successive ecological revolutions to the landscape and were then absorbed into what it had become. Continuity and change intertwine.

Jim and Peter rightly conclude that new kinds of questions and broader audiences for environmental history call for innovative training on the part of historians, new or mid-career. I wish my outlook were more optimistic, but I am mindful of the once-"new" quantitative, interpretive, and comparative economic and social history (I do stress history, not economics or sociology) in which I was trained and where I worked for half my professional career as a medievalist. With a few exceptions whom I treasure, North American students take history because they would avoid numbers, concepts, and science, which they fear. North American audiences want to hear stories, not analyses. They want simple clarity and have a low tolerance for critical doubt, ambiguity, and the good scientific provisional hypothesis. We professors can beat our brains out trying to teach critical thinking or the evidence-based leap to a level of understanding for past human conditions. We succeed with some students. But how to now transfer that to the broader audience that needs the deeper perspectives and the interactive relationship of the natural and cultural that environmental history provides?

I am wary of a search for narrative unity lest it become easy reductionism. When I look across even the small terrain of medieval Christendom with its common surface of clerical Latin literacy, I see so many nuances, so many locally different adaptations to soils, water, relief, or just different cultural toolkits or values. Unity and diversity: there is no single story, though some stories are more numerous or resonant than others. Consider Horden and Purcell's *The Corrupting Sea*, explicitly aiming to present a counter-Braudelian Mediterranean with a very long counterpoint of diversity and unity.[29]

How, then, do we draw present-day audiences or students into the deeper past and the local and regional particularities it contains when they are intensely urban participants in a mass and homogenized virtual culture? There sunny days are always

[29] Peregine Horden and Nicholas Purcell, *The Corrupting Sea: A Study of Mediterranean History* (Oxford, 2000).

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good, rain bad; today's indispensable style or truth is tomorrow's stale error and next week's oblivion; everything outside the city is unimportant and undifferentiated. In most of Western and Central Europe, you can still go fifty kilometers, perhaps less, and the place looks a bit different, feels a bit different, is probably known by a distinctive name, and may retain relics from a distinctive way of life. The Sauerland is not the Siegerland; Yorkshire dales are not Tyneside. Historians, especially environmental historians, must try to reconstruct and communicate those differences, then show how larger unities arise as generalizations from some of the particulars. So I am more partial to small-scale narratives: a waterfall is shaped to power a grain mill that becomes a fulling mill that becomes a textile factory that, abandoned, becomes, once again, a waterfall—until state subsidies give someone the idea to make a run-of-the river generating station. Each such use of this natural element implied the presence of and connected to different parts of a surrounding cultural milieu. It has finally dawned on me why I read fourteenth-century financial accounts kept on parchment rolls in England but on folded paper sheets in Burgundy or Silesia. Complexity and connectivity: the past was as messy as the present even though each set of pieces fit roughly together—until some big natural or human event, often exogenous to the local/regional system, turned the kaleidoscope again. We can learn from the patterns of difference and from human experiences that went well or awry. Neither Norse Greenlanders nor Norse Icelanders can be held responsible for the climate-related stresses that hit them in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, but the former seemingly failed to find a viable response, while the latter (barely) did; Hollanders, on the other hand, we now think in the long run at least partly responsible for their own simultaneous difficulties, but certainly also as the makers of a long-successful new kind of adaptation. Seen against a larger backdrop with a different temporal scale, those, too, make good, but not universal, stories in environmental history.[30]

[30] Astrid E. G. Ogilvie, "Climatic Changes in Iceland A.D. ca. 865 to 1598," *Acta Archaeologica* 61 (1990): 233–251; J. Eiriksson, K. I. Knudsen, H. Haflidason, and J. Heinemeier, "Chronology of Late Holocene Climatic Events in the Northern North Atlantic Based on AMS C-14 Dates and Tephra Markers from the Volcano Hekla, Iceland," *Journal of Quaternary Science* 15 (2000): 573–580; A. G. K. Dawson, K. Hickey, P. A. Mayewski, and A. Nesja, "Greenland (GISP2) Ice Core and Historical Indicators of Complex North Atlantic Climate Changes during the Fourteenth Century," *The Holocene* 17, no. 4 (2007): 427–434. For consequences, see Thomas H. McGovern et al., "Northern Islands, Human Error, and Environmental Degradation: A View of Social and Ecological Change in the Medieval North Atlantic," *Human Ecology* 16 (1988): 225–270; P. C. Buckland et al., "Bioarchaeological and Climatological Evidence for the Fate of the Norse Farmers in Medieval Greenland," *Antiquity* 70 (1996): 88–96; Thomas H. McGovern, "The Demise of Norse Greenland," in William W. Fitzhugh and Elizabeth. Ward, eds., *Vikings: The North Atlantic Saga* (Washington, D.C., 2000), 327–339; Astrid E. J. Ogilvie and Thomas H. McGovern, "Sagas and Science: Climate and Human Impacts in the North Atlantic," ibid., 385–393. Kirsten Hastrup explored cultural perspectives in *Nature and Policy in Iceland, 1400–1800: An Anthropological Analysis of History and Mentality* (Oxford, 1990). For the late medieval and early modern Netherlands, an awareness of challenge, response, and consequences both planned and unintended arises from the interplay of issues in William TeBrake, "Taming the Waterwolf: Hydraulic Engineering and Water Management in the Netherlands during the Middle Ages," *Technology and Culture* 43 (2002): 475–499; Petra J. E. M. van Dam, "Sinking Peat Bogs: Environmental Change in Holland, 1350–1550," *Environmental History* 6 (2001): 32–45; Charles Cornelisse, "The Economy of Peat and Its Environmental Consequences in Holland during the Late Middle Ages," in Hilde Greefs and Marjolien 't Hart, eds., *Water Management, Communities, and Environment: The Low Countries in Comparative Perspective, c. 1000–c.1800* (Gent, 2006), 95–121; Richard Unger, "Energy Sources for the Dutch Golden Age: Peat, Wind and Coal," *Research in Economic History* 9 (1984): 221–253; Petra J. E. M. van Dam, "Ecological Challenges, Technological Innovations: The Modernization of Sluice Building in Holland, 1300–1600,"

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AHR Editor: Several of you have already mentioned "global warming"; and I'm pretty sure that if we asked people on the street what comes to mind when "environmental crisis" is mentioned, they would refer to this looming reality. I suspect as well, however, that most of you would resist framing it as the prototypical environmental crisis. At the risk of getting hung up in semantics, it is certainly appropriate to discuss what we mean by environmental crises, as opposed to others that historians deal with; or perhaps it would be more useful to think of different categories of crisis, so as not to get locked into simplistic, generic, or simply presentist understandings of the term. When historians (and others) use "crisis," often, though not always, they mean more than just hard times, terrible circumstances, and the like, but rather a conjuncture of phenomena that indicates problems, blockages, dislocations, or threats of a structural or systemic nature. For environmental historians, this would seem to be implicit in their very understanding of history—to see it in systemic or structural terms. Indeed, in a profession in which structural analysis has for the most part gone out of fashion, environmental historians might be seen as singularly energetic promoters of this approach. So my question has to do with what environmental historians bring to the study of historical crisis. Can environmental historians make this concept meaningful in ways that other historians have not? What counts as an "environmental crisis" and why?

Jim McCann: The *AHR* Editor has asked us to comment on the issue of the nature of crisis (or, I guess, the crises of nature)—that is, whether environmental history has a particular and distinctive contribution to understanding a phenomenon like global warming. My first response is the knee-jerk one that sees the current political debate as not fundamentally historical or even empiricist. The opposing narratives are more theological, in the sense that they are about belief, not so much systematic skepticism. Historians might help frame a debate of facts about the past, but hard science types have more relevant information. Or Thomas Friedman on today's *New York Times* op-ed page has a keener sense of the public debate (he's in Greenland at the moment).

So I might reframe the Editor's question to us. How does environmental history as a subdiscipline differ in its approach to understanding a crisis such as, say, global warming, or the outbreak of a vector-borne disease (West Nile virus, dengue fever, or kalazar), or urban settlement sprawl? I think, in fact, that an environmental historian would approach these problems of nature/human interactions in fundamentally different ways from scholars whose questions and methods derive from the history of science or the history of medicine. In the latter two cases, there is a dom-

Technology and Culture 43 (2002): 500–520; van Dam, "Harnessing the Wind: The History of Windmills in Holland, 1300–1600," in Paola Galetti and Pierre Racine, eds., *I mulini nell'Europa medievale: Atti del Convegno di San Quirino d'Orcia, 21–23 setembre 2000* (Bologna, 2003), 37–53; Milja van Tielhof and Petra van Dam, "Losing land, Gaining Water: Ecological and Financial Aspects of Regional Water Management in Rijnland, 1200–1800," in Greefs and Hart, *Water Management, Communities, and Environment*, 63–93; and Tielhof and van Dam, *Waterstaat in stedenland: Het hoogheemraadschap van Rijnland voor 1857* (Utrecht, 2006), especially when seen as a counterpoint to Jan de Vries and Ad van de Woud, *The First Modern Economy: Success, Failure, and Perseverance of the Dutch Economy, 1500–1815* (Cambridge, 1997).

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inant narrative of modernism—in other words, the implicit belief that scientific method and empiricism will eventually understand and then solve the problem (or crisis) at hand. Those approaches to history implicitly in their narratives offer an eternal optimism about infectious and chronic disease, hunger, energy shortages, or air pollution. This optimism in those fields has its roots in a kind of faith in scientific method, but also in the temptations of research grant narrative that needs to promise solutions in some sort of short- to medium-term time horizon. Few NSF or NIH grants (or Sachs initiatives) channel funding toward work that points out the futility of laboratory science or pharmacology to solve particular diseases. The history of malaria is a good example of the contrasts between history of medicine and an environmental history approach. The same dynamic operates in terms of how environmental historians approach the idea of crisis, both in defining what a crisis is and whether or not a particular policy has value. The explanation for the current flood of funding toward a malaria vaccine is much more an issue of the narrative of a cure than it is a realistic and considered assessment that humans co-evolve with disease and conditions of nature. I think that environmental historians have analysis and understanding as a goal, far more than solutions to crises that stimulate political policy debates.

Nancy Langston: Jim suggested that historians of science still have faith in a dominant narrative of modernism, but I'm not sure this is true. My colleagues here in history of science seem even more dubious than environmental historians about the possibility of solving "crises," however we define them, with the scientific method. But perhaps Jim is right that narratives of progress become more appealing when NSF and NIH grants are a possibility.

Ecologists seem to be far less hopeful about science's ability to solve a crisis than most historians. But still they plug on, in the face of what they perceive to be looming ecological disaster. For example, colleagues in my forest ecology department are watching the collapse of northern conifer forests they spent their careers immersed in learning about, and then in learning to love. Things that to the rest of us seem trivial, or even sweet—a family camping trip with a load of firewood from home, a fishing trip with a can of earthworms for bait—spell disaster to them, because they know something the rest of us don't know about the history of community collapse. They know that a stick of firewood may well contain several emerald ash borers, and if just a few of those insects get out of the firewood and into the surrounding forest, that could mean 95 percent of our ash trees will be dead within five years. So much for a key component of the forest (and so much for the cultural associations local Menominee women have with ash trees, which are important for basket-making). The ecologists know that wriggling worms don't all get impaled on fishing hooks. A few squirm free, and havoc results in the hemlock forests, because non-native earthworms transform nitrogen cycling on the forest floor. If you walk with an ecologist in the Sylvania Wilderness Area, essentially the last old-growth hemlock forest left in the Great Lakes states, you can trace what the ecologists call a "killing wave" of earthworm activity. The combined stresses may mean that the forests we now know and love are unlikely to persist, and under current climate models, are unlikely to return in the future.

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My point here is not that ecologists know more about crisis than the rest of us, but that we only perceive a crisis when we have first learned to observe, and then to value, a particular set of relationships that are about to be destroyed. That's as true for human relationships as for ecological relationships. I'm willing to bet that few of the early Anglo settlers perceived the loss of Ojibwe community relationships along Lake Superior as a crisis in the nineteenth century.

So what can environmental historians do that scientists and social historians might have a hard time doing in the face of rapid, irreversible ecological and social transformations? I hope we can do some translation: speak to the ecologists of cultural changes, and speak to other historians of ecological changes, in a language that helps both communities understand that complex relationships are being unraveled. What value we place on that unraveling is up to the individual: It's not our job to say "This is bad." But it is our job to say "This has happened."

How does a sense of human history change our perception of crises? An example from my own work may be suggestive. In the early 1990s, when I was doing graduate work in zoology, I spent a year studying Laysan and Black-footed albatrosses. These enormous birds breed on the leeward Hawaiian islands and feed in the north Pacific Ocean, a place as remote from industrial civilization as any spot on earth. We examined the stomachs of hundreds of albatrosses trapped as "bycatch" in squid drift nets. Much to our surprise, nearly every albatross we dissected contained plastic fragments in its stomach. These same albatrosses had incomplete molt patterns, which led to reduced ability to breed, along with heavy parasite loads in their esophagi (indicative of reduced immunity). At the time, we published a series of papers theorizing about the evolutionary history of these deleterious traits, but we never imagined that they might also be related to the chemicals leaching out of the plastics in their guts.

When we believed incomplete molt, heavy parasite loads, and breeding failures to be part of the sweep of evolutionary history, we didn't get angry or depressed about it. We simply thought we were witnessing interesting processes that would eventually lead to change—perhaps extinction of one of the albatross species, but more likely transformed molt and breeding patterns. We thought it was pretty cool, to be honest. Evolution in action!

But several years ago, when I began working on a history of endocrine-disrupting synthetic chemicals, I realized that all those bits of plastic we were finding in the birds' stomachs may have been leaching toxins which led to reproductive failure. Maybe our fascinating molt patterns were not shaped by evolutionary responses to the environmental constraints of the cold north Pacific Ocean. Maybe instead they were caused by a toxic sponge of trash gumming up their reproductive systems. This possibility leads to a particular anger that evolutionary processes would be unlikely to evoke. If system collapse happens over millennia, fine. If system collapse happens in three decades because people don't bother to clean up after themselves, and don't even know what they're destroying when they toss out plastic bags, the response is

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very different. A sense of human history changes the ways scientists analyze the meanings of albatross breeding patterns. More importantly, perhaps, it changes the ways people interpret the meaning and value of those changes. I expect that many ecologists would share my sense of normative values here.

Richard C. Hoffmann: The Editor's question about "environmental crisis" as seen by environmental historians pulls a medievalist back to Lynn White, Jr.'s now-classic statement of hypothesis, "The Historical Roots of Our Ecologic Crisis," first published in *Science* in 1967 (likely the first time a medieval historian wrote of his or her subject in that journal).[31] Note that the subsequent and continuing discourse over the environmental impact of religious ideas has commonly referred to "ecological" (White's "ecologic" was idiosyncratic) rather than environmental crisis without, in my view, materially changing the subject. More vexed is the question of whether White and others conceive of the ecological crisis as a complex and historically rooted phenomenon of the present or grant the term generic quality as an historical concept. I've not canvassed the historiography of the subdiscipline but would pose specific questions and refer to certain large cases to encourage our thinking more clearly about patterns in the interaction of humans and nature. What may usefully be classed as an environmental crisis and why?

Start simply: Jim McCann has said he has rabbits with a taste for tomatoes, I've had deer enjoying lily buds; do we face environmental crises or environmental risks to suburban gardening? Then come Nancy's deceived and debilitated albatrosses, which in her telling achieved crisis standing only after their retrospective re-diagnosis as victims of abrupt human sleaze, not slow evolutionary processes.

Get larger. Have communities from New Bedford to Newfoundland been experiencing environmental crisis from destruction of fish stocks? Was this only in the late twentieth century, or did it occur in the nineteenth as well? Or ought they better be thought crises of the cod and of the whales? Was the Indian Ocean earthquake and tsunami of December 26, 2004, an environmental crisis—or must an event go beyond human fatalities to bring about changes in societies' response measures and land use? What, then, of the massive volcanic eruptions of Mt. Pelée on Martinique in 1902 or Laki in Iceland in 1783–1784? Both killed many humans and other living things, had serious effects on weather patterns, and changed landscapes in ways still visible today.

Environmental historians of early modern Europe debate the dimensions of widespread wood shortages as a "crisis" met in some regions by rationing consumption, social discipline, and scientific woodland management, etc., and in others by the ecological revolution of fossil fuels.[32] Both structural causes for concern and the different responses twined deeply into linked cultural and environmental processes.

[31] Lynn White, Jr., "The Historical Roots of Our Ecologic Crisis," *Science*, n.s. 155, no. 3767 (March 10, 1967): 1203–1207, reprinted in White, *Dynamo and Virgin Reconsidered: Essays in the Dynamism of Western Culture* (Cambridge, Mass., 1968), 75–94.

[32] Compare, for starters, E. A. Wrigley, "Meeting Human Energy Needs: Constraints, Opportunities, and Effects," in Paul Slack, ed., *Environments and Historical Change: The Linacre Lectures, 1998* (Oxford,

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I think the early modern population collapse of New World native peoples after the introduction of Eurasian diseases—not, by and large, vector-borne—is generally acknowledged as an environmental event of high magnitude. With subsequent European settlement and exploitation of a very different man-land ratio and landscape than would otherwise have prevailed, this involved a vast array of human and nonhuman, living and non-living participants and parameters. Was it also an environmental crisis? Might perspective matter in that diagnosis?

In a near-classic 1980 essay, Charles Bowlus labeled an "ecological crisis" the first half of the fourteenth century in Europe.[33] Crop failures triggered by runs of bad weather turned into large-scale famines when food entitlements broke down during 1315–1318 in northwestern Europe and the late 1330s–early 1340s in the Mediterranean. These events occurred under conditions indicative of human overpopulation: land cleared and plowed beyond earlier and later limits of arable use; shrinking farm size; labor intensification and falling real wages; declining yields; fuel shortages. Then Europeans experienced in 1347–1351 a sudden and devastating epidemic, which we call the Black Death. This killed a third, a half, or more of the population. The disease is, however, difficult to connect to nutritional failures, as contemporary witnesses agree that it slew people of all social ranks. If it was what modern medicine calls bubonic plague (caused by the bacterium *Yersinia pestis*), only tenuous speculation about shipments of grain and textiles concealing infected rats and their attendant fleas would explain its rapid spread across the European subcontinent.[34] But faced with criticism, the retrospective diagnosis fails credible proof, and much in the epidemiology of the Black Death accords poorly with the model of a rodent-borne disease that bubonic plague researchers in Asia established at the start of the twentieth century.[35] Whatever the identities of the pathogens at work in fourteenth-century Europe and the sixteenth-century Americas, those organisms experienced no environmental crisis, but rather a pioneer discovery of whole new host populations. Bowlus's term, then, means to catch the complexity and difficulties of the human situation in a world of natural and cultural change.

J. Donald Hughes has written carefully about environmental "problems" of classical Greece and Rome.[36] Deforestation, soil erosion and depletion, overgrazing, and loss of biodiversity can surely be classified as important sustainability issues, but if I read

1999), 76–95; and Rolf P. Sieferle, *The Subterranean Forest: Energy Systems and the Industrial Revolution* (Cambridge, 2001).

[33] Charles Bowlus, "Ecological Crisis in Fourteenth Century Europe," in Lester J. Bilsky, ed., *Historical Ecology: Essays on Environment and Social Change* (Port Washington, N.Y., 1980), 86–99.

[34] For a hard-line and detailed narrative of the bubonic plague diagnosis, see Ole J. Benedictow, *The Black Death, 1346–1353: The Complete History* (Rochester, N.Y., 2004).

[35] Cohn, "Black Death"; and more recently Samuel K. Cohn, Jr., "Households and Plague in Early Modern Italy," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 38 (2007): 177–205; and G. Christakos, R. A. Olea, and H. L. Yu, "Recent Results on the Spatiotemporal Modelling and Comparative Analysis of Black Death and Bubonic Plague Epidemics," *Public Health* 121, no. 9 (September 2007): 700–720, both of which contain numerous further references.

[36] J. Donald Hughes, *Pan's Travail: Environmental Problems of the Ancient Greeks and Romans* (Baltimore, 1994); and more recently his "Ripples in Clio's Pond: Social Structure and Environmental Impact in the Roman Empire," *Capitalism Nature Socialism* 15 (September 2004): 29–35, and "Environmental Impacts of the Roman Economy and Social Structure: Augustus to Diocletian," in Alf Hornborg, J. R.

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Hughes correctly, they eventually blocked revival more than they drove the destructive "decline and fall" of ancient Mediterranean civilization. Disease, invasion, and political insecurity in a context of great depopulation make late antiquity as somber and complex an ecological mix as the early modern Americas. So was this an environmental crisis (too)?

What, then, are the defining parameters of historic environmental crises? Is it destruction of an ecosystem or just its destabilizing? Must the phenomenon meet some threshold values of speed or scale? Need causes (structural or precipitant) and/or effects be located on only one or necessarily both sides of the human-nature interaction? Does point of view matter, making crisis for one opportunity for another? I would contrast this ambiguity with the relative precision of Carolyn Merchant's 1987 introduction of "ecological revolution," a concept genuinely useful for historians to distinguish a particular and deep-going type of induced ecological change.[37] Environmental hazard (risk), cultural perceptions of landscape, and social metabolism are other ideas helpful for historical analysis. Against this standard, "environmental crisis" may have meaning only in the post-1960s cultural context as undesirable phenomena perceived at the nexus of nature and culture, especially as defined in present-day political terms as calling for some collective response.

Indeed, we may now be unable to imagine any but the purest political or cultural crisis (a disputed election, the breakup of a famous band) as lacking environmental aspects and significance. This may, however, be no bad thing if it helps alert anthropocentric and ethnocentric developed society, including many good practicing historians, to the inescapable webbing of their interests with the natural world. No doubt the vast majority of environmental historians do share Jim McCann's goals of analysis and understanding human relations within nature. The concept of "environmental crisis" at this point serves more to raise present-day awareness than to deepen this historical understanding.

Peter C. Perdue: Journalists use the term "crisis" so often these days that it has become practically meaningless. I think that we should try to use it sparingly: not every disaster is a crisis, else imperial China would have had thousands of them, given all its droughts and floods. Environmental historians may be able to contribute to public understanding by distinguishing different temporal and spatial scales of change. Some disasters (earthquakes, tsunami) are immediate, unpredictable, short-term, and relatively localized; others develop more slowly, over larger scales, with more advance warning (droughts and floods, global warming, energy shortages). But both kinds have natural and human causes, long- and short-term. Environmental historians can share approaches with scientists in distinguishing the scale and seriousness of long- and short-term environmental change. I agree with the moderator's general description of "conjunctures . . . of a systemic nature" as the essence

McNeill, and Joan Martinez-Alier, eds., *Rethinking Environmental History: World-System History and Global Environmental Change* (Lanham, Md., 2007), 27–40.

[37] Carolyn Merchant, "The Theoretical Structure of Ecological Revolutions," *Environmental Review* 11 (1987): 265–274.

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of crisis. But we can certainly debate exactly when, where, and how serious these crises were: All of Eurasia in the seventeenth century? Or only parts of Western Europe, Russia (briefly), and China (for half a century)?

From 1991 to 1995, we had a series of workshops at MIT discussing how humanists could contribute to the understanding of contemporary environmental crises, and Jill Conway, Ken Keniston, and Leo Marx published some of the essays, with an introduction, in 1999.[38] Our main point was that most people thought that scientists and engineers had the main responsibility for studying and solving environmental problems, but in fact humanistic and social scientific analysis had a lot to offer. There is a strong belief in a quick technological fix to many problems, not just in the U.S. but also in China, and much public discussion rules out or marginalizes the "human factor." (In one of the MIT models of Global Climate Change, this variable was added in at the last minute in the bottom corner of a big, complex diagram filled with physical forces.) But many of the basic divisions among environmentalists, like those between anthropocentrists and ecocentrists, apocalyptic visionaries and practical reformers, those who stress aesthetic and cultural values vs. those who stress material factors, or those who promote regulation vs. those who promote the market, all derive from historically rooted debates over social structures and political change. That seemed obvious to us in the 1990s. Not that many people noticed.

It's interesting to look back at this volume now, since even after fifteen years, a number of crucial issues have changed. Global warming hardly appears in the 1998 volume, and the editors say about it that "present knowledge is limited, and existing models do not enable us to predict catastrophe," so they recommend "prudent gradualism," not so different from the Bush administration. Now we know more, and catastrophe seems closer. There was a lot of talk back then about "modernity" and "postmodernity," but no one discussed the history of oil or energy supplies, not to mention terrorism or violence in failed states. No one (including me) brought up China's environmental impact.[39] "Crisis" is a moving target: current concerns shift so fast that we shouldn't tailor our research to fit the latest, most heavily funded fad. Environmental historians should at least try to look behind the immediate issues to longer-term structural and cultural changes. Environmental history has been more predominantly material and structural than other subfields of history; on the other hand, perhaps it has not put enough stress on particular disasters. Recently, quite a few Asian scholars, for obvious reasons, have begun to look at specific disasters in broader historical perspective.[40]

We do have common cause with a number of scientists, but their vocabulary is different. I am struck by Nancy Langston's comment that ecologists love their trees, or feel anger at the collapse of ecosystems. Do physicists love their quarks, or biologists

[38] Jill K. Conway, Kenneth Keniston, and Leo Marx, *Earth, Air, Fire, Water: Humanistic Studies of the Environment* (Amherst, Mass., 1999).

[39] But see Vaclav Smil, *China's Environmental Crisis: An Inquiry into the Limits of National Development* (Armonk, N.Y., 1993).

[40] Conference on Natural Disaster in Asian History, Culture, and Memory, Asian Research Institute, Singapore, August 26–28, 2005.

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love their genomes, in the same way? Ecology, with its heritage in natural history, has a stronger emotional and moral charge for many people than the reductionist sciences. But there are odd changes in the meaning of terms. We can blame "non-native" worms for causing chaos in forests, but don't try to blame "non-native" human migrants for disrupting human societies. Is there still a lingering preference for equilibrium and distrust of outsiders causing change in ecology? Disruption and external impact is normal in human societies; why not in nature? Translation questions here are quite fascinating, and important.

One common thread emerges from the Conway et al. volume, William Cronon's notorious essay "Getting Back to the Wrong Nature," and my former MIT colleague in political science, the late Steve Meyer's *The End of the Wild*: there is no more wilderness left.[41] Humans affect every species and every zone on the planet, and only the "weedy species," those adapted to the human presence, will survive in any significant numbers. This fact strengthens the case for humanistic history: if there is no independent nature to act as a counter-model, we have met the enemy and he is us.

Lise Sedrez: The question has changed quite a bit since its initial formulation. From "what environmental historians bring to the study of historical crisis" to "How does environmental history as a subdiscipline differ in its approach to understanding a crisis such as, say, global warming, or the outbreak of a vector-borne disease (West Nile virus, dengue fever, or kalazar), or urban settlement sprawl?" And then to earthworms, emotions and responsibilities, plastic in albatrosses' stomachs, and Merchant's concept of "ecological revolutions." Uff! There is a lot packed into one question.

So instead of adding yet another concept to the conversation, I would like to highlight some of the ideas already brought to the debate. Nancy suggested that environmental historians are responsible for some necessary translation between ecologists and other historians. It touches that commitment to interdisciplinarity, which, as mentioned earlier, is at the foundation of the subdiscipline. This "disciplinary translation" (and the dialogue we hope to foster) is not only for content (such as arguing with historians on the life cycle of the mosquitoes and with ecologists on the life cycle of Latin American bureaucratic policies), but also for the translation of the concept of crisis itself.

Which brings me to Peter's comments that "crisis" is a moving target. If it is so (and I partially agree), environmental historians must contribute to understanding the "history of environmental crises"—how global warming displaced the ozone layer or ocean pollution as the top priority in an international agenda, or how the water pollution budget surpassed yellow fever funding in postwar Brazil. At the same time, when Peter states that environmental historians should "try to look behind the immediate issues to longer-term structural and cultural changes," he is correctly suggesting that these several environmental crises (water pollution *and* yellow fever) are in fact interconnected in the relationship between societies and the environment. In

[41] Stephen M. Meyer, *The End of the Wild* (Somerville, Mass., 2006).

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other words, it is not so much the target (the crisis) that is moving but the bull's-eye (the agendas, or the particular events), and environmental historians can't afford to lose track of either.

Paraphrasing David Brower's "Think global, act local," maybe environmental history has the task (and hopefully the ability) to "study local, write global." Shifting the scales in time and in place is no small feat, but it is something that environmental history, with its necessary interdisciplinary character, is well poised to do.

AHR Editor: I am struck by Richard's comment "The concept of 'environmental crisis' at this point serves more to raise present-day awareness than to deepen this historical understanding." I don't want to assume that all of you would endorse this statement, but skepticism about the appropriateness or usefulness or correctness of the concept has been voiced more than once in this Conversation. Likewise, a contributor to an *AHR* Forum on "The General Crisis of the Seventeenth Century Revisited," which appeared in the October 2008 issue, argues that historians' understanding of "crisis" has usually been unthinkingly associated with medical meanings of the concept and ought rather to be considered in rhetorical terms. Nancy has spoken about environmental historians' passion and, specifically, anger when they witness the ravages and permanent damage of nature from human behavior. And she has wondered "why many ecologists would share my sense of normative values here." My question, then, has to do with your own understandings of how you frame the systematic, often irreversible, but in any case profound changes you witness, either in the present day or in the remote past: Is there a place for you to embrace, with all its ambiguity and imprecision, the notion of "crisis" for rhetorical reasons—to underscore the urgency of nature's plight and people's past or potential suffering, and perhaps, accordingly, to spur people to greater sensitivity, even action? The question, too, I suppose, abuts the issue of the politics and "normative values" of environmental history: Does the field render its practitioners more engaged than other historians?

Richard C. Hoffmann: Wary of seeming to steer our conversation, I had hoped first to hear others' take on the Editor's double-barreled query about the rhetorical value of "environmental crisis" and the activism of environmental historians. But as other matters compete for space on my September desk and mind, let me set forth some possibly incompatible observations and thoughts.

On the conceptual side, I stubbornly remain convinced that more clarity and consensus is needed to make (the? an?) "environmental crisis" a useful analytical and, to a lesser degree, rhetorical tool for historians.

Rhetorically the idea of crisis may well serve to incite social awareness that all cannot simply continue as people erroneously think it now is and long has. It may generally sum up phenomena of change in relations between humankind and planetary systems or between specific cultural groups and their material surroundings. It might help people acknowledge the ecological principle, as put by Charles Darwin, that "we are

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all netted together."[42] But then the particulars of the net and the changes we experience call for a different kind of awareness, understanding, and response than crisis seems to elicit. This line of thought evolves in my response to the Editor's primary question: Does the practice of environmental history make participants more engaged (viz. in environmental discourse and action) than other historians?

In some ways, environmental history is certainly more able than some other historical subdisciplines to be engaged in current public discourse. Joachim Radkau treated one side of this in his 2000 general history now Englished as *Nature and Power: A Global History of the Environment*.[43] Environmental history provides information and perspective essential to those who now hold power because the state needs (a) to anticipate and prevent predictable natural disasters and (b) to acknowledge the likelihood of unpredictable and complex change. The lesson: prepare but stay nimble. And to learn the lesson, the realities of past disasters and the predictability of present risks are (ought to be) potent arguments and advice.

Environmental history, perhaps more than other kinds of history, is a valuable source of comparative exempla for attentive citizens and their leaders, informing about things that worked and things that did not in human relations with the natural world. I argue that it necessarily introduces or reminds about the longer run. Historians can demonstrate similarities and differences between current and former conditions and document the processes that moved from one to the other. We can learn from past human experience about sustainable resource use, effective responses to disaster, and effective responses to change, whether catastrophic or gradual on the human scale. The historical record (including, of course, material and paleoscientific evidence) further offers cases of unsustainable practice, of unintended consequences, of failed responses, and of the limits to human agency. Some of the latter certainly involved "environmental crises" in the sense of damaging breakdowns in human relations with their non-human surroundings. But many of the former involve human adaptations that occurred at temporal and quantitative scales where the crisis concept (or metaphor) plays no useful role.

But does the practice of environmental history itself bring environmental historians to greater personal engagement than other kinds of historical scholars? In my own experience, some social historians and practitioners of women's history are much more single-mindedly dedicated to using their historical scholarship as a tool of change than are practicing environmental historians. My personal connection works in the reverse: I was actively engaged in conservation work and activism for rivers and wildlife *before* I understood that these issues pertained, too, to my historical profession and that historical research could inform present assessments, practice, and action. Thereafter, I also realized that my previous professional work on past

[42] Howard E. Gruber and Paul H. Barrett, *Darwin on Man: A Psychological Study of Scientific Creativity, Together with Darwin's Early and Unpublished Notebooks* (London, 1974), 447, excerpting from the B notebook, p. 232, compiled by Darwin in autumn 1837.

[43] Joachim Radkau, *Natur und Macht: Eine Weltgeschichte der Umwelt* (Munich, 2000); translated into English as *Nature and Power: A Global History of the Environment*, trans. Thomas Dunlap (New York, 2008).

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agrarian societies itself pertained to an environmental history which successfully encompassed economic, social, and cultural histories (and other disciplines, too).

But a result of historical knowledge can be disconcerting to elements of the environmental movement, namely that both natural forces and human actions have been driving environmental change (including ecosystem destruction) since time immemorial. Only some aspects of the present situation are unique. The environmental movement ought surely to have learned and corrected as a result of environmental history almost as much as should those who then and now deny environmental concerns and values. In the North American setting, Bill Cronon rightly identified this by asking which nature we preserve or restore (and was for his pains roundly criticized by some).[44] A better understanding of historical issues and of the "story" may dampen rather than foster enthusiasm for action. Working with small rivers, for example, our group of scientists, managers, and volunteers came to accept that the natural dynamic means constant destruction and re-creation of aquatic habitat, so much even well-intended human intervention is useless, even damaging. What, then, constitutes ecological "restoration" in a larger world of change? To what extent do we aim to maximize sustainable relations with functioning ecosystems (where I think historians have much to offer), or rather put resources into bringing something to a "pristine" state while neglecting other serious stresses arising from human relations with the natural sphere? Different situations call for different and difficult choices.

Peter C. Perdue: As summer fades ineluctably into fall, the chilling weather reminds us of inevitable cycles of natural change. You don't need to be a historian to be aware of seasonal change, or even to think about the effects of environments on political change, but change of weather reminds us that months matter. In temperate countries, spring and summer are good times for demonstrations (May Days, July Days, Tiananmen), but October has also been a good time for revolutions (China 1911, Russia 1917).

The moderator asks if environmental historians are especially prone to engaging in activism. Actually, labor historians, women's historians, rural historians, etc., generally have just as much, if not more, commitment to acting on behalf of their subjects of study. They also have the advantage of identifying a clear group of people to represent, and a set of social theories and techniques to guide inquiry and action. Environmental history doesn't fit this type of social history very well, so its relationship to political action is somewhat different. We could see it as a type of historical materialism, extending the scope of factors of change beyond economic and technological structures to natural forces. But extending the scope to the non-human makes it hard to decide exactly which human structures are the most important ones to target. If the enemy of human sustainability is all of us, we have no legs to stand on. And should we also agitate on behalf of wolves, trees, and fish as well as humans? The constituency of environmentalism is almost impossibly broad.

[44] William Cronon, "The Trouble with Wilderness; or, Getting Back to the Wrong Nature," appeared almost simultaneously in *Environmental History* 1 (1996): 7–28 and in his *Uncommon Ground: Rethinking the Human Place in Nature* (New York, 1995; reprinted in 1996 as *Uncommon Ground: Toward Reinventing Nature*), 69–90.

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On the other hand, critics have charged that most environmental movements actually represent primarily the interests of middle and upper classes. Historically, this has generally been true, as in the form of big game hunters like Teddy Roosevelt preserving national parks or Chinese literati struggling to protect the aesthetic charms of a lake against encroachment by developers.[45] Some environmentalists have often embraced a form of romantic pastoralism opposed to all technological development. We could respond that nearly all modern collective movements for some form of justice have had middle- or higher-class leadership at least at the outset (anti-slavery, women's rights, etc.), and intellectuals have repeatedly led revolutions on behalf of other classes.

But more recently, cross-class coalitions have formed to focus on industrial toxicity in working-class or minority regions. The motivations of urban literate classes and rural and working classes may be different, but they have sometimes found common ground in protecting healthy environments against breakneck development. Environmental movements in Taiwan, for example, have united believers in popular religion defending sacred sites with "modern" environmentalists arguing for protected wilderness areas.[46] Environmentalism might avoid the historical traps of organizers who polarize one class against another, precisely because of its potentially broad appeal.

So is Green the new Marxism? It's interesting that the *Radical History Review* is now calling for contributors to a special issue on environmental crises. (So for once, the *AHR* got there first!) It is striking that at least incipient environmental consciousness has grown rapidly among a broad span of people even in developing countries, and the older arguments of developmental elites for the primacy of GNP growth at all costs have lost conviction. Even the PRC government now endorses "sustainable development" and has moved away from Mao's notions of an all-out War on Nature. Children in Chinese elementary schools quickly pick up ideas of ecosystems, the interrelatedness of humans and nature, and the beauty of animals and plants that were inconceivable a decade ago. Now the widespread poisoning of infants by milk additives because of unregulated industrial growth is driving the point home to their parents, too. This is the Chinese equivalent of our financial crisis: the state must respond to preserve its legitimacy, but the abandonment of serious regulatory control over its industrial interests is the primary cause. The Chinese state has tried to suppress independent critiques of its disastrous environmental record—for example, by shutting down lawsuits over shoddily built schools in the earthquake zone outside Chengdu. But these repeated scandals might well generate new collective movements and cause a transformation in Chinese citizens' views of their government. In the past, it was the inadequacy of the Qing empire, or the Republican government, in defending the welfare of its people against foreign invasion, natural disaster, or internal upheaval that mobilized citizens to demand new institutions of civil society; this could just happen again today in regard to environmental damage. China does

[45] Schoppa, *Song Full of Tears*.

[46] Robert P. Weller, *Discovering Nature: Globalization and Environmental Culture in China and Taiwan* (Cambridge, 2006).

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face a real environmental crisis today, and the only solution, in my view, is for the state to allow the development of a genuinely open discussion among its citizenry. The United States could play a helpful role here, too. Orville Schell has made a strong argument for U.S.-Chinese cooperation on reducing CO_2 emissions as a key element in the bilateral relationship.[47]

Historians have an ambivalent relationship with these kinds of events. We can always say "This has happened before," and hope that people will learn lessons from the past. I would like to be as optimistic as Richard Hoffmann on the potential for using the historical record to provide useful cases and comparative examples. But we also know that humans often forget or deliberately suppress the most valuable collective experiences, or distort them into simple stereotypes. Most managerial, engineering, and political elites embrace a quick-fix philosophy that deliberately avoids treading into deeper structural waters. Governing elites resist looking too closely into historical roots of current crises; they suppress evidence and manipulate historical narratives to legitimate themselves. The fact that financial crises, or environmental crises, have reoccurred repeatedly even in recent memory doesn't guarantee that anyone will really want to address the fundamental causes. Historians have to recognize, and tell their readers, that impulses to denial, willful blindness, and ideological distortion are just as powerful as rational analysis in causing social change.

But the role of an impotent Cassandra, who sees the inevitable tragedy but can do nothing to stop it, is not congenial to me. Better to be a wild Jeremiah, emotional and all, than a totally detached observer of the self-willed destruction of a species. So the idea of "crisis," I think, does have some value. We can try to make it more intellectually respectable by specifying particular kinds of threats and underlying causes. By highlighting the neglected role of natural forces in the past, we may be able to call attention to the critical impact of environmental change today, and hope against hope that somebody listens.

Jim McCann: Our group now owes a considerable debt to Richard in Canada and to Peter in New Haven for keeping our momentum as the seasons change. Our academic seasons push us to think about research proposals, student funding deadlines, and classes. I have been for the past two weeks working through a proposal on malaria to the Gates Foundation for their new initiative that has revived the emphasis on "eradication" of that disease via new approaches and technologies. Here is a valuable case in point about how society (public health philanthropy in this case) has identified a long-standing environmental problem in the form of a historically ubiquitous disease. Al Crosby, William McNeill, and others have now made a point of the ways in which disease has been an undercurrent of human history that is fundamentally an issue of environmental causation (or at least context). After all, malaria is at its core an unintended consequence of human and vector agro-ecological interactions that emerged in Africa but became a global phenomenon. Malaria is a topic grounded in environmental interactions over time, though few of the major

[47] Orville Schell, "The U.S. and China: Common Ground on Climate," *Yale Environment 360*, August 18, 2008, http://e360.yale.edu//content/print.msp?id=2043 (accessed November 14, 2008).

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initiatives to deal with it have much to say about how the study of its history helps deal with it. Multilateral agencies have given broad and visible attention to malaria's persistence as a "crisis," though they have not quite placed it in the same category as climatic episodic shocks like Katrina, the 2004 tsunami, or global warming as a deeper transformative factor.

Does it help to have historians involved in competing with lab entomology or genetic modification of mosquitoes or parasites for funding? In that regard, environmental history differs substantially, and substantively, from an ideology like Marxism, as Peter suggests. Environmental ideology, like the Green Belt movement in Kenya, was politically significant. Its intent and its impact (Nobel Prize and all that) was not so much a foundation of research or visionary resource management as it was a way to mobilize popular political sentiment against an entrenched political elite. The movement's potential as a threat to political power was the issue, not so much its environmental observations. Many of Kenya's landscapes were actually greener in the 1970s than they were in the 1930s or in the nineteenth century. Bless his soul, Al Gore has been wrong about forest history in Africa, albeit with good intent. But the Green Belt movement did not use or need environmental history to address its deeper goals of local-level political movements. The trees they advocated were more symbols than pieces of local ecology chosen to recognize historical varieties. Tree planting was a political act as much as a farmer's economic choice. Both sides in Kenya knew it and acted accordingly. We can all be grateful for Wangari Maathai's focus on afforestation, but the basic assumptions about historical vegetation in the Rift Valley or the highlands were not always empirically well founded. Really, that was not the point.

Political struggles and environmental history can have and have had overlapping venues and goals. In that way, environmental history as a topic for research has much in common with social history (whether it's Annales or "New Social History" of the American sort). New questions that draw historical methods of inquiry emerge and then recede. They may leave behind momentum for social or political change, or they may bring on a response that entrenches structures of power. The presence of environmental crises on the political horizon may well sustain public interest as the global political economy moves along; it is a different question whether environmental history's merging of natural science, historical method, and public policy directions makes it "sustainable" as a subfield within the historian's craft.

Nancy Langston: I do think the concept of crisis has analytical value in environmental history scholarship, just as it has value in other fields of history. But I agree with Richard that for the concept of crisis to be useful, we need to be clearer about our definitions. Whether we define a crisis in medical terms (as a sudden change in the course of an illness, which can be either positive or negative, leading to either recovery or death) or in political terms (as an unstable condition that precedes abrupt change), the concept has the potential to help us think more clearly about when, where, and why decisive changes have come about.

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Analytically, ecological concepts of resilience and disturbance might be more useful than medical concepts of crisis if we want to understand how and why decisive change came about in the past. For ecologists, disturbances are integral to ecosystems. Change happens; stability is an illusion. Yet some ecosystems are more resilient to disturbances than others, which means that they are able to respond to a disturbance (such as fire, disease, wind, or climate change) without completely collapsing. Ecological communities and climate systems can typically absorb a certain amount of perturbation and continue to function. But after a certain point, additional disturbances can push the system into a new set of relationships. Add enough energy to a system, and a tipping point (the ecologist's usual term for crisis) might be reached, followed by irreversible changes. In their research, scientists typically avoid assigning normative values to these changes. Use of the term "tipping point" rather than "crisis" is just one example; "positive feedback loop" is another. (When ecologists or climatologists move into the policy realm, they do assign value to these changes, and then they speak in the language of crisis. Those are social values, not purely scholarly values.)

An example might be the Wall Street financial chaos we're witnessing this fall. No single factor is the cause of the myriad economic changes that are now happening in global markets. What seems to many pundits like a sudden change is more likely the result of systems that have been subject to a host of disturbances over the past decade. After years of deregulation and what seems like the utter abdication of regulatory oversight responsibilities, we've reached an unstable situation followed by abrupt change. Many analysts insisted that financial systems were resilient, able to absorb whatever was tossed at them—yet now we're witnessing decisive change. Is this a crisis? It all depends on who you're talking to. Simply calling the current financial situation a crisis is not as helpful as asking some questions: What kinds of economic, political, and cultural transformations led to the unstable condition that preceded the change? How did various groups interpret those transformations, and respond to them or fail to respond to them? Why were so many powerful groups able to ignore or reinterpret the growing signs of instability and stress in financial systems?

I couldn't agree more with Peter when he writes: "Governing elites resist looking too closely into historical roots of current crises; they suppress evidence and manipulate historical narratives to legitimate themselves. The fact that financial crises, or environmental crises, have reoccurred repeatedly even in recent memory doesn't guarantee that anyone will really want to address the fundamental causes. Historians have to recognize, and tell their readers, that impulses to denial, willful blindness, and ideological distortion are just as powerful as rational analysis in causing social change." I do believe that historians have exactly this role to play. We're not going to stop the powerful from willfully manipulating historical narratives to keep themselves in power. But we can and should provide counter-narratives that push back against these manipulations. At times of perceived crisis, perhaps more people are listening.

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Lise Sedrez: The Editor asks us whether environmental history renders its practitioners more engaged than other historians. It could also be that historians attracted to the field of environmental history tend to have a personal trajectory of engagement in environmental activism, and from purely anecdotal evidence, that has been my experience. Maybe it is not so different from other historical subdisciplines connected to the so-called "new social movements," as Peter reminds us of the activism of labor historians, women's historians, rural historians, etc. But if, as he pointed out, they "have the advantage of identifying a clear group of people to represent," and the constituency of environmentalism is "almost impossibly broad," environmental history is also encouraging, urgently inclusive in its subject of study. Environmentalists don't agitate only on behalf of wolves, trees, fish, and humans. They also agitate on behalf of ecosystems, biomes, the planet. This "inclusiveness" does not ignore the competing interests or the contradictions of class, gender, and race. On the contrary, the growing literature on environmental justice and "environmentalism of the poor" (to use the concept of Ramachandra Guha and Juan Martínez-Alier) has been fundamental for the development of environmental history in Latin America and India, for instance.[48] Yet, at the same time, this inclusiveness brings to life old Braudelian dreams of "total history," and also touches even older Marxian hopes of social criticism and transformation of a world in crisis—which would bring us to the Editor's other question.[49]

"Crisis" is for sure a useful concept. The problem is how we use it, and how we frame it. We have repeated several times in this Conversation how interdisciplinary environmental history should be. In fact, John McNeill said once that environmental history is "as interdisciplinary as it gets."[50] And I have pointed out above its "inclusiveness," following Peter's remarks on how almost impossibly broad is the constituency of environmentalism. So if crisis is already a complex concept for any historian, environmental crisis in history is even trickier to nail down. Historians must walk a fine line in adopting a concept of crisis that is manageable and meaningful and yet retains all the complexity that is intrinsic to environmental studies. That is why I like Peter's image of a "moving target." It conveys both the need of focus and the continuous change, necessaries for a useful study of environmental crisis in history.[51]

[48] Guha and Martínez-Alier, *Varieties of Environmentalism*, 230.

[49] I am not so ready to say that environmental history is the new Marxism, but only that it echoes historical traditions of full-fledged engagement, both intellectual and social, as relevant for the discipline of history as the "noble dream" of objective scholarship.

[50] J. R. McNeill, "Observations on the Nature and Culture of Environmental History," *History and Theory* 42, no. 4 (December 2003): 9.

[51] As I edit my part in this Conversation, I have in my hands the recent report on consumption patterns and sustainability released by the World Wildlife Foundation, *Living Planet Report 2008*, October 30, 2008, http://assets.panda.org/downloads/living_planet_report_2008.pdf (accessed November 14, 2008). According to the report, the current demands on the planet, increasing at the same rate, would require by the mid-2030s the equivalent of two planets to maintain modern lifestyles. It then occurred to me, maybe a bit too late for this Conversation, that if environmental history must make ecological sense, so should our definitions for environmental crises. That is, environmental crises are connected to an understanding of "unsustainability," for the lack of a better term, or to the concrete limits of ecological resources in a certain "mode of consumption." Environmental historians do have a role in identifying the historical roots of environmental crises; but more than ever, they must rely on an in-

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Going back to the previous discussion on "engaged historians," I admit I may have a different perspective compared to my colleagues in this conversation. Latin American historians have a tradition of engagement with political causes—and unapologetically so. The foundational document for the Sociedad Latinoamericana y Caribeña de Historia Ambiental states clearly that one of the society's goals is "to contribute to a diverse and in-depth understanding of the links between environmental problems of the past and of the present, allowing us to identify actions that favor the construction of more sustainable societies in Latin America and the Caribbean."[52] Thus environmental historians in Latin America not only identify a connection between past and present environmental problems, but they also believe they have the duty to address these problems. I'd argue that this engagement has been seen by Latin American historians as a necessary condition for the "Latin Americanization" of the discipline, a point Guillermo Castro Herrera implies in his text "Environmental History (Made) in Latin America."[53]

AHR Editor: I want to thank you all for your stimulating and wide-ranging remarks. Clearly, we have only made forays into a vast territory of issues which are as timely and varied as they are historical in nature, as we have been repeatedly reminded. But two things strike me as I consider our exchanges. First is how environmental history, despite its relative infancy as a subfield, joins up with older approaches to history, approaches which in recent years seem to have somewhat fallen out of fashion. "Green" might not be the new Marxism, but environmental history certainly harks back to the examples of social history, structural history, interdisciplinary history, quantitative history, and more. I am struck by the mention of Fernand Braudel several times in the course of this conversation, a historian who has, I fear, dropped off the lists of many graduate programs. Second, I think it is obvious from what has been said that whatever the gravity of the environmental crises that confront us today, these are phenomena that have histories, and these histories have something to teach us. And I think that each of you, in somewhat different ways, has demonstrated that thinking historically, and paying scrupulous attention to the historical record, in no way militates against your concern for the present state of the environment and your engagement with the issues. While most of us are reluctant to extract lessons for the present from the past, it is, I think, pretty certain that we allow ourselves to remain ignorant of the history of environmental change and crisis at our considerable and collective peril.

terdisciplinary community to understand the ecological constraints that characterize the concept of crisis, its implications for biodiversity conservation, for social inequality, and for global biocapacity.

[52] Guillermo Castro-Herrera and Reinaldo Funes Monzote, "SOLCHA—Boletim Informativo 1," January 2007, http://www.fafich.ufmg.br/solcha/arquivos/Boletim_1_SOLCHA_2007.pdf (accessed November 14, 2008).

[53] Guillermo Castro Herrera, "Environmental History (Made) in Latin America," H-Environment, http://www.h-net.org/~environ/historiography/latinam.htm (accessed June 23, 2006).

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Richard C. Hoffmann has professed medieval and early modern history at York University in Toronto since 1971 and published widely on how medieval Europeans lived with one another in their natural world. His transition in 2009 to the status of Professor Emeritus and Senior Scholar promises more time with students pursing exciting projects in environmental history and for his long-delayed books about medieval fisheries and medieval environmental relations in general.

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Featured Reviews

MARY BEARD. *The Roman Triumph*. Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press. 2007. Pp. 434. $29.95.

In September 2007 General Richard Dannatt, head of the British Army, called upon local councils in the United Kingdom to consider holding homecoming parades for troops returning from duty in Iraq and Afghanistan. The message came too late for Mary Beard, whose most up-to-date parallel to the Roman triumph is the celebration for Admiral George Dewey after the Battle of Manila Bay. True, the Roman triumph, like that of Dewey, was a victory parade, something no town council is yet ready to stage in response to the Iraq War. But victory parades, past and present, are also homecoming parades for returning soldiers—one of many important aspects of the Roman triumph given short shrift in Beard's rambling new book, the strengths and weaknesses of which characterize a dominant strand of modern-day classical studies.

Compared with much prior scholarship on the triumph, Beard's treatment is a model of clear-headedness. Generations of historians and classicists have mired themselves and their readers in inconclusive debates over the origin of the triumph, the route of the triumphal procession, the location (or existence?) of a triumphal gate, the treatment of captives, and the legal and political conditions under which a triumph could be awarded. Beard makes clear that the irresolvability of such problems is due not just to the paucity of evidence—a standard difficulty in dealing with classical antiquity—but also to the contradictory and misleading nature of much of the evidence that survives. When some sources tell us that a slave accompanied the triumphing general in his chariot, and others report that during the triumph he was reminded of his mortality, and still others depict a winged Victory on, near, or above the chariot, what is a historian to do? We could combine the first two types of evidence and hypothesize, by Occam's razor, that the slave is the one who does the reminding, but that leaves the goddess Victory out of the picture. Or we could take note of the fact that Victory is exclusively a feature of visual memorials of the triumph and pursue the possibility that visual conventions, rather than verisimilitude, govern her depiction. Or we could concede the impossibility of ever knowing exactly who said what to whom and focus instead on the triumph as representation rather than event. Beard rejects the first approach out of hand, seems not to entertain the second, and instead raises the last to methodological principle, without stopping to consider what literary scholars and art historians have long understood: namely, that representations are as unknowable (or knowable, as the case may be) as events. The need for historical discernment, inference, and informed speculation—which, presumably, Beard's predecessors thought they were exercising—still remains, even if the object of analysis shifts. Beard should be commended for bringing the issue of what she calls "rituals in ink" to the attention of fellow historians, but she is mistaken if she thinks problems of epistemology will thereby vanish or be transformed.

At a more basic level, Beard's contribution may be seen to consist in the foregrounding of religious practice as a central element of ancient history. Surely understanding the triumph (or the arena, or blood sacrifice) is as important for advancing knowledge of the ancient Romans as are studies of demography, "constitution," provincial administration, and many other worthy subjects. A focus on religious aspects of the triumph (e.g. its culmination at the temple of Jupiter, the frequent association of the victorious general with the gods, the ritual slaughter of captives) is not surprising coming from a scholar who built her early reputation as a student of Roman religion. But here again it is striking how quickly Beard argues herself into a methodological cul-de-sac. She invokes the concept of "ritualization" advanced by Catherine Bell and others, yet seems not to grasp its import. As I understand Bell, ritualized activities are of a categorically different nature from everyday activities; indeed, it is the transformation of the everyday into the special that generates the broader cultural agency of those doing the transforming. In applying this model of ritualization to the triumph, we might thus want to ask: what everyday activity is being made special by the circumstances, context, accoutre-

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ments of performance, and what types of agency are thereby generated? For the triumph, the answers seem fairly straightforward: men who have been away a long time are returning, and they are being authorized as members of the political community. Beard's own discussion of the frequent coincidence of triumph with commencement of the general's term as consul and her review of the maneuvering that led to the granting or withholding of a triumph on the part of the relevant political authorities can be cited in support of this argument, which she fails to make. But making the argument would require thinking about the triumph from within the framework of ethnographic or anthropological approaches to Roman religion, something Beard, in line with the mainstream of Anglo-American classical historians, still seems unwilling to do. Moreover, it would have required attention to the missing link in Roman historical studies: not the elites, who are studied to no end, not the captives, whose fate is appropriately lamented, but the average Roman (like the average British or American soldier), who held a middle place in the hierarchy of domination.

Which brings us to the question of the book's status as an indicator of the current condition of ancient historical studies and the likelihood that it will lead in the long run to significant enhancement of historical understanding. To the first part of the question, the answer is that the book is something of a throwback, despite Beard's repeated representation of her arguments (and those of Romans she admires) as "subversive." Throughout the book, there is a defensive tone about the Romans, as if the job of the historian was to prove the complexity and thus the worthiness of his or her object of study. Beard explicitly acknowledges that the sources incline toward presentation of the viewpoint of the elites, yet no engagement with methods of reading, comparative data, or alternative sources of information that might have counterbalanced that elite bias. Within the elites, Beard, like most classicists, evinces sympathy for the republican aristocracy at the expense of the emperor and his household, despite the latter's demonstrably better record at maintaining the peace and fostering the material well-being of greater numbers of inhabitants of the Mediterranean world. The book is also characterized by a scanting of economic considerations: much meditation on the truth or falsity of claims concerning quantity and types of booty, but little discussion of the ways that booty—displayed, melted, or exchanged—energized the Roman economy and transformed the very spaces through which succeeding triumphs marched. Finally, there is a preference for a type of history that is easily assimilable to textual models of culture, to such an extent that Beard can claim that written accounts of the triumph are the primary means by which the event was "inscribed . . . in Roman memory" (p. 37): either a pointless tautology (how else can an event be inscribed but by means of writing?) or an almost certainly false claim, given the likelihood that more Romans witnessed any single triumph than read about all of them combined throughout the course of antiquity, no matter how generously we interpret the evidence for ancient literacy. Surely the memory transmitted by the triumph was not just inscribed, but also—to revive Paul Connerton's useful distinction—incorporated, via the embodied experience of marchers, organizers, captives, and observers.

Beard's choices of emphasis and method are of course perfectly legitimate, and the book she has produced is a comprehensive and reliable account of the Roman triumph within the framework of a positivist (and postmodern) approach to the writing of history. It will be a big success within ancient studies. But readers outside that field deserve to know that there are other more creative and more promising approaches to, if not the triumph itself, then certainly comparable displays of riches and power that characterized Roman society. Let me cite some examples. Perhaps closest in topic to Beard's discussion of the triumph is Penelope Davies, *Death and the Emperor: Roman Imperial Funerary Monuments from Augustus to Marcus Aurelius* (2000). Davies brilliantly analyzes the funeral monuments that still shape the cityscape of Rome in the context of a broader historical account of the tensions and anxieties surrounding the transition from one emperor to another, particularly in the absence of an obvious successor. Her discussion touches on the relationship between triumph and funeral procession, as does Beard's, but offers a more coherent account of how a one-time ritual can be made to affect (and effect) power relations long after its completion. On the subject of the combats in the arena, which share with the triumph conspicuous waste, protocols of submission, and negotiation of the boundary between inside and outside, several studies nicely integrate documentary and material evidence, insights from better-attested cultures, and sophisticated use of cultural theory, from the posthumous work of Georges Ville (*La gladiature en occident* [1981]) to Alison Futrell's *Blood in the Arena: The Spectacle of Roman Power* (1997). Finally, Zsuzsanna Várhelyi's recent essay on the live burials of Greeks and Gauls in the Roman Forum ("The Specters of Roman Imperialism," *Classical Antiquity* 26:2 [2007]: 277–304) addresses an issue that raises precisely the same historiographical challenges posed by the triumph, albeit in miniature, but makes headway in interpretation by shifting focus from elite to non-elite participants in republican Rome's culture of militarism. Such promising work deserves the full support of leading presses, especially those that are affiliated with richly endowed institutions and thus—it is to be hoped—could well afford to challenge their readers with more intellectually demanding approaches to antiquity.

There can be homecomings for the dead as well as for the living. Of those conspicuously absent from the triumph, Beard says little or nothing. The noise of the celebration may have drowned the laments of mourners (was that one of its aims?), but the recurrence of that

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noise throughout centuries of Roman civilization surely invites reflection on the relationship between management—or suppression—of grief and the persistence of imperial power. Ancient history is not a mirror of present-day concerns, but at its best it can shine light on the darker corners of our own experience.

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C. M. WOOLGAR. *The Senses in Late Medieval England.* New Haven: Yale University Press. 2006. Pp. xi, 372. $40.00.

In the 1990s, C. M. Woolgar published two magnificent studies on life in the great households of later medieval England: a two-volume edition of *Household Accounts from Medieval England* (1992–1993) and a monograph on *The Great Household in Late Medieval England* (1999). In 2006, he co-edited, with Dale Serjeantson and Tony Waldron, an important collection of papers on *Food in Medieval England: Diet and Nutrition* (2006), and in the same year published the magisterial study reviewed here, which explores sensory perception in late medieval England from the mid-twelfth century to the mid-sixteenth century.

In this study Woolgar works from the premise "that daily life in the past cannot be understood without first comprehending how perception functioned" (p. x). In an elegant introduction, he explains that, while medieval sources are full of references to vibrant sensory experiences, their interpretation is often problematic for modern scholars because sensory perception and expression are strongly influenced by cultural factors that are very different now than they were in the medieval past. Woolgar argues that the operation of the senses has been seen in the West in much narrower terms since the Enlightenment than was the case in medieval Europe or in classical antiquity. Modern Western thought has viewed sensory perception as a narrow physiological, biological, and electrochemical process, in which the senses act strictly as receptors of physical stimuli. In the ancient and medieval worlds, however, the senses were believed to transmit as well as receive data, and to serve as two-way conduits not only for tangible qualities, such as flavor or texture, but also for intangible or spiritual qualities, such as power or holiness. For example, when a sick woman touches the border of Jesus's garment and is cured (Luke 8:43–48), Jesus asks immediately who has touched him, "for I perceive that virtue has gone out of me," a remark that in the medieval period was understood "as part of the ordinary process of perception" (p. 2). Also, in medieval Europe the humoral theory that was a major intellectual legacy from classical antiquity played an important role—one that it has lost in the modern West—in the understanding of sensory perception. To medieval scholars such as Bartholomew the Englishman (Bartholomaeus Anglicus), who wrote an encyclopedia ca.1220–1240 called *De proprietatibus rerum* (*On the Properties of Things*), the effects of sensory perceptions such as smells were based both on the humoral composition of the smells themselves and on their correspondence to the humoral characteristics of the perceiver. Woolgar argues that beliefs and cultural assumptions such as these meant that the responses of medieval people to sensory perception would have been very different to those of people today.

Following the introduction, the bulk of the book is divided thematically into two sections. The first section (chapters two through eight) examines medieval ideas and beliefs about the senses. Classical antiquity identified five standard senses (vision, hearing, smell, taste, and touch) and these have formed the sensory canon in Western culture ever since. Other cultures have identified a greater range of senses, and in medieval Europe, the sensorium sometimes included additional senses, such as speech, beyond the canonical five. Woolgar devotes chapter two to a discussion of general medieval ideas about the senses, and introduces some of the principal sources of evidence in late medieval England. They include the Latin translations of Aristotle's works and medieval commentaries on them; scholarly compendia, particularly Bartholomew's *De proprietatibus rerum*; and many genres of religious texts, such as sermon collections, penitential and devotional treatises, confession manuals, reports of visions and miraculous cures, and hagiographical literature. The remainder of this section consists of chapters on the individual senses of touch, virtues, and holiness (chapter three), sound and hearing (chapter four), speech (chapter five), taste (chapter six), smell (chapter seven), and vision (chapter eight).

Touch, the most basic of the senses, was present in every part of the body. It was closely identified with sensuality—and thus with moral danger—but could also be used to convey virtue. The touch of holy people, relics, and sacramental objects could transmit spiritual benefits to the virtuous and reveal hidden sin in the wicked, while the touch of amulets, gemstones, and charms was widely sought for its powers to cure the sick, aid in childbirth, and protect against poison and other dangers.

Sound, which was omnipresent, could, like touch, convey both vice and virtue. The medieval soundscape was much different, and quieter, than the modern one; sounds above sixty decibels would have been rare. The noises of the natural world, such as birdsong, would have been much more prominent and identifiable, and the acoustic environment of buildings much different

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than they are today. The ringing of church bells was one of the loudest sounds regularly heard; it marked the hours of both religious and secular life, and signaled public events of joy, sadness, solemnity, and emergency.

Speech, which, like taste, was a sense of the mouth, could effect changes in both speaker and listener. The Virgin Mary was believed to have conceived upon hearing the words of the Archangel Gabriel, and speech could also be a pathway for divine power in such human actions as consecration, prophecy, and excommunication. The chanting of prayers or the reading aloud of religious texts was a form of meditation both for the chanters or readers and for those who heard them. Similarly, bad words, such as heretical doctrines, curses, or mocking, could contaminate both speaker and listener. Restraining one's speech was a spiritual discipline, and voluntary silence a sign of holiness.

In similar fashion, ascetics avoided flavorful foods to discipline their sense of taste. The taste of an item derived from its humoral and textural composition, and this concept underlay the role of flavor in medieval dietetics, the goal of which was to identify foods that complemented one's humoral complexion or treated one's humoral deficits. Cookbooks and household accounts reveal that the English aristocracy and gentry shared in the international cuisine that was common to the wealthy classes of medieval Europe, a cuisine dominated by high-quality meat, fish, poultry, and game, well seasoned with an array of imported spices, and served with thin, acidic sauces generally based on wine, vinegar, or verjuice. At its most elaborate, the cuisine of the wealthy was a form of alchemy in which foods were transformed—by chopping, grinding, seasoning, shaping, cooking, coloring, saucing, and decorating—into different textures, tastes, and forms.

Smell, like all the senses, had strong moral and spiritual dimensions. Good smells were strongly linked to virtue, holiness, and the divine. The "odor of sanctity" was often observed in dead saints, heavenly visions were accompanied by sweet smells, and clouds of incense filled churches with a divine odor, while bad smells were linked to evil, the Devil, and Hell. Good and bad smells also were signs of bodily health or illness. Since smells affected the humors, good aromas could be therapeutic, and bad ones could be injurious and serve to spread disease.

Vision, like the other senses, was believed to operate in both directions: the eye emitted light as well as perceived it, and thus could both convey and receive good or evil, such as the "evil eye." The eyes were tokens of the soul, revealing moral character as well as physical, psychological, and spiritual condition. Bright light and lustrous shine, which aided vision, were manifestations of the divine, while darkness, which limited vision or rendered it inoperable, was associated with the diabolical.

In the second section of the book (chapters nine through eleven) Woolgar explores the effects on daily life of medieval beliefs about the senses. Here he draws from the domestic metaphors often employed in moralizing texts to look to the household for examples of the sensorium in practice. He examines three well-documented wealthy environments: episcopal households in the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries (chapter nine), the households of medieval queens (chapter ten), and aristocratic households at the end of the medieval period (chapter eleven).

For bishops, as for other medieval magnates, management of the senses was a conscious goal that was reflected in the arrangements of their households. Ascetic bishops such as Edmund of Abingdon, archbishop of Canterbury from 1233 to 1240, and Thomas Cantilupe, bishop of Hereford from 1275 to 1282, did their best to avoid the sins of sensory pleasure by dining on plain and meager fare, wearing lice-ridden hair garments next to the skin, avoiding bathing, shunning comfortable beds and bedding, and subjecting themselves to punishing schedules of work and prayer. Not all bishops, however, led such austere lives. Postmortem inventories of three bishops who died in the early fourteenth century (Thomas Bitton, bishop of Exeter, d. 1307; Richard Gravesend, bishop of London, d. 1303; and John de Sandale, bishop of Winchester, d. 1319) reveal that in their households, unlike those of Abingdon and Cantilupe, sensory management was clearly directed toward elevated levels of personal comfort and display. Their possessions included glittering jewels and sets of plate, stocks of expensive imported spices, fine bedding and hangings, and valuable vestments.

The households of English queens similarly reveal a focus on personal comfort as well as regal display, but with some distinctive gender differences. In addition to numerous jewels and other ornaments, and fine textiles in the form of apparel, bedding, cushions, and hangings, a frequent feature of the queens' establishments was permanent bathing facilities, which evidently reflected a feminine taste for the sensory pleasures of the bath. The queen's apartments also were perfumed with aromatic scents and gleamed with mirrors, plate, reliquaries, and other fine metalwork. Unlike the king's apartments, which typically were painted with images of chivalry, royal genealogy, and personal devotional interests, the queen's apartments were painted with iconographic schemes featuring female figures and contemplative themes.

In the late medieval period there were major changes in the aristocratic way of life. Magnate households became less peripatetic, and magnates concentrated their investments on fewer residences. An increasing emphasis on ceremony and on the insulation of magnates from all but their closest attendants and highest-ranking household members and guests is described in great detail in books of household regulations, and was mirrored in the design and appointments of great houses. The lord and lady largely withdrew from dining and socializing in the public arena of the great hall, preferring instead the luxurious private cocoon of their own great chamber, to which access was strictly controlled. Elaborate regulations governed behavior in their presence, and required the special handling and assay of anything

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that they were to eat, drink, or touch. The gauge of aristocratic grandeur thus shifted from imposing shows of public display to intimidating barriers of exclusivity and complex rituals of deference.

In the final chapter Woolgar surveys the major changes in sensory perception and analysis that characterized life and thought in England during the four centuries from 1150 to 1550. Although many of his sources reflect the homogenized views of an elite male, clerical, Latinate culture, he is able to trace an overall development in this period from theoretical conceptualizing to practical implementation, such as the shift by physicians in using smell for moral characterization to using it for medical diagnosis. Woolgar also sees the influence of the late medieval Lollards, who challenged the church's teachings on the sensory transmission of spiritual powers and benefits, in the subsequent undermining of accepted sensory models, and he argues that this contributed strongly to the development of scientific investigation and the "closure" of the human body in the early modern period.

In a book that addresses such a massive theme there are inevitably unasked questions and unexplored sources, but Woolgar's study is a pathbreaking work, one that will be essential reading for all who investigate the intellectual and sensory world of the later Middle Ages.

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PEKKA HÄMÄLÄINEN. *The Comanche Empire*. (The Lamar Series in Western History.) New Haven: Yale University Press, in association with the William P. Clements Center for Southwest Studies, Southern Methodist University. 2008. Pp. viii, 500. $35.00.

Scholarly interest in historical empires and imperialism has experienced a renaissance of late. Although Pekka Hämäläinen's book emerges in part from the intellectual milieu surrounding this renewed interest, it appears to actually have more in common with current thinking in Native American, frontier, and southwestern borderlands studies in that it shares an intention "[t]o recover the full dimension of Indian agency . . . [and] promote a less-linear reading of Indian-white relations in North America" (pp. 6–7). This goal leads Hämäläinen to put forth the premise that in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries the Comanche turned the Southwest into an extensive and defiant indigenous "empire" and a case of "reversed colonialism." Although the social organization and political power of the Comanche were indeed impressive, Hämäläinen's portrayal of Comanche history as a history of empire carries us far beyond the contours of previous conceptions about the character and past behavior of this dynamic southern Plains society. Indeed, the argument that the Comanche constituted an "empire" is an overstatement that only confuses discussions of empires and distorts what is actually known about the Comanche.

The long history of academic investigation into the nature of the Comanche past can be divided into the following phases. Early interest in the Comanche past is represented by historical works that viewed the tribe largely as an accessory to the development of the region's history within the context of Spanish imperialism and colonialism. This period was followed by a number of works influenced by the anthropological concepts of cultural determinism and culture areas to the Comanche, portraying them as part of the Plains culture. Actual ethnological fieldwork among the Comanche, commencing in the 1930s, revealed striking contrasts between the Comanche and Plains Indians especially in regard to their loosely organized Great Basin-type tribal structure. This insight greatly influenced the course of ethnohistorical and historical studies of the tribe for a significant portion of the twentieth century. Yet, starting in the 1990s Comanche ethnohistorians began to move away from the earlier geographical-environmental interpretations and focused on internal tribal social structure and organization in an effort to explain the course of the tribe's past. Despite their diversity, none of these works portrayed the Comanche as having the qualities referred to by the word "empire."

Hämäläinen claims that the Comanche migratory invasion of the southern Plains in the early eighteenth century commenced a "cultural experiment" that became the basis for the Comanche empire. According to Hämäläinen, as Comanches entered the Plains region from their northwestern Great Basin homeland, they became exposed to a historical process of self-invention and "aggressively embraced" various socioeconomic and geopolitical innovations such as horse-mounted bison hunting, a transformation of kinship relationships that helped accommodate the needs of their equestrian livestock, the seizure of captives to serve as a domestic manual labor force, and a non-commercial economic system aimed at expanding social relationships. These formed the basis of a centralized foreign policy that emphasized diplomacy and treaty-making over warfare. Consequently, a new order of "Comanche ascendancy" emerged in the Southwest as the tribe engaged in a conscious "political construction" rooted in economics, "macroscale political cooperation" among the assorted Comanche bands, and alliances with various tribes and colonial authorities in Spanish New Mexico and Texas.

Hämäläinen also argues that the Comanches resisted

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the Spanish meaning assigned to the alliance by refusing to accept the hierarchical colonial language of political vassalage, and instead defined the relationship in autonomous terms that understood the Spanish as "brothers bound together by affinial ties" (p. 138). From a Comanche perspective, this relationship meant that Europeans were obligated to take care of the tribes' needs. For instance, Comanches' refusal to release their Hispanic captives without ransom to their newfound colonial allies revealed this Comanche attitude, as well as the slight influence Spanish officials maintained over their southern Plains associates. The exercise of such indigenous power over colonial competitors permitted a "Comanchenization" of the Southwest through Comanches' establishment of regional commercial hegemony, the pervasive diffusion of their language and other cultural traits, and the "wholesale incorporation" and naturalization of diverse ethnic groups into their tribe. In due course, the cultivation of a multicultural imperial realm boosted Comanche international power and prestige to the extent that the tribe's military and economic policies, sustained by mediation and cultural sway rather than force and coercion, challenged the Spanish and Mexican presence in the region. As a result, New Mexico and Texas became "marginalized, isolated, and divided," and respectively either gravitated into the Comanche sphere of influence or faced the end of their existence. European imperial dominion in the Southwest thus became transformed into a peripheral status as Comanche military and economic policies refused to recognize colonial boundaries and established regional indigenous hegemony.

In this portrayal of Comanche history, the meteoric and unqualified success of the Comanche empire not only established the tribe as the hegemonic power in the Southwest, it also brought about the conditions that led to the erosion of their dominion and the collapse of their traditional society. By the time of the United States-Mexican War (1846–1848), Comanche imperialism had reached its zenith. The tribe completed its absorption of New Mexico into its socio-economic sphere, confronted and temporarily counterbalanced the aggressive Anglo-American expansion into Texas, and had successfully established a raiding enterprise in northern Mexico, transforming that region into an extractive source from which they supplied their foreign and domestic livestock and captive labor markets. Notwithstanding these achievements, Comanche dominance became beset by internal inconsistencies inherent to their imperial policies. Comanche hegemony severely weakened Mexico's hold on the Southwest, and enhanced the tribe's commercial position in relation to eastern markets in the United States. But these developments helped usher in the Anglo-American conquest of Mexico and the Southwest. At the same time, dry ecological conditions combined with the expansion of the tribe's population and markets thus taxing the southern Plains bison resource to the limits of its sustainability. As a result, starvation became widespread among tribe members. Contact with American traders, soldiers, and emigrants brought deadly diseases to the Comanches and intensified the destruction of the demographic crisis. Tribal commercial connections also collapsed as profits shrank, and Native and Euro-American trade partners also suffered from the effects of drought, disease, and American dominance. Even though the United States Civil War allowed the tribe to experience a brief respite from these devastating occurrences, the Comanche empire had become emaciated. Severely withered, Comanche dominion collapsed by 1875 under the immense force associated with the consolidation of the United States as a continental empire.

This classification of Comanche society as an empire is an enormous historiographical and conceptual leap. Empires do have certain attributes, and the Comanches exhibited some of these characteristics throughout their history. However, Hämäläinen himself points out that they did not possess some of the core characteristics of what are typically conceived of as empires. For Hämäläinen, the *sine qua non* of Comanche or any other example of imperial hegemony is an "economic construction" from which centralized political and cultural organization and domination emerge. Yet he argues that Comanches represented a particular style of imperial system that *lacked both political centralization and geographic boundaries*, was based on kinship but not "blood lineages" per se, was violent yet non-colonial, and did not seek to directly rule over subject peoples. Thus, the Comanches are said to have been "an imperial power with a difference . . . [that] makes their empire difficult to define . . . [and] to see" (pp. 4–5). Indeed, an example of something that is said not to exhibit the characteristics that are commonly used to identify that thing would be very difficult, if not impossible, to see. This problem seriously undermines Hämäläinen's argument and makes his discussion of the details of Comanche history largely ineffective.

It is not necessary to understand the Comanches as an empire in order to explain the tribe's commanding presence on the southern Plains during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in the face of several manifestations of Euro-American imperialism. There are many examples in history of tribal entities successfully challenging the political, economic, and cultural power of empires. The triumph of Germanic tribal confederations against the Romans east of the Rhine River in the early first century A.D. does not suggest that those tribes constituted an empire at that moment in time. To call the Comanches an empire is to overemphasize the social effect of their tribal behavior. There is no question that, like the ancient Germanic and Mongol-Turkic tribes, Comanches exhibited a high degree of economic power and influence and political force based on violence and persuasion. But what are normally classified as empires appear to be characterized by greater levels of social interaction than existed among tribal societies. The Germanic Holy Roman Empire and the Mongol-Turkic Empire under Genghis Khan exhibited far

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greater collective cohesion than their tribal predecessors, or the Comanches, ever achieved.

One important characteristic the Holy Roman and Mongol empires had in common was pervasive unifying religious traditions that encouraged widespread social interaction among great numbers of individuals across numerous ethnicities. The tribal essence of the Comanche ancestral religion primarily limited social interaction to those individuals literally and metaphorically identified as ethnically Comanche. Empires such as those of the ancient Egyptians, Romans, Mongols, Aztecs, and Incas all stressed the unity of various ethnicities and tribal religious traditions through a hierarchal pantheon centered on a supreme unifying deity. *Religion and Empire: The Dynamics of Aztec and Inca Expansionism* (1984) by Geoffrey W. Conrad and Arthur A. Demarest shows how the elevation of the deities Huitzilopochtli in Mexico and Inti in Peru became the basis of the social and religious reforms that allowed for imperial expansion and incorporation of diverse ethnicities. Likewise, Genghis Khan encouraged the unification of diverse peoples and various religious traditions, including Islam, through the imperial spiritual concept of Tängri, or the "Eternal Heaven." Although the Comanche religious tradition encouraged and promoted high levels of social solidarity that contributed to the tribes' social, economic, and political unity and success, they seem not to have ever exhibited religious traditions that transcended tribal identity. Indeed, one contemporary nineteenth century observer of Comanche religious traditions noted that the supreme deity of the tribe was considered "the peculiar original parent of the Comanche race."

Hämäläinen's desire to see the historical Comanches as an exceptional "empire that, according to conventional histories, did not exist" (p. 1) stems primarily from a general desire to place Native American historical agency on the same level as that of Euro-Americans. Accordingly, he states that his "task was to recover Comanches as full-fledged humans and undiminished historical actors" (p. 345). Without question, Comanche behavior and actions greatly influenced the history of the Southwest. Yet, our ability to identify and acknowledge Comanche agency in the history of the region does not *necessarily* foster a newfound historical awareness. Overeager enthusiasm for the establishment of Native American agency can lead to the misleading notion that what could have been, might have been. As the cognitive scientist Steven Pinker reminds us in *The Blank Slate: The Modern Denial of Human Nature* (2002), this form of reasoning can lead to the naturalistic and moralistic fallacies that are "so often associated with the [idea of] the Noble Savage." By overstating the unique nature of Comanche *imperium*, this book not only undermines a general understanding of the nature of an "empire," it also advances the modern version of the Noble Savage that emphasizes an indigenous nature in opposition to a shared human nature. Although the word "empire" is rooted in the Latin terms *imperare* (to command) and *imperium*, they are not synonymous. Because our current understanding of Comanche culture, society, and history is largely incomplete, the conjecture that Comanche tribal agency equated an empire far exceeds what we know about the historical Comanche, as well as the relationship between the meanings of "agency" and "empire."

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STUART BANNER. *Possessing the Pacific: Land, Settlers, and Indigenous People from Australia to Alaska*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 2007. Pp. vi, 388. $35.00.

In Canada, New Zealand, the United States, and even Australia, recent decades have witnessed a fragile but positive trend toward reparative justice for indigenous peoples. Strong moral and practical cases can be made for such reparations, but it tends to be the legal case that produces results. Entire archives of evidence have been roused out and a whole new field has opened up for historians. But there are problems; when high-paid, high-powered lawyers work with low-paid, job-hungry historians on reparative justice cases, the legal approach often wins out. Comparative and transnational histories offer a way out of this trap. They are connected to no particular case, no particular group of clients, and can apply the valuable new data produced by "reparative history" to wider issues. Stuart Banner's new book is a welcome case in point.

The book ranges impressively across nine complex histories of nineteenth-century land alienation, from the American colonies of California, the Pacific Northwest, Hawai'i, and Alaska to the British colonies and protectorates of Australia, New Zealand, British Columbia, Fiji, and Tonga. Banner shows that the relevant colonial regimes had three options when deciding on how colonial law would interpret indigenous land rights. They could deny that indigenous peoples had any ownership rights at all, the doctrine of *terra nullius*; they could accept that indigenes owned all land until alienated by sale or cession; or they could take a middle course and recognize indigenous ownership only of land "actually used," with "waste" land falling to the state. Under the second and third options, where indigenous land title was recognized, colonial regimes tried to detribalize or individualize it.

Banner identifies three explanatory variables influencing the choice of land tenure regime. The first was whether or not Europeans perceived an indigenous

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people to be agricultural, and therefore "advanced" enough to own land, in contrast to nomadic hunter-gatherers. Banner notes a subtext here: agricultural tribes tended to be larger and militarily more formidable than nomads. Another variable was whether or not European settlement had preceded formal colonization; if there were settlers already in place, the new colonial government had a less free hand. In New Zealand in 1840, Fiji in 1874, and Hawai'i in 1898, new colonial governments inherited a tangle of pre-annexation European land claims. The third variable was the level of indigenous political unity. The unified Kingdom of Tonga did better in preserving its land than did the divided tribes of Fiji and New Zealand, not least because warring tribes were motivated to encourage European settlement in order to acquire guns.

Banner's variables are interesting but do not always work very well, or at least very consistently. Australia was nominally annexed by Britain before European settlement, while California had thousands of European settlers before annexation, yet the natives of both were saddled with *terra nullius*. Tonga and Hawai'i were both unified kingdoms, yet Tongans kept their land while many Hawaiians did not. Despite the equal absence of agriculture and the presence of *terra nullius*, British Columbian Indians fared better than those of California. However, Banner is too careful a scholar to exclude other factors. He acknowledges the importance of indigenous initiatives, such as the Hawaiian *Mahele* (division of land) in the 1840s and the anti-land-selling Maori King Movement of the 1850s. He also acknowledges the influence of unusually humane and farsighted colonial officials such as Arthur Gordon, the first governor of Fiji.

Banner does not quite decide whether his approach is transnational—pursuing the same phenomenon across political boundaries—or comparative—juxtaposing the experiences of similar but separate phenomena to identify common causes. But given that methods should be tools not shackles, perhaps he can have it both ways. His prose is clear and unpretentious, his grip on the sources seems for the most part to be good, although inevitably selective. He avoids some of the pitfalls of reparative history, and is aware of most, but this does not stop him from falling into two of them: presentism and legal determinism. British historians used to call the former "Whig history"; the two combined constitute a "Wig history."

In his introduction and conclusion, Banner is commendably up-front about the presentism of his approach. His book is not a general study of colonialisms, but "a comparative perspective on the process of land transfer between indigenous people and whites" (p. 4). "The formal choice of land-acquisition method was, in much of the Pacific, peripheral to actual on-the-ground outcomes in the 19th century. A century later, the formal colonial law governing land acquisition has come to matter a great deal" courtesy of reparative litigation (p. 320). There are contexts in which the causes of a present condition can be a legitimate historical question, and this may be one of them. The trouble is that in practice Banner says little about variations in the present and a lot about variations in the past, and he usually implies that these variations were determined primarily by legal factors.

Determinism is the promotion of one of several major causal factors to master variable. Many of us are prone to subdisciplinary determinism, prone to exaggerate the ubiquity of our chosen change agent, and legal historians are no exception. In most of the times and places Banner studies, I would say that military, demographic, epidemiological, and economic factors outranked the law in parting indigenes from their land. Banner argues the opposite. His two chapters on New Zealand are unambiguously entitled "Conquest by Contract" and "Conquest by Land-Tenure Reform." Despite Banner's cautionary statements, European colonial law is not presented as having given or not given Maori extra cards to play in their present quest for reparative justice. It is presented as having conquered them in the past. Banner argues that the law conquered the Maori in two phases. In the first, 1840–1865, Maori were forced to sell land to participate in the new market economy, and had to do so at low prices because the crown was the only buyer. Yet Maori were at first motivated to sell land by the desire for European neighbors with whom to trade. The ongoing economic relationship between the tribe and the settler town created by the sale was the real price for the land, and while Maori were roughly equal partners in the relationship it was quite a reasonable price. Maori ceased to be equal partners when they were conquered by force, not contract, and this happened to various tribes at various times after 1860. Before that, in the Maori heartland of the North Island, there was no conquest at all and British rule was largely nominal.

The establishment of the Native Land Court in 1865 began Banner's second phase. He evokes the tar-baby character of this "land-taking court" very well. The court detribalized and individualized Maori land titles, which not only made land easier to buy but also forced Maori to mount expensive defenses of their land claims in court, which in turn forced them to sell more land. Yet this happened only in areas where the colonial government ruled in practice as well as theory. These were areas that were conquered by force, in the 1860s, or by sheer demographic swamping in the 1870s and 1880s, not conquered by "land tenure reform" as Banner claims. Indeed, it is hard to guess from Banner's account that the advent of the Native Land Court coincided with the advent of a British army of 18,000 troops. War is also missing in action in Banner's account of Australian Aboriginal land loss. He repeatedly notes that Aboriginal military resistance was very limited, a view I had understood to be obsolete. Some 700 European settlers were killed by resisting Aborigines in Queensland alone. Most were killed in raids by small groups—the best military option available to the Aborigines—but many raids came in intensive and well-coordinated spasms. Between 1824 and 1831, almost

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400 Europeans were killed and wounded by the Tasmanian Aborigines, allegedly the weakest of the weak. As in New Zealand, the law followed the war, not vice versa. The remarkable military resistance of the Nez Perce Indians is also absent from Banner's treatment of the American Pacific Northwest, as is Modoc resistance from his treatment of California.

Another change agent that features too little is variation in the mass of European settlement. Tasmanian Aborigines continued to control most of their island for the first twenty years of European settlement, until about 1824. Between 1824 and 1832, they lost all their land. The legal doctrine of *terra nullius* applied equally in both periods. What changed was a sudden explosion in the number of European settlers, especially free settlers, and in the number of imperial troops backing them. Similarly, the sharp difference in the fate of Californian Indians before and after American annexation in 1848 was not the advent of the legal doctrine of *terra nullius* in that year, but the advent of hundreds of thousands of gold-hungry, game-hungry, and eventually land-hungry European settlers. Wig history has still more traps for the unwary. It focuses on form, which is not necessarily substance. In discussing the Maori sale of most of the South Island in the 1840s, Banner assumes that the nominal sale of land means its actual alienation. Traditional Maori use of land they had sold continued until it was taken up by intensive European farming; some traditional land use was compatible with extensive pastoralism. Such use often continued for decades, even generations, after the sale, in the North Island as well as the South. In Australia and North America too, nominal sales or treaty cessions, let alone grand declarations of *terra nullius* in London or Washington, D.C., did not effect indigenous peoples until they were implemented on the ground. Reparative history is not very interested in indigenous success: no court or commission will advocate compensation for land held or battles won. Wig history is therefore slanted toward what was done *to* indigenous peoples, rather than what they did about it, and some did a great deal.

This book would have worked well if it had stuck to its own brief as a comparative study of those variations in colonial legal history that have affected the intensity and success of recent litigation for reparative justice. But Banner is regularly tempted beyond his own limits into using a legal perspective to explain the fates of colonized indigenes in the nineteenth century, and not the fates of twenty-first-century legal cases. Banner's comparative approach is admirable, and he shows that "Wig history" can be useful. But he also shows that we should always remember when we are wearing it.

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Erez Manela. *The Wilsonian Moment: Self-Determination and the International Origins of Anticolonial Nationalism*. (Oxford Studies in International History.) New York: Oxford University Press. 2007. Pp. xvii, 331. $29.95.

The ambitions of this book are announced in its title. It intends to tie what is identified as the "origins of anticolonial nationalism" to the question of self-determination as this latter principle ostensibly was promoted by President Woodrow Wilson in what came to be known as his Fourteen Points platform for ending the Great War. This is potentially an important topic, particularly today, when, for example, declarations from the U.S. president are more likely to frighten than give hope to the world. Erez Manela's concern (appropriately so) is not the absolute dissonance of his moment with the present—although there is an understandable wistfulness in the writing that is implicitly suggestive—but on the ways in which Wilson's rhetorical commitments to self-determination helped inspire, or at least provided part of the language for, an upsurge of nationalist sentiment, mobilization, and agitation among colonized peoples that far outstripped Wilson's own intentions or his capabilities to deliver at the Peace Conference in Paris. Manela claims that his "internationalizing" approach is radically new because it traces rhetoric across Egypt, China, Korea, and India that "transcended the usual geographic enclosures of historical narratives" (p. 7). Perhaps for the most parochial of historians, Manela's book may represent a fresh approach. However, for quite some time now, global connectivity—discursive, political-economic, cultural, ideological, among others—has been part of the norm in colonial/post-colonial scholarship and in some precincts of the discipline of history. In this light, the new perspective claimed by this book—on Manela's own account, not "comparative" but "international" and "transnational" (p. 12)—is quite overblown.

By the same token, transnational histories of this type—those that try to tie the world together through some common temporal, spatial, or cultural conceit—can present a good opportunity to reconsider the manifest insufficiencies of nation-state compartmentalizations. Manela's effort contributes to this entirely necessary endeavor, even though the ambitions of the book are belied by the modesty of the content; by the avoidance of any explicit discussion of the constitutive and contradictory relationship between nationalism and transnationalism other than in terms of a discursive circulation; and by the problematic (and in fact soon disavowed) premise. The problematic premise and its disavowal are linked. That is, to claim, as Manela does, that anticolonial nationalism finds its "origins" in Wil-

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sonian rhetoric is, for any but the most committed America-centrist, absurd on its face. And, seemingly aware of this absurdity, Manela's disavowal of his own book's argument comes at the end of the introduction. As he says, "Despite the title of this book, it is they [anticolonial nationalists], and not Wilson, who are the main protagonists of the story that follows (p. 13). Manela's essential indecision over whether he wants to center the book on and in Wilson studies or Paris Peace Conference Studies, or on and in anticolonial nationalist studies bedevils the book's narrative for the remainder of the way.

What, then, are we to make of a book that boldly claims anticolonial nationalism had its origins in a predefined global historical moment labeled "Wilsonian" that emanated from an unlikely messenger whose good intentions were altogether overmatched by the complexity of the postwar situation and that then retracts that claim almost before the narrative has begun?

The first two chapters cover relatively well-known terrain. Serviceably written, they argue that the moment eponymously labeled "Wilsonian" by Manela was really somewhat of a mistake or an accident (in fancier language, it could be called a conjuncture). This insight ought to have led Manela to recognize the import of his own narrative: the moment can be called "Wilsonian" not because of Wilson but because of what the anticolonialists made of it. That is, putting the "moment" before its very constitution through accretion only serves to contain the very narrative decentering that Manela claims to open up by tracking Wilson's rhetoric across the globe. Far from representing a history written from the "periphery," as Manela claims in his conclusion (p. 225), the predefining of the moment merely reinscribes centrality. Nevertheless, while addressing certain conventions within the insular Wilsonian scholarly community (Wilson's racism vs. his progressive principles; his ideals vs. his prejudices, etc.), these two chapters effectively establish the ambiguities in Wilson's statements about self-determination and indicate that Wilson was entirely unprepared for the global resonance of his rhetoric.

Dispensing with the argument that V. I. Lenin's version of self-determination competed at this point with Wilson's version by in effect dismissing Arno Mayer's works on this topic, Manela seems to suggest that the turn to radicalism and communism in the post-Versailles world was almost entirely contingent on the failure of Wilsonian anticolonial liberalism (p. 196, p. 212). Yet here Manela has to overlook or ignore huge swaths of historical happenings. For the question can not be framed—and Mayer does not do so—merely as a matter of Lenin vs. Wilson, or Wilson *then* Lenin, or Lenin over Wilson. The question must be about the struggle over the shape of the post-war world: liberal capitalist (which includes imperialist-colonialism, or not) vs. noncapitalist. By circumscribing this struggle to a question of international relations—relations between ostensibly equal nation-states based on the principles of sovereignty and self-determination— Manela completely elides the problem of capitalism and capitalist global relations, which were, after all, Lenin's primary concern. At the same time, the essential inequality and unevenness of any capitalist-based global order is evaded because Manela takes the equality of sovereignty at face value. Indeed, not a word about capitalism is spoken in this book. This is strange, given the fact of the Russian Revolution, the immediate postwar European upsurge of anticapitalist agitation, the extreme violence committed by precarious states in suppressing these challenges so as to secure the consolidation of domestic capitalist relations in the postwar world, and the history of early twentieth century radicalisms in the colonial world, which were in part anticapitalist before Lenin. It is also an evasion of a historian's responsibility to account for a multiplicity of evidence that may or may not correspond to the argument on which s/he wishes to focus. In other words, there is something disingenuous about containing this formative global historical moment into a singularity ("Wilsonian"), when it actually presents an overlapping of many potential contradictory moments. What are the ideological stakes for Manela in this containment?

I have already suggested one answer: Manela wishes to redeem global liberalism as a missed opportunity. But to do so, he must avoid discussion of all the ways in which liberalism is insufficient unto itself and all the ways in which the rhetoric of national equality and sovereignty mask actual unequal relations under capitalism. He does this by defining Wilsonianism entirely in terms of international relations, which he then poses against the old-style imperial-colonialisms of the Europeans and the newly rising Japanese. Not only can he thus turn Britain, France, and Japan into the reason for the failure of a proposed new world order—to be sure, they *were* hostile—he can absolve United States capitalism of its growing role in shaping the inequities of the postwar world. Manela's acknowledgement that Wilson was a supporter of U.S. imperialism (in the Philippines, for example) merely allows him to avoid a discussion of the relationship between imperialism and liberalism. Rather, Manela persistently construes imperialism as anomalous with Wilsonianism. Yet hosts of historians have argued that the two go hand in hand. Only if one reduces imperialism and liberalism to state domination and international relations can one see these as mutually exclusive. As soon as one introduces capitalism, they can be seen as cozy bedfellows.

Just as limitedly, Manela's accounts of the colonial world—Egypt, India, Korea, and China—fail to come to terms with the fraught and fought-over nature of nationalisms there. That is, throughout the middle chapters that deal serially with these countries in the periods before and after the Paris Conference, Manela assumes that there is only one version of nationalism in these places, and it revolves entirely around anticolonialism as a problem of state sovereignty. This only can be true if the sample of nationalists is circumscribed to those who petitioned Wilson in Paris: that is, those who believed in this version of nationalism. The argument is

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circular: nationalists are those who petitioned; those who petitioned represent nationalism. His synthetic chapters on Egypt, Korea, China, and India—two each—present no new interpretations of those histories in their own terms. Manela is quite justified in pointing to the ways in which some anticolonial nationalists were buoyed and then felt betrayed by Wilsonian rhetoric. However, while these narratives, set side by side, do take on an incantatory power of inevitability that is as depressing as any perusal of the daily newspaper these days, Manela's propensity to believe in the transparent goodness of Wilson's rhetoric and to ascribe unrest in the colonial world to Wilson's failures actually serves to undercut the drama of the reversals suffered by the colonial peoples at this moment and the power of their protests.

In this sense, there is no denying that the betrayals at the Paris Conference helped radicalize the terrain of global and nationalist politics. And yet, Manela's "internationalizing" approach to nationalist movements cannot suffice to explain this turning point. For, in one sense, colonialism and imperialism are always international; they are by their nature global forms of capitalist expansion and exercises of state power. To explore how anticolonialisms dealt with nationalism and transnationalism is always necessary. However, to contain this problem to one of international relations constrains the question of the national to the question of the state, when in fact, in the colonial world (as everywhere), nationalisms were far more complex and fraught than that, even at this early date. Here, then, the internationalizing of nationalism turns out to be merely a locational conceit: lots of anticolonial nationalists traveled to Paris in hopes of presenting their petitions.

As such, to construe the Paris Peace Conference as an "internationalizing" forum is to state the obvious. Clearly, the Conference raised hopes and the stakes for a solution to the horrors of an unprecedentedly savage European war. To the extent that the Great War was understood to be a "world war" based in competing state interests, its resolution was highly anticipated as a solution for "the world." And yet the Great War was really a European war, as Lenin long ago wrote; its solution was never going to be anything other than an (ultimately failed) attempt to solve Europe's problems. Indeed, as historian Enzo Traverso argues cogently in a recent book, it makes enormous sense to view the entire 1914–1945 period as "a European civil war" (*À feu et à sang: De la guerre civile europeenne, 1914–1945* [2007]). Thus "internationalizing" is merely another word for Eurocentric. Or perhaps, following Manela's expansion of that understanding, at the Conference Wilson forced the center to include the United States.

Unfortunately, none of the rich avenues of inquiry that could have been opened by Manela's topic is pursued. The topic is circumscribed too narrowly from the beginning. Manela's conclusion is, of course, incontrovertible: the Paris Peace Conference was indeed a "tragedy... as the leading peacemakers, Wilson foremost among them, failed to offer the populations of the non-European world the place in international society that Wilson's wartime speeches had implied they deserved" (p. 225). And yet, the way Manela gets us to this relatively pedestrian conclusion is not very illuminating.

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Reviews of Books

METHODS/THEORY

DANIEL LORD SMAIL. *On Deep History and the Brain*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 2008. Pp. xiv, 271. $21.95.

This is an imperialist book for historians to read and enjoy. Many will want to argue with its claims, but empires tend to stimulate opposition as well as to exert influence. The most fundamental of Daniel Lord Smail's claims is that "everything in time is part of history." This proposition seems absolutely axiomatic. Yet it carries with it the radical idea that history should constitute a new framing for the configuration of knowledge, and that argument undoubtedly throws down the gauntlet to many established disciplines.

Smail's first three chapters analyze the bedrock of the historical profession and its conventional temporal divisions. He challenges the basis for the traditional differentiation between the long millennia of so-called prehistory (preliteracy) and the advent of "real" history (with literacy). Smail rightly notes that nonliterate communities in literate eras are not precluded from historical inquiry. Why then should preliterate humans be omitted from the story? Furthermore, the terminology of "prehistory" seems to imply that early people lived in a static and somewhat boring temporal antechamber, being governed by brute biology before human culture had really begun. Yet there is ample evidence, such as organized burials and cave art, that throws serious doubt upon such a chronological schism.

Smail calls instead for an inclusive "deep history" that welds the Paleolithic with the Neolithic and Postlithic periods. He accepts that such a development will meet with opposition. In fact, the eventual disappearance of the term "prehistoric" was predicted as long ago as 1912 by one ecumenical historian. But the countervailing power of continuity has so far impeded such a change. Smail attributes that state of affairs to inertia, enhanced by the institutionalization of the disciplines and by historians' alleged fetishism of written documents over all other sources. Moreover, he identifies numerous experts who have claimed to find a qualitative division between the eras of prehistory and history, with people in the earlier timeframe lacking and the second having a historical consciousness. Smail might have added, too, that historians are not alone in sticking to traditional boundaries. Numerous prehistorians defend their separate academic terrain and its name as "prehistory," albeit depicting it not as brutish and boring but as challenging and distinctive.

Yet notwithstanding these professional demarcations for practical purposes, Smail surely must be right to argue that the study of the human past logically entails the study of the whole human past. Smail then goes further in offering his own interpretation. His tale properly starts in Africa, with an essential reminder of the cousinhood of wandering humanity. His big theme then focuses upon the 1.7-million-year evolution of the large and intricate human brain. Tired old debates, such as nature versus nurture, are to be sidestepped, since the two features are intimately interlinked "as every right-thinking observer has long suspected anyway" (p. 119). Smail rejects outright rigid theories that detect a predetermined model of "natural" sociobiology for all humans. He also discards the specific school of thought known as evolutionary psychology. What is more, historical sociology does not substantiate its universalist Stone Age model, in which all men act as promiscuous sowers of seed, seeking to perpetuate their genes, and all women act as nurturing mothers, seeking to pair with high-ranking, powerful men with "good" genes.

Instead, for Smail as for many biologists, natural selection operates through interactive frameworks and potentials. He rejects an easy identification of individual genes all carefully coded for the production of some special trait or behavior. Biology and culture are bonded together and coevolve. As that occurs, humans display sundry common characteristics but a degree of polymorphism, too, both individually and across different societies—as, for example, in the case of human skin coloration. The secret of change, for Smail, lies in the dynamics of neurohistory. He lightly sketches the "mood-altering practices, behaviors, and institutions generated by human culture" (p. 161) and their changing impact over time. So he posits an unfolding development from Paleolithic wanderers to the relatively settled Neolithic peoples (with the advent of agriculture and class distinctions) to the restless "moderns" within the capitalistic marketplace, who endlessly produce new stimulants to tempt jaded consumers. The historical evidence for these "neuro-mood" stages is, however, disappointingly impressionistic and the scientific

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evidence nugatory. In this part of his argument, therefore, Smail cannot be said to have proved his case.

Will the specialist demarcations among biologists, neuroscientists, palaeontologists, archaeologists, anthropologists, linguists, prehistorians, and historians come to an end? It seems doubtful. On the other hand, will the cross-disciplinary interactions continue to grow with integrated studies of human culture and sociobiology? That seems likely. The case for studying all history "viewed long" is hard to resist; and period boundaries are welcome matters for fresh debate by historians while they cudgel the complex brains which the human species has collectively evolved through deep time.

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JAMES D. HERBERT. *Our Distance from God: Studies of the Divine and the Mundane in Western Art and Music*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 2008. Pp. xii, 198. $60.00.

James D. Herbert proposes to study religion and art as engaged in the same purpose: figuring the relationship between humanity and divinity. He calls his approach "a theology of art" (p. 7), which is surprising coming as it does from an accomplished art historian, whose work to date has focused on twentieth-century French and American art and art theory. But Herbert encourages the reader not to fixate on the issue of belief in the existence of God. In fact, even though he signals that he himself is a believer, he wants to avoid the dichotomous relation of belief and unbelief—not simply because they form a discursive morass, sucking the energy of argumentation into a theological-philosophical impasse, but because he is more interested, ultimately theologically interested, in transcending the view that God is the ground of being. Which takes him into the nimble (and migraine-inducing) acrobatics of negative theology, the fine art of saying what God is *not* in order not to reduce the deity to the idolatrous artifices of human claims about what or who God is.

The Christian doctrine of Incarnation is the framework for Herbert's discussion of God's distance. Other deities are distant, too, and many, such as Yahweh and Allah, have the capacity to draw very close to human affairs. But the Christian Incarnation involves embodiment and identity, which is crucial for Herbert, who follows his highly theological introduction with five historical case studies in architecture, art, and music from the seventeenth century to the present, each of which examines different articulations of the relation between mortals and the Christian deity. What redeem Herbert's book from the far more narrow interests of Christian theologizing are his keen eye, close reading, and remarkable finesse in scrutinizing works of art as peculiar historical phenomena. The non-theologian (and non-believer) can *almost* forget the framework of "a theology of art" by taking theology instead to operate as a cultural analysis of how art has functioned to create powerful forms of human imagination.

The book opens with a fascinating examination of the cultural construction of French nationhood, kingship, and the relation between deity and people in images of Versailles and the realm of Louis XIV, all of which visualize in one way or another the celebrated mot of the Sun King, "l'état, c'est moi." As has often been pointed out, the very structure of the palace and its grounds, radiating from the royal boudoir, extend the king's body to the nation, emulating, Herbert asserts, the relation of Christ's body to the church. Nowhere at Versailles, he continues, does an assertion of the likeness of the French king to the King of the Universe occur. That would be blasphemous. But it is strongly implied everywhere in the material culture of the royal grounds. Space preaches the proximity in a deftly indirect way: even as the long vista emerges from the palace in all directions, extending the likeness of king and nation, representations betray the gaze constructing the visual field as the king's own. Although Louis XIV is never shown as the deity, he is endowed with an all-encompassing gaze and therefore, Herbert smartly observes, remains unseen, like the God whose majesty he shares.

Subsequent chapters examine Richard Wagner's importance for the nineteenth-century German understanding of national identity; the way that Claude Monet's installation of water lily paintings at the Museé de l'Orangerie in Paris precluded the embodiment of deities yet expressed to many contemporaries a sacred space; the dialectical relation of human doubt and celestial glory in Benjamin Britten's *War Requiem*, commissioned for Coventry Cathedral, where it premiered in 1962; and finally, the massive installation of Robert Wilson's *14 Stations*, which first appeared in 2000 as part of the Passion Play presented by the city of Oberammergau, Germany, where it filled an entire pasture. Herbert reads in individual stations blasphemous misstatements of Christian doctrine, which he argues have "saved us from, or deprived us of, too close a contact with the divine" (p. 169). In contrast to the experience of generations of pilgrim-visitors to Oberammergau, who commonly report a "you-are-there" experience of Jesus's last hours, Wilson's installation does not locate the divine in the scenery but among the audience members, among "us," as Herbert repeatedly says, refusing to allow readers to stand afar and look from a comfortable distance. If one tried to forget the theological framework deployed by the author, in the end it is impossible to do so. This book is a theology of art. Herbert asserts that *we* are where the divine is, mysteriously *with us*—always more than believers may designate with their pale categories of being, yet all the closer to us for being invisible. Many readers will resent the author's presumption, but he may be thinking aloud what religious works of art silently bequeath to their viewers as the visual rhetoric of aesthetic experience.

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MASSIMO LIVI BACCI. *Conquest: The Destruction of the American Indios*. Translated by CARL IPSEN. Cambridge: Polity. 2008. Pp. xi, 317. $24.95.

Scholars generally emphasize introduced diseases as the most important cause for the demographic disaster that indigenous peoples of the Americas faced in the wake of European invasion. Massimo Livi Bacci, a demographer, does not dismiss germs, but he cites them as one of several factors, and not always the most important one, in leading to depopulation. By doing this, Bacci challenges monocausal explanations of conquest that fit all regions of the Americas.

Bacci criticizes previous scholars for focusing on native mortality without paying attention to reproduction. Introduced diseases killed countless natives but group survival was possible, and in fact restoration of pre-contact population sizes was possible within one to two generations, if other aspects of colonialism did not interfere. That is where the strength of this book lies: conquest, Bacci shows, was a total shock to the indigenous demographic system. War, forced labor, expropriation of resources, and other factors all combined to alter native reproduction.

To illustrate his thesis, Bacci focuses on four particular areas: the Caribbean, Mexico, Perú, and the Paraná and Uruguay valleys. Caribbean islanders suffered the worst, and new diseases had little to do with it. Bacci makes a convincing case that smallpox did not arrive on the islands until 1518, and by then population collapse had already occurred. The hunt for gold, instead, was the engine of destruction as colonizers subjugated natives through murder and forced labor. The indigenous subsistence system also collapsed, adding famine to the list of ills that conquest produced. Lastly, colonizers absorbed native women into their own reproductive pool. After smallpox arrived in 1518, the few remaining indigenous groups gradually disappeared.

In Mexico, disease played the most prominent role. Smallpox arrived in 1520, during the initial stage of conquest, and spread rapidly through the densely populated and interconnected peoples of the Aztec Empire. Once the Spanish established themselves, it became difficult for the native population to recover due to appropriation of indigenous labor, dislocation of native communities, abandonment of traditional modes of production, and ecological disruptions caused by European livestock. When second and third waves of epidemics occurred in 1545 and 1576, Mexican fertility had become seriously compromised. Native population reached its nadir at the end of the sixteenth century.

Perú followed a different trajectory. There, newly introduced diseases did not have a significant impact until twenty-five years into the conquest. Bacci claims that it was unlikely that a smallpox pandemic spread from Mesoamerica into South America in the 1520s, as proposed by some scholars, due to the great difficulty of spreading the disease thousands of kilometers through thinly populated territory characterized by significant geographic boundaries. Bacci further asserts that epidemics did not strike Perú until the last third of the sixteenth century. By then, the native population had suffered immensely from non-epidemiological causes. The Spanish inflamed a civil war among the Incas and perpetuated a violent state of affairs into the 1550s. This situation disrupted the flow of resources between the lowlands and the highlands and led to a massive population transfer to the Andean mining regions. Following pacification, a period of calm ensued only to be followed by a round of epidemics between 1585 and 1591 that brought a population decline but not a collapse.

Bacci's discussion of Jesuit missions among the Guaraní in the Paraná and Uruguay valleys serves as an exception that proves his rule that a totality of forces undermined indigenous populations. There, natives experienced epidemics in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Nevertheless, Jesuits protected their indigenous charges from the worst aspects of Iberian colonialism and brought cultural changes that actually increased fertility. Bacci points to "early, universal, and stable marriage" as a major factor that increased reproduction (p. 219). Populations in the missions actually rose from around 40,000 in 1642 to 140,000 in 1727. Thereafter, Jesuit efforts to protect natives broke down, and population declined to its pre-contact size.

Bacci makes a significant contribution and should be applauded for tackling a difficult academic question. This reviewer only found two weaknesses worth addressing, and these do not take away from the book's importance. First, Bacci's epidemiological discussion rests too heavily on smallpox. This leads him to overlook the impact of malaria, typhoid, and yellow fever—diseases with natures quite different from smallpox—that may have combined in the tropical lowlands to destroy natives without much aid from other factors of conquest. Second, Bacci gives only slight attention to culture. Indigenous marriage practices, kinship relations, gender roles, and other customs are not discussed, and thus the reader does not get a complete picture of how extensively colonialism interfered with native reproduction. Still, the book's central argument remains strong, and Bacci commendably moves the discussion away from singular epidemiological explanations and refocuses debate on the multiple means and various trajectories involved in the conquest of indigenous peoples.

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HELEN DELPAR. *Looking South: The Evolution of Latin Americanist Scholarship in the United States, 1850–1975*. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press. 2008. Pp. xiii, 241. Cloth $50.00, paper $24.95.

In recent years scholars in several disciplines have examined the U.S. fascination with Spain and Latin America. Some, including Ricardo Salvatore and Mark Berger, have argued that the gathering of knowledge about the Hispanic world was a symptom and tool of

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U.S. domination in Latin America and the Caribbean. In the nineteenth century, gentlemanly amateurs such as William Hickling Prescott studied Spanish and Spanish American history in part to throw into relief what was distinctive about the United States and its development. They also were sensitive to the fluctuating U.S. ambitions in the region. After the defeat of Spain in 1898 and the assertion of an aggressive presence in the Americas, especially in the Caribbean, Central America, and Mexico, humanistic and social scientific knowledge about Latin America became more intimately entwined with U.S. overseas power and institutionalized in universities and foundations.

Helen Delpar expresses skepticism about this account of Latin Americanist scholarship. While acknowledging that Latin American studies flourished when the U.S. government found compelling reasons to make its influence felt in the region, she also argues that characterizing scholarship as an aspect of hegemony, "although partly accurate, lacks nuance" (p. 90). Her book traces the ebb and flow of interest in Latin America among U.S. scholars, primarily historians and anthropologists but also geographers, political scientists, sociologists, and economists. Delpar portrays a field on the margins of the U.S. university for much of the twentieth century. Scholarly booms promoted by the government and foundations, especially the Rockefeller and Ford Foundations and the Carnegie Endowment, created new positions, grants, journals, research centers, and exchanges. But when political anxieties waned expansion in the field slowed considerably. Moreover, though scholars benefited from the largesse of the government and foundations, their views about U.S.-Latin American relations were far from homogenous and were often critical. For example, she says of academics involved in policy making in the 1920s and 1930s "the Latin Americanists were by no means rebels; neither were they unthinking mouthpieces for official U.S. policy" (p. 107).

The research for this book is well conceived. The author has read widely in Latin Americanist scholarship in several disciplines. She has also mined the collections of major institutions that shaped the field, such as the Rockefeller Foundation, and the papers of important historians and social scientists, including Lewis Hanke, Frank Tannenbaum, and Charles Chapman.

Delpar organizes her book in three sections. The first is a brief overview of "Beginnings" that examines nineteenth-century scholars of Spain and Latin America, a period that has received close scrutiny by Richard Kagan and Ivan Jaksic. Scholarship in this period was piecemeal, usually carried out by men of independent means like Prescott or by dedicated autodidacts like Adolph Bandelier who relied heavily on private benefactors for support. This situation would change in the twentieth century when universities, foundations, and the government came to the fore.

The next section, "Laying the Foundations," explores the changes in the field brought about by closer U.S. involvement in Latin America and the Philippines after the Spanish-American War. Several of the major figures of twentieth-century Latin American studies first became interested in the region after working for the government or private firms in the Caribbean or the Pacific. It was fascinating to learn that Irving Leonard, historian of literature and the arts in colonial Mexico and Peru, worked for an export company in the Philippines for several years after his undergraduate studies at Yale. His Philippine experience led him to return to school, specifically to Berkeley, a major center of Latin American Studies in the first half of the twentieth century.

The causes and consequences of major investment in Latin American studies are the subject of the final section, "Maturity and Institutionalization." Delpar highlights two periods of heightened interest in Latin America and Latin American Studies: from 1935 to 1945 when the U.S. hoped to win allies in the region, and from 1958 to the 1970s in response to the Cuban Revolution. The first period witnessed the formation of institutions and publications that continue to shape the field, including the Hispanic Division of the Library of Congress and the *Handbook of Latin American Studies*. The Rockefeller Foundation was an active patron and so, too, was the government, which hoped to promote cooperation with Latin America during an age of fierce international conflict.

The second period, which Delpar treats in the chapter "The Boom Years, 1958–1975," saw large increases in funding from the federal government and the Ford Foundation. Centers for Latin American Studies took root in public and private universities around the country. Strife within the field increased. Delpar's observations on the political and generational conflicts within the Latin American Studies Association (LASA) make for interesting reading. They also illustrate her view that Latin Americanists in the U.S., while never free of their government's ambitions in the region, are not agents of its interests.

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JOSEPH A. MASSAD. *Desiring Arabs*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2007. Pp. xiv, 453. $35.00.

Joseph A. Massad's new book is first and foremost a refutation of Edward Said's famous Orientalism thesis. I do not know whether this is the intended aim of the book, and have not found any such claim by the author, but it should be considered one of the book's main conclusions.

In *Orientalism* (1978), Said claimed that the Orient was constructed by such scholars as Ernest Renan in the nineteenth century and Bernard Lewis in the twentieth in order to justify colonial penetration by the West. This could be most clearly illustrated, he suggested, in the way Western writers and artists represented oriental sexuality. By falsely endowing the Orient with a different, corrupt sexual urge, Europe and America could rationalize their colonialist schemes. The cover chosen

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for *Orientalism* illustrates just that aspect of the thesis: a nineteenth-century oil painting by Jean-Leon Gerome showing a naked young boy fondling a huge snake while an old man crouching by his side suggestively plays the flute and other weathered men, leaning on a wall adorned with Arabic calligraphy, look on. Gerome's painting drives home the message: an effeminate Orient, drooling at the sight of sexy prepubescent boys, deserves to be subjugated by the enlightened West.

Now comes Massad, by his own admission a student and friend of the late Said, and in one swoop fells the entire Saidian edifice. There *is* an Oriental sexuality, he alleges. It is different from that of the West and pederastic in a way. Rather than create an imaginary and false construct of the Orient, as Said claimed, what "the West" effectively tries to do is efface this difference and incorporate the Orient into the heteronormalized Occident, in total disregard of the damage done to its inhabitants.

It is difficult to categorize this book. At base it is an erudite study of Arab literature about sexuality since the beginning of the twentieth century. A main focus of this study, interwoven into many chapters, is modern Arabic literature's attitude toward the great ninth-century poet Abu Nuwas (al-Hasan ibn Hani al-Hakami, 750–810), who wrote numerous poems expressing desire for handsome young men. Massad deftly marshals a long series of authors and researchers who came up with explanations for this terrible "deviance": the corrupting influence of Persian culture (pp. 77, 108); the warped norms of Greek, Roman, and contemporary European culture (p. 63); the mores of a corrupt elite distanced from the masses (p. 58); the abundance of concubines that rendered the entire female race "cheap and vulgar" (p. 86); gender segregation (p. 136); Abu Nuwas's physical disability (p. 89); and, most commonly, that it was just a literary trope with no relation to actual sexuality (e.g., p. 120). The one explanation that is hardly ever offered is that this is a normal human sexual tendency.

This aspect of the book would be helpful to those who wish to study the discourse of sexuality in modern Arab literature, but on this sound foundation Massad then superimposes an enigmatic indictment of a group of West-based organizations he refers to as "The Gay International." This indictment is based on the claim that his study of Arab literature reveals a different attitude toward male same-sex attraction in Arab societies than that which is prevalent in the West. Apparently there are two main differences: one is that in Arab culture men who penetrate other men are perceived as normal and virile, hence not "gay." The other is that, as long as such things are not discussed in public, no one seems to care. Oblivious to these cultural differences, Western gay rights organizations arrogantly crash in and, by encouraging homosexuality and defending the right to be openly gay, force society to publicly ostracize people who in the past were simply ignored. In other words, Arab society had a way of accommodating same-sex relationships, but the relentless crusade of "The Gay International" has created persecution and brought sorrow.

These two facets of the book are almost impossible to reconcile. In fact, there is little in the body of evidence to bolster the claims of a "Gay International" scheme. On the contrary, Massad clearly shows that from the beginning of the twentieth century, long before the wicked "Gay International" was hatched, Arab literature has been grappling with the notion of homosexuality. In fact, in line with the conclusions of Afsaneh Najmabadi's *Women with Mustaches and Men without Beards* (2005), and of my own research, Massad's evidence reveals that for more than a century the specter of heteronormalcy (or the rigid division of people into heterosexuals and homosexuals) has engendered deep anxiety in Arab literary production.

It should be obvious that such a long-term entanglement with the notion of homosexuality could not but produce a sizable group of people who understand and define themselves or some of their peers as homosexuals, at least in literate circles. If Massad's evidence is to be trusted, then he is completely wrong in his conclusions. Arab homosexuality and the persecution of gays are not products of "The Gay International" but rather of a long and intense engagement between Arab East and European West. If ever there was a moment when East and West were two completely separate and uncontaminated spheres of sexuality, it disappeared the moment the first modern Arab author described Abu Nuwas as a corrupt homosexual.

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Judith M. Bennett. *History Matters: Patriarchy and the Challenge of Feminism*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 2006. Pp. 214. $49.95.

It would be good to see more works of feminist history that focus on historiography: on debates and trends in the field and on the state of feminist history today. Judith M. Bennett covers all of this and more, in a style that is informed, provocative, often insightful, and also accessible. While she draws extensively on her own specialist field of medieval English and European history for examples, the value of this work as a general guide to writing feminist history is undiminished. She also includes a thoughtful chapter on how to circumvent the lack of historical sources when writing lesbian history.

Bennett contends that "history [still] matters" to feminism. She sees the linguistic turn as resulting in the displacement of feminist ("women's") history as a leader in the field of feminist studies and also, too often, in a narrow focus upon discourse and representation. As she puts it, "many of us are now focusing more on representations of past lives than on lived experiences, more on the performative creation of gender rules than on the effects of male power" (pp. 24–25). Analysis of the former need not rule out attention to the latter, but it certainly *can* do so, as Bennett observes when be-

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moaning how the recent study of the construction and manipulation of gender "rules" in a wide range of media has tended to shy away from "concrete, accessible histories" toward abstract analyses. This is a familiar refrain in feminist scholarship with whose conceptualization I do not entirely agree, since one would think that gender constructs *are* concrete or material realities—part and parcel of social relations. Yet I do see Bennett's point. It is difficult to see how feminist history can still constitute a call to arms or, to use her terminology, be adequately "offensive" if unpacking the "complex meanings of gender" is our *only* concern. Clearly, we should still be asking: how far did dominant gender constructs of women's roles and duties, status and identities actually affect their lives?

Another central concern of the book is the importance of studying what Bennett calls a "patriarchal equilibrium." By now, much has been done in feminist history to destabilize androcentric periodization and an unthinking recourse to linear narratives of progress. But inversion is not the only way of contesting androcentric models, as Bennett implies with her example of women today receiving about the same proportion of men's wages as they did in medieval times. A fixation on change, in short, whether it be on progress or regression, can lead us to overlook continuities (a focus on which can also serve to encourage a revision of modernist complacencies about necessary progress).

In addition, Bennett's (continued) defense of the term "patriarchy" may be unfashionable, but I find it refreshing. It has, of course, been criticized for its suggestion of a universal patriarchy always and everywhere the same, where woman is always and everywhere the victim. Arguably, however, the discomfort exhibited by writers today with such terms and their preference for less emotive (read: political) expressions such as "gender imbalance/order" is again suggestive of binary inversion. In this case, so-called "victim feminism" must apparently be replaced entirely by agency feminism, according to which women appear never to have been oppressed. Surely, the important thing is how we talk about patriarchy: we can speak of patriarchies, plural, as well as of societies/communities in world history that were not systematically patriarchal or perhaps even non-patriarchies. Moreover, we need not assume that women's "subjugation" was always entirely purposive on the part of men, that they were always in control, or that women were never complicit in their "secondary position" in the so-called "gender order." Bennett relates her critique of this sort of inoffensive language which is now current to another of her main concerns in the book, "the depoliticization of women's and gender history."

I do wonder if this is too sweeping a characterization, though her point about inoffensive euphemisms was reinforced recently when a male colleague confidently stated that there is no feminist history in his field but much being published on "women, gender, or sexualities" (sic). Nevertheless, Bennett did make a few other points on the state of the field that felt a trifle too generalized. First, there are other countries in the English-speaking world where feminist historians might not feel that the field is all that depoliticized. Nor am I sure that surveying a handful of the leading English-language feminist history journals can justify claims about a general paucity of studies on premodern women/gender. In general, however, I found this book to be a fine piece of scholarship that professional historians and students at the undergraduate and more advanced levels should find very useful.

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COMPARATIVE/WORLD

RICHARD W. POINTER. *Encounters of the Spirit: Native Americans and European Colonial Religion*. (Religion in North America.) Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 2007. Pp. xv, 289. $39.95.

Richard W. Pointer's provocative study examines the impact of Native American religions on European colonial Christianity. Rejecting the critical commonplace that Indian religions, though deeply affected by Christianity, offered little or nothing in return, Pointer maintains that "when natives and newcomers met" in the religious arena, "powerful effects were felt on both sides, and the flow of influence moved in both directions" (p. 2). Pointer finds support for this controversial claim not by rehearsing the dramatic but statistically limited case of white captives who "converted" to their captors' religions but by probing the far more pervasive, if fugitive, effects of intercultural encounter on Christianity itself. Noting that "few if any aspects of [Indian-European contact] did not have a religious dimension" (p. 4), he suggests that "whenever natives prompted Europeans to reflect upon, renew, expand, reinforce, revise or rethink their Christian convictions" (p. 72), whether in the formal context of missionary relations or in the diverse social, political, military, and other contexts of encounter, the Indian presence was felt. In pursuit of that presence, Pointer spans the centuries (from the 1520s through the 1790s) and covers the continent (from Spanish to English to French colonies), synthesizing and elaborating upon much of the prior scholarship on religious encounter that has emerged in the past decades. In so doing, he greatly enriches our understanding of the conflictual yet reciprocal relationships that shaped colonial persons, communities, and spiritualities.

Given the refractory nature of his source materials, which as the author notes "typically rejected or dismissed native practices and beliefs" (p. 6), Pointer takes some time to establish a satisfactory way of scouring these materials to support his argument. The problems he confronts are particularly evident in his first chapter, in which he considers how indigenous Mexican music and musicians "left their mark on the souls of those who had come to save them" (p. 40), and his second, in which he argues that "changes in Puritan religion [were] pre-

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cipitated by the particular ways natives chose to become imitators of Christ" (p. 66). Although my own reading of the sources inclines me to agree with Pointer, I find these chapters more convincing as analyses of Christian influence on native religions than the reverse. What I miss here is a sustained engagement with the ambiguities, anxieties, and ellipses of the sources, which need to be read both cautiously and daringly to yield the sorts of evidence Pointer wishes to wrest from them.

The chapters that follow undertake just such an engagement with the source materials, and as such they more than compensate for the book's somewhat rough start. In the third chapter, Pointer considers how "interaction with natives" may have shaped Christian theology (p. 71), as "exchanges over beliefs" encouraged colonists to reconsider "the reasonableness of Christianity and ultimately the very nature of God" (p. 74). This claim is amply substantiated by close and creative readings of the works of John Lawson, James Adair, William Bartram, Alexander Henry, and others. Similarly, in the fourth chapter, the thoughtful case study of evangelist David Brainerd's private and public writings convincingly demonstrates how even "the religion of someone" as punctilious as Brainerd could be and was "shaped by Indians" (p. 105). The fifth and sixth chapters, meanwhile, take up familiar topics in ways that subvert expectations. While the fifth examines how native converts, rather than being trapped in mere "conformity to European dictates" (p. 158), played an active part in shaping "colonial Americans' attitudes and actions regarding what constituted authentic, faithful Christian leadership" (p. 123), the sixth underscores how the evidence of large-scale native mortality, rather than simply substantiating the colonists' faith in God's favor, simultaneously effected anxious reflection on the colonists' relationship to the divine and on their fidelity to their own religious convictions. As a whole, then, these chapters effectively illustrate Pointer's larger contention that "only by recovering the significant, and at times dramatic, ways encounters with Native Americans colored the religious experience and thought of Euro-Americans do we do justice to the full story of early American religious history" (p. 121).

Given his book's many strengths, I believe Pointer is being overly modest when he characterizes his study as taking "one small step toward affording all those who were a part of the encounters of the spirit in early America their proper due" (p. 13). In my view, his book possesses larger implications than that; it has the potential to spark extensive reevaluation of a subject that (particularly in the case of the English colonies) remains curiously taboo even among scholars committed to exploring the mutual impact of Indian and European peoples in the Americas. Scholars in the fields of ethnohistory, religious studies, literary studies, and other disciplines will all benefit from discussion and debate of Pointer's valuable work.

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Jason R. Young. *Rituals of Resistance: African Atlantic Religion in Kongo and the Lowcountry South in the Era of Slavery*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 2007. Pp. xii, 258.

Over the last half century the study of African American religion has undergone a seismic theoretical shift: from Melville Herskovits's search for African "survivals" to creolization or cultural hybridity to revisionism, which connects specific locales in slave societies to African antecedents. Jason R. Young seeks to define a new paradigm that tracks the historical movement of signs, symbols, meanings, and their uses across the Atlantic Rim. He does not make a complete break with the scholarship of Margaret Washington, Sterling Stuckey, John Thornton, Paul Lovejoy, and James Sweet, among others, and in fact leans, sometimes heavily, on their path-breaking works. What differentiates his approach from most of the earlier scholarship is Young's nonlinear conceptual framework.

At the heart of this book is the role of cultural memory in the lives of enslaved peoples around the Atlantic Rim. Much of recent scholarly debate centers on the issue of direct continuities from Africa versus various theories of creolization. Young does not deny that black cultural formations were "multiple and dynamic" but he offers a more finely calibrated theoretical approach. Neither entirely new nor essentially African, black cultural formations were "composite," neither airtight nor subsumed into a hybrid mix. Take baptism, for example. Despite the absence of formal similarities between African water immersion and Christian baptism, certain theoretical and symbolic connections persisted. The offspring of intellectual processes, they were not necessarily connected in a conscious way by individuals but were rather part of a vocabulary of ritual expression that was collective, "larger than the individuals who come together to create it" (p. 92). As such, group memory traveled along a historical trajectory linking lowcountry enslaved peoples historically, conceptually, and cosmologically to Africa and to enslaved peoples throughout the African Atlantic.

African beliefs and practices such as baptism, conjure, and burial rituals that make up the complex of slave spirituality operated through "networks of engagement" that developed across the Atlantic Rim during the era of the slave trade and slavery. In place of the diasporic approach, which he rejects as "unidirectional," Young situates his new paradigm in the African Atlantic, which he defines as " a constellation of sites," each "conversant with the other" (p. 15). Whereas the diasporic approach concentrates on the movement of bodies, and other scholars search for parallels between Gullah and Kongo cults in aesthetic motifs revealed in songs and oral traditions, Young's paradigm focuses on theoretical and intellectual engagements of enslaved peoples throughout the African Atlantic. Although his claim that studies of slave religions support the notion that religion was defensive in nature is patently wrong and ignores Douglas Egerton's important works on the

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role of religion in slave rebellions, Young's argument that slave spirituality represented a powerful critique of modernity and prevailing political discourse and was thus "immanently political in nature" (p. 12) adds a provocative and compelling dimension to the subject.

This is an important book, and it is precisely for that reason that readers should note its weaknesses as well as its strengths. Long on theory, it is somewhat short on empirical evidence, especially as it relates to his concept of "networks of engagement." Young is surely right in insisting on the transnational nature of cultural formation but his evidence for the relationships among the cultures of Africa, Spanish America, Brazil, and the lowcountry is cursory at best, consisting of passing references to cultural similarities at selected sites elsewhere in the African Atlantic. In focusing on West Central Africa and BaKonga influence, Young largely ignores the role of Islam in the lowcountry, whose populations were also drawn from the Senegambia and Sierra Leone, though in admittedly smaller numbers. Nor does his paradigm take into account encounters of enslaved peoples of Kongo origin in the lowcountry with enslaved peoples from Virginia bearing Igbo cultures. Young's discussion of the formative period of religious transformation in the late eighteenth century consists of four and a half pages and occasional references. Although he makes passing references to recent scholarship, he fails to incorporate it into his paradigm. Most notably missing is the recent collection edited by Linda Heywood, *Central Africans and Cultural Transformations in the American Diaspora* (2001), which contains essays by Hein Vanhee, Terry Rey, and others that have special relevance for his subject.

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David Richardson, Suzanne Schwarz, and Anthony Tibbles, editors. *Liverpool and Transatlantic Slavery*. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press. 2007. Pp. xii, 315. $75.00.

This book is a collection of essays from a conference held at the Merseyside Maritime Museum in 2005. The volume focuses largely on the rise of Liverpool as the pre-eminent slave trading port in Europe. Five of the ten essays examine in minute details particular factors that contributed to Liverpool's dominance in the Atlantic slave trade in the eighteenth century. Four other chapters focus, respectively, on wealth generated by the trade and its influence on the socioeconomic life of the port and on the port's role in abolition (two each). Only one essay seems to stand alone on the important subject of African ethnicities in the Americas.

In general, the essays in the volume embody excellent historical scholarship both in data collection and in analysis. The rise-of-Liverpool explanations, which imply relatively weak mobility of factors and products in eighteenth-century England, are generally consistent with the view expressed by other scholars that before the railway age there was no integrated national economy in England and that regionalism was dominant, although this point is not explicitly made in the volume. While appreciating the excellent qualities of the essays, I want to point out some limitations readers must know.

For a start, Kenneth Morgan's reopening of the unlimited-supply-of-credit argument (p. 32) that, for all practical purposes, was laid to rest almost three decades ago is unwarranted. The abundant evidence from the correspondence between manufacturers and slave traders and the phenomenal increases in the cost of credit (increases in discount rates for cash purchases of export manufactures) make it unambiguously clear that manufacturers faced difficulties in extending export credit to slave traders during periods of rapidly growing demand for slave-trade manufactures (see J. E. Inikori, "Market Structure and the Profits of the British African Trade in the Late Eighteenth Century," *Journal of Economic History* [1981]: pp. 756–58, and the debate that followed). Morgan does not need to push the extreme argument of the unlimited supply of credit to make his point that Liverpool slave traders had greater access to export credit than those in other European ports.

Still concerning the economy, Jane Longmore exaggerates the impact of abolition on the Liverpool economy. The rapid expansion of the port's Atlantic trade in the nineteenth century—phenomenal growth of cotton imports from the Americas and palm produce from West Africa—more than made up for the slave trade. The growth of income and employment in the port, and of its population, in the nineteenth century testifies to this. The problems of Liverpool in the twentieth century were a spillover from its industrial hinterland, problems shared by other manufacturing regions of England as they faced growing competition in the global economy, especially after the loss of the colonies.

On the controversial issue of African ethnicities in the Americas, Trevor Burnard's use of seventeenth-century Jamaican evidence to attack Gwendolyn Midlo Hall's more broadly based argument is contrary to the evidence in other essays in the volume. Paul Lovejoy and David Richardson's evidence (p. 49) shows that while the Bight of Biafra (southeastern Nigeria, populated largely by the Igbo) contributed 14.9 percent of total transatlantic exports in 1701–1810, the region contributed 43.6 percent of Liverpool's total shipment during the period. And Morgan's evidence (pp. 30–31) shows that an overwhelming majority of the slaves landed in Jamaica by the three major British ports (Liverpool, London, and Bristol) in 1741–1810 were carried by Liverpool ships, Jamaica being by far the largest single American market for Liverpool traders. This is clear evidence that a large proportion of Africans landing in Jamaica during the period came from southeastern Nigeria, which is consistent with Hall's argument and contrary to Burnard's.

Lovejoy and Richardson's essay focuses on African agency in the slave trade, consistent with a pattern of historiography that David Eltis and Richardson have pursued since the 1980s. In *The North Atlantic World in the Seventeenth Century* (1974), British historian K. G.

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Davies identified in no uncertain terms the initiation and control of the slave trade by European merchants (p. xi). But since the 1980s, Davies's well-informed view has been turned upside down by Eltis and Richardson. Lovejoy is a new addition. Bandits and traders in western Africa, who responded to the mid-seventeenth-century massive shift of European demand from African products to African captives following the growth of demand for coerced labor in the Americas, are presented as the initiators and controllers of the trade. Lovejoy and Richardson talk about the agency of Akan traders on the Gold Coast, without telling the reader that for two hundred years (1450–1650) their predecessors grew rich from gold exports and invested their profits in forest clearing to create farmlands, importing labor from other parts of West Africa for that purpose, and that it was the shift in European demand that transformed the Gold Coast from the exporter of gold and importer of labor to the exporter of captives. A somewhat similar history has been narrated for the Aro in southeastern Nigeria. Again, Lovejoy and Richardson do not tell the reader that the power structure and socio-political institutions they talk about in the Bight of Biafra (and other parts of West Africa) were largely the product of the Atlantic slave trade in the first place. From the work of the Nobel Prize-winning economist Douglass C. North (*Institutions, Institutional Change and Economic Performance*, 1990) we now know a lot about the causal relationship between market processes of demand/supply and prices and the long-run evolution of power structures and socioeconomic institutions. Of course, as various categories of Africans responded to the socioeconomic and political conditions created by expanding European traders' demand for captives, they acted to protect their own self-interests. This is what Eltis, Richardson, Lovejoy, and others characterize as agency. To focus superficially on the response as the central issue in the Atlantic slave trade is to turn the causal sequence in historical analysis upside down and mislead the reader, and that has been the effect of African agency historiography. It has diverted attention from the study of the devastating impact of the Atlantic slave trade on the long-run process of socioeconomic development in Western Africa. No essay in the volume under review has anything to say on that subject.

A final problem is the rather selective nature of the references to the literature, the academic basis of the selection being often difficult to fathom. These critical comments should not take anything away from the excellent academic qualities of several essays in the volume. Undoubtedly, this book is an important addition to the rapidly growing literature on the Atlantic slave trade.

JOSEPH E. INIKORI
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JAMES SIDBURY. *Becoming African in America: Race and Nation in the Early Black Atlantic*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2007. Pp. ix, 291. $29.95.

James Sidbury has situated his exploration of African identity formation (or rejection) squarely within the framework of the anglophone "Black Atlantic." Bringing an innovative and exciting approach to the study of African American identity, African nationalism, and pan-Africanism, he argues that in North America and England the "African" identity that developed through the discussion of greater political autonomy, abolition, and socioeconomic improvement was based upon a troubled interplay with the memory of indigenous culture in Africa and uneven possibilities for black self-determination in America.

Sidbury traces the development of a discourse on African identity and nationalism from the late eighteenth century into the first half of the nineteenth century by following specific black authors and orators and groups of blacks influenced by them. He explains the disappointments that shaped the black Loyalist experience in Nova Scotia and subsequently in Freetown, Sierra Leone. Those earlier emigration projects would influence subsequent ideas, rhetoric, and practice as blacks sought various means of self-expression. Beyond this, however, Sidbury teases out the historical transformative process that forged the discourse as well as its practical manifestation through the actions of peoples of African descent in the anglophone Atlantic world. Through this detailed examination Sidbury explains how the notion of African unity was developed and defined, whether through blood kinship or through historical processes such as the shared oppression of enslavement.

The author argues that, at the outset of this creative process of identity formation, black authors took their collective meaning of "African" from the diaspora experience rather than from any inherently continental characteristic. Originally the preoccupations of black activists were forged through the diasporic lens and focused upon notions of racial uplift, firmly grounded in ideas of Christian missionary projects. An intriguing contribution of Sidbury's work is the seamless melding of religious, political, and social motivations as he demonstrates the complicated interweaving of these elements in the historical trajectory of African identity. The important role played by African churches in the United States is highlighted in the networking they fostered among free blacks and the dynamic interplay of ideas that shaped these projects.

Sidbury's sources and focus alternate between the manuscript and published texts produced by some of the leaders he has identified and the practical experiences and responses of various groups of blacks as they either accepted or rejected the ideas expressed by these figures. His intent is to move from "intellectual history to sociocultural history" by privileging individual sources and local institutions (p. 7). He outlines the work of "African" authors and follows black proponents of emigration schemes like Paul Cuffee to gauge how their projects fared, as well as how they were perceived, both in America and in Africa. Beyond this, the author incorporates detailed information from com-

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pany records, church groups, organizations like the Masons, as well as the private correspondence of key figures: thus he weaves a compelling narrative explaining how and why particular ideas gained or lost currency at key historical moments. Sidbury un-self-consciously examines both religious and secular influences as the framework of these ever-shifting ideas to demonstrate these vital historical forces in action. This approach and the use of a variety of institutional as well as personal religious and secular sources allow the author to trace the ebb and flow of motivation that underpinned the different emphases reflected in the discussion of what it might mean to be "African." This is an investigative *tour de force*.

Such a methodology leads us to understand that "becoming African" was not as natural a process as might be imagined. The notion of being "African" would be rejected by many blacks in America on the grounds that this idea condemned enslaved blacks in the South to a hopeless perpetuation of their bondage and played directly into the aspirations of southern slaveholders. The climax of this study is the discussion of the American Colonization Society and its important role in the "demise of the discourse on African identity through the 1820s" (p. 13).

This is a welcome contribution to the puzzle of the complex relationships developing in the Atlantic world at this time. The author grapples with the nature of relations among people in Africa, America, and Europe as these sought to find their place in this world. The contextual framework of the argument might have been expanded with reference to the important recent work on similar themes in the South Atlantic, especially through analysis of the Brazilian returnees and their impact on West Africa. However, these comparisons will surely be made in the future now that the groundwork for such analysis has been laid so effectively. Sidbury's book is full of insights that will be useful to experts and students alike. It is a compellingly argued contextualization of the politics of race in the United States during this early period.

Renée Soulodre-La France
University of Western Ontario

Marie Tyler-McGraw. *An African Republic: Black and White Virginians in the Making of Liberia*. (The John Hope Franklin Series in African American History and Culture.) Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2007. Pp. xi, 249. $34.95.

In 1816, the American Colonization Society (ACS) formed with the ambitious mission of transporting free blacks out of the United States. Regarded by its founders as a final solution to sectional conflict and racial tension, the ACS succeeded in transporting only about 11,000 African Americans to Africa between 1820 and the onset of the Civil War. Although the society fell far short of its ultimate goal, Marie Tyler-McGraw suggests that historians have been wrong in regarding the ACS as little more than a "sideshow in nineteenth-century American history" (p. 1). Focusing her study on Virginia, a hotbed of ACS activity, Tyler-McGraw acknowledges that the actual plan of black colonization failed in many respects. Still, debates about colonization raged not only in the South but throughout the country throughout the antebellum period.

Tyler-McGraw is to be commended for her determination not to reduce the various actors involved in the ACS to a monolith. In following the development of the Virginia Colonization Society (VCS), the largest auxiliary of the ACS, Tyler-McGraw makes clear the differences between the local auxiliaries and the national offices in Washington, D.C. Moreover, Tyler-McGraw notes quite rightly that the very idea of black emigration was used variously as "a device for repression of free blacks, a cultural construction employed to explain Virginia and direct its domestic and national future, a religious imperative, a site for African American debate over racial identity and national allegiance, a strategy of black empowerment and a precursor to general emancipation" (p. 8). The idea of colonization meant different things to different people.

Tyler-McGraw details the development of a fragile confederation of white leaders, both northern and southern, who saw in black colonization a route to national unity and a homogenous (read: white) citizenship. Many southerners saw in the establishment of Liberia and the elimination of free blacks a tool to stabilize slavery in the South. For their part, northerners saw in the development of Liberia the hope that African colonization would encourage manumission and gradually eliminate slavery. These debates took on special significance for southern women. Tyler-McGraw argues that if the cause of abolition offered northern women an opportunity to enter a political world dominated by men, African colonization gave many southern women "an opportunity to engage the world of ideas and action and to demonstrate their abilities" (p. 86).

Tyler-McGraw devotes nearly half of the study to debates within the African American community regarding the wisdom of colonization. Despite the prospect of political and economic self-determination, many African Americans rejected African colonization as an abandonment of so many millions of enslaved Africans. For those who made the trip to Liberia, colonization presented several challenges. Tyler-McGraw does well to detail the early hardships experienced by black emigrants including not only sickness and disease, but also tensions between the emigrants and local Africans. A fascinating topic raised by Tyler-McGraw is the seeming contradiction in black emigrants' desire to "distinguish themselves from the indigenous Africans" even as they identified strongly with their adopted country (pp. 149, 151). Because so much attention has been paid recently to how enslaved Africans became American, Tyler-McGraw's suggestion that black American émigrés underwent the opposite process—gradually becoming Liberian—is fascinating indeed.

Notwithstanding their eventual "africanization," Tyler-McGraw argues forcefully that black expatriates

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saw in Liberia an opportunity to remake something of the American republic in Africa. Colonization was, in this way, an early example of American imperialism with black emigrants playing the part of the colonizer, civilizing the "natives" and establishing modern society on the shores of the so-called dark continent. Many emigrants brought with them not only their deep faith in American forms of evangelical religion but also notions of color, class, and education that they first acquired in the United States. Tyler-McGraw argues that "reversing the transatlantic voyage did not restore these African Americans to their native land because their native land was first Virginia and then the American Republic" (p. 6). But enslaved Africans in Virginia did have strong cultural connections to the land of their ancestry. The work of Walter Rucker, Michael Gomez, Mechal Sobel, and others suggests that in religion, language, and cultural norms, blacks in the United States did have notable connections to West Africa. If it is true that many black emigrants carried certain preconceived notions about Africa before they arrived, then it is also likely that—at least for some—the trip confirmed something of their own cultural heritage. For some, the transatlantic voyage may have represented less an opportunity to create some pan-American republic and more the means to establish an early model of pan-Africanism, a bridging of the waters between Africans and their progeny formerly shipped to the Americas.

These comments should not detract from the value of Tyler-McGraw's detailed, well-researched, and intriguing study of a still underexamined topic. While graduate students will find a wealth of resources and information, undergraduates will benefit from the author's clarity and accessible writing.

Jason Young
State University of New York, Buffalo

Thomas R. Metcalf. *Imperial Connections: India in the Indian Ocean Arena, 1860–1920.* (The California World History Library, number 4.) Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 2007. Pp. xv, 264. $39.95.

Taking their cue, at least in part, from Fernand Braudel's pioneering work on the Mediterranean, historians such as Ashin Das Gupta, R. J. Barendse, Michael Pearson, Sanjay Subrahmanyam, K. N. Chaudhuri, and Sugata Bose (among others) have produced a clutch of works detailing the economic, cultural, political, and social forces that gave the Indian Ocean and its littoral an integrity and coherence that had been hitherto hidden from observers who had focused on the continents rather than the ocean that connected them. And in an ironic reproduction of the administrative boundaries that lay between the India Office and the Colonial Office, historians of colonial India, Southeast Asia, and Africa have tended to work in isolation from one another. More recently, historians of imperial Britain have grown restless with the longstanding tendency to conceptualize the British Empire as consisting of a series of distinct and distinctive bilateral relationships binding individual colonial territories to the imperial center in Britain. Drawing upon earlier studies of the Indian Ocean yet informed by recent efforts at rethinking imperial relationships, this book provides a refreshing and stimulating alternative in its depiction of the eastern British Empire as a web of interconnections, a matrix wherein British India often exerted the kinds of influence that until now would have previously been ascribed to the imperial center. As Thomas R. Metcalf elegantly puts it, "the Raj comprehended the sea as well as the land" (p. 9). By considering imperial history from the vantage point of the Indian Ocean, Metcalf suggests ways in which earlier efforts at mapping imperial power, namely the landward orientation of Halford Mackinder and his disciples and the seaborne focus of Alfred Thayer Mahan and his followers, can be reconciled.

The scope of Metcalf's study stretches from 1860, following the assumption by the British government of authority over India (replacing the East India Company), to 1920, when the aftershocks of World War I, combined with growing nationalism, increased white migration, and eventually the Great Depression, weakened British India's influences on the region. India's place as a critical node is illuminated through a series of well-chosen case studies, ranging across administrative structures, legal policies, labor migrations, the deployment of troops from the Indian Army, and imperial policing. Indian troops were instrumental in the conquest and retention of territories stretching along a wide arc from Southeast Asia to East Africa, and local police forces drew heavily on Indian recruits, particularly Muslims and Sikhs from the Punjab. Standard issue items in the imperial toolkit, such as indirect rule and theories of so-called martial races, are re-examined, and attempts to deploy legal and administrative codes and practices in Southeast Asia and Africa are subject to close scrutiny. But it was more than simply a case of colonial policies and personnel radiating outward from India: Indians themselves were a critical feature. Drawing a parallel with recent work on Ireland, Metcalf points to the irony of Indians being simultaneously subjects, objects, and even agents of colonial rule. The flow of ideas, administrators, laborers, policies and structures, and commodities out of India so fired the imaginations of some colonial officials that schemes, albeit often ill-defined, were hatched to integrate the region even more tightly. Two such figures, Harry Johnston and Theodore Morison, were so enthused that they referred to East Africa as the "America of the Hindu" and "A Colony for India."

Metcalf's discussion of indirect rule is especially worthy of note. Indirect rule has been much mythologized in imperial historiography, largely as a means of differentiating British colonial practices from those of the French. Indirect rule implied a respect for and inclusion of "traditional" customs and leaders, while *mission civilatrice* suggested assimilation. Arguably, given the close association between indirect rule and the iconic figure

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of the district administrator, the idealization of indirect rule also bolstered contemporary assertions about the superiority of British character. Yet indirect rule served much more prosaic ends; namely, it offered reduced administrative and political costs. This imperialism on the cheap was also a tacit admission of just how thinly spread British resources were and the degree to which they were dependent upon intermediaries. While the roots of indirect rule have long been traced back to India, Metcalf's detailed genealogy cautions us against assuming a simple linear trajectory from India to Egypt, Nigeria, Malaysia, and even further afield. Instead, while proponents of indirect rule frequently turned to India for intellectual rationalization (often after the fact), the actual form and functions of indirect rule elsewhere in the empire frequently bore little resemblance to that found in India's princely states. This book makes equally important contributions by identifying what was not exported (often surprisingly) from India. Educational policies, for example, did not travel well, largely out of fear that colonial education in India merely fomented sedition through the creation of the much-maligned *babu*.

Metcalf's study is a *tour de force*, a testimony to the breadth of the author's interests and the depth of his research. And while, somewhat curiously, Sri Lanka is largely absent from this study, it is nevertheless a remarkably rich and nuanced account of the bluewater Raj. One may quibble with the argument that the 1920s witnessed the end of the Anglo-Indian Raj, and certainly the political, administrative, ideological, and human exports so carefully uncovered here from India were at least partly foreshadowed during the Company Raj, yet this book succeeds in demonstrating the importance of framing the British Empire within a wider global and transnational context.

DOUGLAS M. PEERS
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JESSICA L. HARLAND-JACOBS. *Builders of Empire: Freemasons and British Imperialism, 1717–1927.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2007. Pp. xiv, 384. $39.95.

For many readers, Jessica L. Harland-Jacobs' magisterial overview of British Freemasonry and its links to the British Empire will shed surprising new light on Freemasonry. Bringing together research on Masonry across the British Empire, with particular attention to the white settler colonies, Harland-Jacobs shows just how extensive imperial Masonic networks were and demonstrates how they nurtured imperial sentiment and provided mutual aid and emotional support to Masonic "brethren" scattered around the globe. This comparative and transnational approach puts local Masonic movements firmly into global perspective, enabling Harland-Jacobs to make a convincing case that we should seek the history of globalization not only in economic phenomena but also in the "cultural institutions that connected men across the global landscape of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries" (p. 11). The book makes a significant contribution to a new imperial historiography that emphasizes the networked nature of empire, as well as to the burgeoning study of imperial masculinity.

Freemasonry was, Harland-Jacobs argues, a paradoxical institution. Putatively apolitical, it was embraced in the eighteenth century by American revolutionaries, British imperialist loyalists, French religious reformers, and United Irishmen alike. By the era of high imperialism, however, Freemasonry—in the British imperial world at any rate—had become resoundingly loyalist and imperialist, even while maintaining a facade of political neutrality. British Freemasonry espoused a leveling ideology of universal brotherhood and yet was clearly in many respects an elite movement, numbering merchant plutocrats, many members of the British royal family, colonial administrators, and, above all, leading military men among its devotees. The movement consistently struggled over how many non-white members to admit and on what terms, but it did not exclude them. A great strength of the work is its ability to illuminate these paradoxes, and indeed to show how Freemasonry's very flexibility encouraged its growth.

Harland-Jacobs covers a great deal of ground, ranging widely in time and space. Particularly helpful is her discussion of the universally close tie between Freemasonry and the military, showing how tightly the spread of Freemasonry was linked to the movement of the British army. The effort to be systematic nonetheless leads Harland-Jacobs in places to sacrifice local detail. Her book has both the strengths and weaknesses of a pioneering work: it fills in an overarching framework and provides an excellent institutional history, but at the same time it inevitably leaves some questions about local-level social history unanswered. The work is also better on some intellectual aspects of Masonry than others. It makes a convincing and interesting case for the intellectual flexibility of the early modern movement, arguing that the malleability of associational culture enabled members to adopt a variety of political postures (albeit usually within the confines of shared ideological assumptions about such things as property and liberty, which the author might unpack further). The book is also good on the nineteenth-century shift of British Masonry toward pro-imperial, largely Protestant loyalism. Harland-Jacobs has surprisingly little to say about ritual itself, however, or in general about what Masons did and thought during their ceremonies: her focus is more on the public and corporate aspects of Masonry than on hidden ceremonies and private experience. It would be valuable to know more about the more specific intellectual (even theological) content of Freemasonic ideas and to hear more from low-level members. It would also be helpful to know more about who was *not* a member—not just who was blackballed by Masonic lodges obsessed with respectability but also who would have found it intellectually uncongenial to join. Churlish as it seems to ask Harland-Jacobs to cover yet more ground, how did British and British im-

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perial Freemasonry interact with Masonry in other regions? The book also does not say much about the origins of Freemasonry before the foundation of the English Grand Lodge in 1717 and as a result leaves out a lot of Scottish and Irish precursors, making it hard for the neophyte to understand the early appeal and social base of Freemasonry.

Interestingly, Harland-Jacobs somewhat distances Freemasonry from another transnational cultural network, the missionary movement. She sees Freemasonry as cosmopolitan, in the sense of allowing diversity, in contrast to missions, which might be seen as less "modern" as a result. I wonder, however, whether there are more parallels than she allows? From the perspective of indigenous peoples, for example, Christianity too provided networks that were politically valuable to many, and it might in fact have seemed easier to enter; certainly, churches ended up being more diverse than elite-dominated Masonic networks. At the same time, putting missions into the picture would strengthen Harland-Jacobs's overall argument about the importance of global cultural networks in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

Although a book this ambitious must inevitably leave some things out, it is an important, pioneering work. It will serve as an invaluable point of reference for many future scholars and will open the eyes of even more to the importance of Masonic networks.

Elizabeth Elbourne
McGill University

Dwayne R. Winseck and Robert M. Pike. *Communication and Empire: Media, Markets, and Globalization, 1860–1930*. (American Encounters/Global Interactions.) Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 2007. Pp. xx, 429. Cloth $89.95, paper $24.95.

Books with "globalization" in their titles began to trickle into print during the late 1980s, and since then a tsunami has ensued. Yet the phenomenon of globalization is much older than the term, as Dwayne R. Winseck and Robert M. Pike make abundantly clear in their account of the global media system that emerged in the late nineteenth century. Drawing on archival resources from Great Britain and North America, Winseck and Pike describe the multinational enterprises that developed and then came to dominate the flow of information around the world, starting with the first cable companies and wire services.

Winseck and Pike are at pains to refine received notions of globalization in this period, which would overdraw the significance of imperialism at the expense of capitalism. Theirs is a more nuanced concept of power, concerned with the political economy of networked communication as it relates to national identity, national security, foreign policy, modernization, and internationalization. Their first chapter covers "brakes and accelerators" in the development of a global, cable infrastructure, while their conclusion addresses "the moving forces" at issue throughout the period 1860–1930. Between the two, Winseck and Pike's account is organized partly by region—individual chapters or sections are devoted to Euro-Asian and Euro-American communication, to South America, Africa, and China—and partly by theme, such as reform (regulation, multilateral organization) and conglomeration. The corporate history alone is Byzantine: ten companies vied to connect Europe, the Middle East, and the Near East between 1854 and 1868, for instance, while the conglomerate Imperial and International Communications, Ltd., combined twenty-six different telegraph, wireless, and telephone companies in 1929. And if the capitalization, cartelization, mergers, and acquisitions are dizzying, so are the variables involved in success or failure. Yes, the story includes imperial powers vying for spheres of influence. Yes, there are monopolistic concessions granted to Western corporations in colonial regions. But the great strength of this book is its exacting elaboration of so many additional vectors, which together comprise first-wave globalization of instructive complexity.

If the core of the book is a global industry history that joins hardware (the cables) and "content" (the wire services), the book is also attentive to political and diplomatic history. Readers will no doubt see striking parallels—even continuities—between the global media system that Winseck and Pike describe and the one we know today.

Lisa Gitelman
Catholic University of America

Kristin L. Hoganson. *Consumers' Imperium: The Global Production of American Domesticity, 1865–1920*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2007. Pp. xiv, 402. Cloth $65.00, paper $24.95.

Kristin L. Hoganson's first book, *Fighting for American Manhood: How Gender Politics Provoked the Spanish-American and Philippine-American Wars* (1998), was one of the decade's most innovative and exciting publications in the fields of both American foreign policy and gender history. It marked her as a scholar of uncommon breadth and unusual creativity, an intellectual pioneer able to support a radical thesis with a careful and convincing argument. In short, the bar was set very high for her second monograph.

This book is a work of transnational history that examines households as international contact zones. It sports a thesis every bit as radical as one might expect from its author. Although the period between the Civil War and World War I was marked by the ascendancy of American exports and military power internationally, this study of cultural imperialism (as it existed 60 years before the term was coined) argues that foreignness in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was central to the production of American domesticity at home. Hoganson collapses the distinction between abroad and at home by showing how they overlapped in an imaginary realm of fantasy fulfillment revolving around imported household objects: the "consumers'

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imperium." Five chapters investigate international sensibilities as manifested through imported household objects, fashion, cooking and entertaining, armchair travel clubs and the immigrant gift movement.

Hoganson counters the traditional narrative of the Gilded Age as one of the Americanization of the world with a new narrative that focuses on the globalization of the United States, as seen through the lenses of consumption and domesticity. A consumerist outlook, she argues, allowed for a self-centered engagement with the world that emphasized pleasure and novelty and allowed consumers to ignore the costs of production incurred by faceless workers on the other side of the globe. By revealing how much more fortunate they were than those laborers it also provided a means of empowerment for women who were not, in most cases, fully enfranchised citizens. This, Hoganson argues, was the central appeal of the consumers' imperium.

Hoganson makes a convincing case that American domesticity did not remain impervious to foreign influence, even as it was remaking the rest of the world in its image. How could it, given the number of immigrants to the United States during this period? Consumer goods and American culture were increasingly imported from Europe. The more powerful the United States became, the more it could afford to import from abroad—not just goods but culture. A growing number of Americans developed imperial sensibilities grounded in consumption. "It took the world to produce American domesticity" (p. 254) she argues, because foreign workers produced the goods that these women purchased, grew the foods they ate, and worked as their staff in their homes.

There are some lovely details here, from the distribution of curry ingredients in the late nineteenth century to a discussion of the manufacture and marketing of women's underwear from the Philippines. Her examination of the fictive travel movement is also compelling. Hoganson uncovered over 320 travel clubs from the 1890–1920 period, and estimates that tens of thousands of women, busy homemakers, devoted a good portion of their little spare time to discussing international travel. These armchair travel clubs (an aspect of women's club participation that has been underexplored by historians) clearly advanced a tourist mentality, and cast the rest of the world as service providers.

But there are some tensions in this argument. Cosmopolitanism was clearly a minority view. There were many more women, even in the upper class, who turned to Colonial Revival rather than Oriental motifs when redecorating in the late nineteenth century. Nor were the Orientalists important because of their outsized influence. The home-grown Arts and Crafts movement was of far greater long-term influence than was Orientalism. Hoganson argues that because cookbooks offered recipes for some foreign dishes and discussed imported ingredients, middle-class kitchens became places for global encounters. But rare indeed was the woman who cooked any differently than her mother had. As late as the 1950s, both Chinese and Italian foods were still novelties for most Americans. As the author points out, the home economics movement can be seen as an outright rejection of cosmopolitanism and the foods of immigrants in favor of "tradition."

Old-stock American women of means also appear to have been far more interested in Europe's empire than their own. They reveled in the food and crafts of India and Indonesia, not Hawaii, the Philippines, or the Caribbean. Is it possible that rather than indicate an engagement with the wider world, this was just another example of culturally insecure Americans emulating the upper class of Europe? All this is to say that this book raises a number of questions that deserve, and no doubt will receive, further study. Women's historians, students of consumer culture, and anyone interested in the rise of America's empire will find a great deal to ponder in this thought-provoking work.

AMY S. GREENBERG
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MICHAEL S. GOODMAN. *Spying on the Nuclear Bear: Anglo-American Intelligence and the Soviet Bomb*. (Stanford Nuclear Age Series.) Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press. 2007. Pp. xv, 295. $50.00.

American policy makers did not hold their atomic monopoly for long after 1945. The Soviet Union exploded its first atomic device in 1949, an event that so predated the best estimates of Western intelligence services that it remains one of the greatest strategic misjudgments of the Cold War. The United Kingdom was third to join the atomic club, exploding its first atomic device in 1954. In a penetrating and exceedingly well-researched new study, Michael S. Goodman reveals in tremendous detail the way British and American policy makers and intelligence officials did—and, just as frequently, did not—jointly strive to determine the exact nuclear capabilities of their shared Soviet adversary. His is a study of tremendous value to scholars of the nuclear age, deterrence theory, and intelligence affairs.

Goodman's work is in reality two books. The first is a history of Anglo-American collaboration in the nuclear field, detailing how wartime intimacy quickly faded after V-J Day as American policymakers in particular—catalyzed by jingoistic politicians eager to cement the American atomic monopoly even at the expense of a cherished ally—excluded their British counterparts from immediate postwar research and development efforts. The infamous McMahon Act of 1946 effectively barred American scientists and policy makers from sharing atomic secrets of any kind with any foreign agent or colleague, no matter their nationality or previous collaborations. Using declassified records from both countries, including, for the first time by a historian, the private papers of leading atomic policymakers, Goodman shows that American atomic officials largely chafed at the McMahon Act's restrictions, but they mostly abided by them. The costs of revealing too much were simply too great in the Cold War's budding national security state. Yet reveal they did. As

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Goodman demonstrates, British and American officials remained in close contact despite official bans on their collaboration; meetings on safer matters often included sessions in which winks and nods served as confirmation of methods and scientific approaches they could not openly discuss.

With every Soviet advance, however, the wall of secrecy crumbled a bit more. American policymakers increasingly realized that the benefits of collaboration far outweighed the potential negatives, given the increasingly belligerent Soviet posture. The McMahon Act's restrictions in regard to the British were essentially disposed of by the mid-1950s, not coincidentally after British and American officials independently determined that Moscow possessed sufficient weaponry to launch an atomic war at any moment. That London wielded its own nuclear bomb by that point made exclusion of each other's opinion futile and somewhat farcical.

What Goodman shows in great detail, therefore, is how the Atlantic scientific community continued to function as a collaborative unit despite political restraints, and how policy makers in Washington especially condoned a level of collaboration they could not officially sanction, acting primarily out of a realization that, whatever ills might arise from revealing too much to the British, these were far outweighed by the greater geostrategic threat on the rise farther to the east. The entire Anglo-American special relationship might be understood in this manner: as an alliance built only superficially on friendship and common ties, and instead constructed on the firmer foundation of common enemies.

Goodman's work contains a second story, in truth his prime focus, as he reveals with an expert eye the ways in which British and American officials strove constantly to estimate the size and scope of the Soviet atomic threat. This is scientific history at its best. Using a vast array of archival and secondary sources, more often than not British given their comparable availability, Goodman shows the methods and science that went into early attempts to crack the Soviet state's impressive nuclear program. In the book's best chapters, which should stand as a model for how historians with technical expertise might translate complex information into an easily digested story, Goodman reveals the numerous techniques utilized by Anglo-Americans, who were outside the Soviet atomic project but were eager for a closer look in. Aerial sampling in search of nuclear isotopes was one such approach, as were efforts to predict the size of the Soviet nuclear arsenal by computing Moscow's available uranium supplies. That Western analysts consistently misjudged Soviet capabilities using these methods is a point Goodman makes throughout, although he notes that these same officials admirably assessed the one data point that truly mattered to their own political masters: that the Soviets possessed enough bombs to make war terrifying if not unthinkable.

The rest, one might argue, is detail. Goodman is particularly good on the detail. His is a book that will be well used by future researchers in this field. It might have benefited from the addition of a broader Cold War context, revealing, for example, exactly why Anglo-American planners considered the Soviets their primary threat during this period, or how important events such as the Korean War, Eisenhower's New Look defense program, National Security Council Report 68, or containment each contributed to Western thinking about Soviet nuclear plans. Such context appears in the final chapter on Soviet missile development, making its absence from earlier sections seem all the greater. But this quibble aside, Goodman's is a state-of-the-art example of history and science spun together in a tale that is revealing not only for its technical expertise, but also for its valuable contribution to our understanding of Western intelligence techniques during the early Cold War.

JEFFREY A. ENGEL
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LEIGH A. PAYNE. *Unsettling Accounts: Neither Truth nor Reconciliation in Confessions of State Violence*. (The Cultures and Practices of Violence.) Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 2008. Pp. xvi, 374. Cloth $84.95, paper $23.95.

An accurate description of the outcome of national reconciliation activities in post-state-violence societies is contentious coexistence. This is the major thesis of Leigh A. Payne's book. The book's argument is developed through a detailed analysis of state violence and terror in Argentina, Chile, Brazil, and apartheid South Africa, and the responses elicited in the form of remorse, confessions, silence, denials, and amnesia, among others. These post-violence responses, whether in the form of remorse or confessions based on truth-telling, generate more controversy and bitterness. They are interpreted by many as situations where "perpetrators tend to rationalize and minimize their own responsibility, thus heightening, rather than lessening, tension over the past" (p. 10).

The contentions produced by the varied "confessional forms" (including silence, amnesia, and denials) all have serious implications for democratic dialogue, because while "perpetrators try to control interpretations of their own performances, audiences hijack them and impose their own meanings" (p. 27). Even in the case of remorseful confessions, Payne argues that "Most societies . . . do not let remorseful perpetrators off the hook so easily" (p. 74).

Payne's comparative analysis of confessional remorse in Argentina and in post-apartheid South Africa emphasizes how, in the latter case, many confessions generated forgiveness, while others backfired before the Truth and Reconciliation Commission. In Argentina, Adolfo Scilingo's remorseful confessional performance galvanized democratic dialogue and calls for restorative justice by the human rights community. Eventually, his confessions resulted in investigations and the prosecution of top generals in the Argentine military who had

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participated in murders and kidnappings, among other things, during the military's reign of terror in the 1970s and 1980s. In all the cases examined, Payne consistently underscores the fact that "confessions" are subject to conflicting interpretations and that it is difficult to convince victims and survivors (and the community as a whole) that they are genuine. In addition, their reliability is questioned because they are viewed by many as a mere reinvention of what may have actually happened. These reinventions are also seen as geared toward a specific political or personal aim.

What contributes even more to contentiousness in post-state-violence societies is the fact that the state actors who perpetrated violence are often still in positions of authority and power, thereby making it very difficult to hold them accountable. In such situations, reconciliation is hard to achieve. For instance, in 1979 the Brazilian military regime extended a blanket amnesty to those in the military responsible for the deaths of close to 400 students between 1964–1985. The blanket amnesty encouraged silence on the part of the perpetrators. But Payne argues that, although the amnesty silenced the past, "silence can expose it," because "audiences sometimes interpret silence as a confession to wrongdoing, a refusal to reveal the truth because it would implicate the narrator" (p. 10). In other words, any type of confession or non-confession is bound to generate contentious coexistence because it "thrives on the process of forming political positions, contesting viewpoints, and actively mobilizing to bring about political change" (p. 104). In the end, Payne argues, these varied processes of reconciliation do not lead to true reconciliation. They neither make for healthy democracies nor guarantee public policies that would enforce a just peace, especially for victims and survivors. Instead, they "change the political context and put into practice the democratic art of participation, contestation, and competition" (p. 289). In particular, in Payne's analysis, it seems that denials and heroic confessions are likely to create contentiousness and therefore unsettle society even more. In heroic confessions, perpetrators confess but justify their crimes as the result of a struggle against a real threat or an attempt to safeguard what is good. Such confessions end up implicating many who deny or choose to remain silent. This was especially the case in Captain Alfredo Astiz's heroic confession in Argentina.

What many studies on post-conflict reconciliation take for granted is what Payne has successfully illuminated as a whole new dimension of thinking about national reconciliation in post-conflict societies. Post-conflict societies never experience true healing, but they may become more sensitive to human rights violations and in the process foster democratic dialogue and make sure that past mistakes are not repeated in the future. In other words, many studies on national reconciliation are so focused on forgiveness, truth-telling, reintegration, and the like, that they ignore this very important contentious dimension of reconciliation efforts. If there is any validity to Payne's thesis, it is that it brings some hope to post-conflict societies like Angola, Mozambique, Sierra Leone, and Rwanda, because, at the very least, it will keep the memory of horrors alive and hopefully fuel more democratic dialogue, thereby preventing a resumption of violence.

In Payne's book, the reader is also made aware of the emerging strength of a global human rights ethic. Augusto Pinochet and Scilingo, for example, were wanted for prosecution not only in their respective countries but in Spain as well. Beyond its potential for underscoring the polemics involved in national reconciliation after state violence, this is a profound work because of its comparative, multidimensional, detailed, and nuanced analysis of what permeates post-conflict societies. Those who will benefit most from this volume are students of peace and conflict studies, practitioners, and general readers. The book is both thought-provoking and engaging in terms of its details and very useful framework.

EARL CONTEH-MORGAN
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LUC CAPDEVILA and DANIÈLE VOLDMAN. *War Dead: Western Societies and the Casualties of War*. Translated by RICHARD VEASEY. Edinburgh University Press. 2006. Pp. xix, 200. Cloth $100.00, paper $30.00.

In this book, Luc Capdevila and Danièle Voldman trace the history of Western societies' relationship to death in war, with a specific focus on the bodies of those killed. Issues related to the treatment of dead bodies (both friend and foe), the logistics of identifying and disposing of large numbers of corpses after heavy fighting, and various ways of mourning and commemorating the dead are all discussed. Much of the emphasis is placed on practices in Europe from World War I and World War II, but the book also discusses examples from the American Civil War, France's war in Algeria, and a handful of conflicts in South American countries, including Chile and Paraguay. The authors argue that the study of those killed in war "offers an essential perspective for an understanding of the dynamics of warfare and for grasping the mechanisms by which war remains a legitimate human institution, both from the point of view of public opinion and from that of the organisation of international relations by the community of nations" (p. xiii). To achieve this perspective, Capdevila and Voldman pursue "the fate of those killed in war, through what happens to their remains (bodies, fragments of bodies, bits, ashes, the absence of any remains), as well as with the attitudes of survivors and their feelings in the face of tragic events" (pp. xiii-xiv).

One undeniably important development in this context was the sheer number of war dead generated in World War I and World War II. Because these societies had never faced carnage on such a scale before, and because sensibilities about those killed in war were changing, a multitude of new measures were required. For example, although logistical concerns often necessitated the mass burial of corpses, mass burial came to

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be seen as an unfortunate requirement as increasing emphasis was placed on the role of the individual warrior, his connection to the nation, and the ability of his loved ones to mourn. Consequently, efforts were made to identify the dead (through the use of identity discs, "dog tags," and the like), to assure them a "proper" burial in individual, marked graves in carefully maintained cemeteries, and to emphasize the nature of their sacrifice through commemorative practices both public and private that linked death in war to the nation. What is more, these efforts were undertaken by the state rather than by families, private organizations, or municipalities, as had been the case before. The strength of this study is its extensive catalog of these practices. It is thoroughly researched and, for this reason, is a valuable compendium of societal reaction to mass death in war during the twentieth century.

The book is less strong when it comes to sustained analysis of the practices it chronicles so well. Many provocative observations and areas of discussion do not receive the attention they deserve. For example, the authors claim that "the place of the unknown soldier at the heart of acts of remembrance following the First World War was illustrative not simply of technical changes in warfare and in the ways the dead were remembered, it revealed too a much more profound transformation in the way the war dead were viewed" (p. 163). True enough, but what were these transformations and why did they occur? Even the book's stated objective of providing "an essential perspective for an understanding of the dynamics of warfare" is not elaborated in any great depth. More detailed reflection on the social, cultural, and historical context that accompanied these changes would help give the reader a sense of the "why" as well as the "what."

In addition, much of the material discussed in the book has been covered before. Authors such as George E. Mosse, Paul Fussell, and Marita Sturken have analyzed the ways in which societal relationships to death, war, and remembrance changed in the twentieth century. The existence of previous studies does not mean that more cannot be said, just that authors who revisit this subject would do well to spell out clearly how their work differs from that which has come before. The book could do more in this regard. While the sheer quantity of information made available here is undoubtedly of value, the precise reasons why readers should pick up this book rather than another are left understated.

Finally, the handful of examples from South America (designated "the Southern Cone" in this text) are not especially well integrated either empirically or thematically and thus feel tacked on. This problem is related to the absence of a unifying thematic, which renders the inclusion of any given piece of information arbitrary at best. So, while this study is a valuable source of information, it is not particularly rich in terms of provocative ideas or compelling arguments.

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JACOB DARWIN HAMBLIN. *Poison in the Well: Radioactive Waste in the Oceans at the Dawn of the Nuclear Age*. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press. 2008. Pp. x, 311. $49.95.

Jacob Darwin Hamblin argues that the world's first nuclear powers faced unprecedented responsibilities not only because of the devastating potential of their new weapons, but also because of the enormous quantities of harmful and highly persistent radioactive substances that they created in producing them. Unfortunately, scientists and political leaders entered the nuclear era ill-equipped to deal adequately with the risks posed by nuclear waste. They assumed that they could dispose of radioactive materials in the same way they dealt with other hazards: by putting them into the oceans. Within a single generation, the latter became contaminated by materials that will remain radioactive for millennia to come.

Through a painstaking analysis of British and U.S. archival sources, Hamblin demonstrates that differences in geography, political economy, scientific culture, and type of radioactive materials influenced the disposal policies that these countries adopted. The United States government began dumping nuclear waste at sea in 1946; by 1962, it had jettisoned 86,000 containers, most of them fifty-five-gallon drums. The first British nuclear dumping operation took place in 1949, and more soon followed. Although reports about these activities circulated widely, few people were aware of the much greater quantities of radioactive liquids that Britain was discharging into the Irish Sea from its Windscale nuclear reprocessing plant. Hamblin asserts that "the radioactivity from all the 'dumping' from ships in the first decade or so of Britain's operations in the English Channel was equivalent to about a week's discharge from its pipeline at Windscale" (p. 254). Regrettably, Hamblin's discussion of British nuclear waste disposal lacks the quantitative specificity with which he addresses the US case. The inclusion of such information would have facilitated greater international comparison as well as a clearer sense of how British practices changed over time.

Unlike Lasse Ringius's *Radioactive Waste Disposal at Sea: Public Ideas, Transnational Policy Entrepreneurs, and Environmental Regimes* (2000), Hamblin's book devotes little attention to public attitudes, environmental pressure groups, or radiation physics. At its core, Hamblin's work is not so much a history of nuclear waste or of the oceans as a meticulous and nuanced analysis of the process by which scientists and policy makers brought them together and sought to understand what effects their conjunction would have on people and the environment. Hamblin writes that "sea disposal policies hinged upon struggles for scientific authority—between governments, between institutions, and between groups of scientists vying for influence, patronage, or decision-making power" (p. 4). Although Hamblin refrains from explicit comparisons between past and present, many of the themes that he explores continue to resonate, such

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as the use of experts to legitimate ill-conceived and predetermined policies and the argument that activities with potentially dire consequences should be allowed to continue while scientists carry out further research.

One of the most interesting aspects of this story is the extent to which Cold War expediency, secrecy, and deception influenced the fate of nuclear waste. Although the Soviet Union dumped vast quantities of its own radioactive materials (including spent fuel rods and, in some cases, entire nuclear reactors) into rivers, lakes, and seas, it denied doing so. Instead, it denounced the West for poisoning the oceans. To counter this propaganda without revealing the extent of its knowledge of Soviet dumping, the U.S. sponsored an extensive oceanographic research program that was intended to exonerate ocean dumping. Interestingly, not everything went as planned. In 1955, the American Chemical Society sponsored a report that challenged the widespread assumption that the oceans had an infinite capacity to absorb nuclear wastes. Hamblin credits this as "one of the first times that ocean disposal was publicly cast as a source of pollution" (p. 62).

Two decades later, the dumping of nuclear waste in the oceans finally became subject to international regulation. Hailed by many as a significant diplomatic and environmental achievement, the London Convention of 1972 prohibited the dumping of high-level radioactive waste at sea. Hamblin argues that, although it had the appearance of doing something beneficial, this treaty did little to reduce contamination to the world's oceans. Neither the U.S. nor the USSR changed its policies as a result of the agreement, for the former had already abandoned ocean disposal in favor of land storage, and the latter continued its clandestine dumping operations. Most importantly, however, the London Convention banned only highly radioactive materials dumped from ships and failed to regulate the principal pathway of contamination: coastal pipelines, such as that at Windscale (renamed Sellafield during the Thatcher years). Hamblin asserts that in the late 1980s, when it was still operational, this site exposed Europeans to more radiation than "the combined levels of exposure from natural radiation, all other nuclear sites, weapons testing, the Chernobyl accident, and packaged solid wastes" (p. 252).

This impressively researched and judiciously argued book challenges readers to think in new ways about what happens when science, politics, and the environment intersect.

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NICOLAS RASMUSSEN. *On Speed: The Many Lives of Amphetamine*. New York: New York University Press. 2008. Pp. ix, 352. $29.95.

Over the course of the twentieth century, pharmaceuticals shifted from substances used by physicians as part of an overall treatment repertoire to frontline medical care. For many diseases, drugs have all but supplanted other therapy, with patients seeing a doctor solely to get prescriptions. Some drugs even move outside of professional and governmental regulatory controls, entering illicit use as dietary aids and performance enhancers. Based on the history of amphetamine production, use, and regulation, Nicolas Rasmussen argues in this readable yet thoroughly researched book that a pattern of initial hype followed by disappointment characterizes many pharmaceuticals. Sales grow after initial high expectations from successful clinical trials and massive advertising for the drug launch. But then a period of disillusionment emerges in the medical community and among users as side effects become known, leading to retrenchment. This might be a reasonable approach to sorting out which patients are best served by particular drugs if not for the incredible costs in terms of injured patients, dollars misspent on drugs that do not work, and regulatory and legal disputes needed to remove a product from the market.

From their origins in the synthetic work of a Los Angeles chemist in the late 1920s, amphetamine variants—including prescription drugs like Benzedrine, Dexedrine, and Ritalin, and street drugs like speed, crank, crystal meth, and ecstasy—have been widely used. Rasmussen calculates that at the peak of legal use in the late 1960s, five percent of Americans were prescribed speed, whereas today some ten percent of the public regularly takes either a prescription or street drug that originated in amphetamine. Taken as antidepressants, weight loss pills, treatment for attention deficit disorder, and as overall performance enhancers, amphetamines have a remarkable reach. The book nicely connects a history of their research, testing, and marketing to a broader social history of changing disease definitions and amphetamine use by the German and U.S. armies, middle-class Americans (especially suburban women), participants in 1950s and 1960s counterculture movements (followed by an internally generated backlash against "speed-freaks"), athletes ranging from professional bicyclists to football players, and today's competitive parents and children looking for an edge over peers.

Based on close reading of legal and institutional archives, Rasmussen offers insight on the inner workings of the pharmaceutical industry through a detailed analysis of Smith, Kline, and French's acquisition of the original amphetamine patent and development of successor drugs. Regulation of prescription and narcotic drugs are covered also, with brief but solid analysis of legislative and enforcement processes, including a notably salient U.S. Food and Drug Administration intervention into the amphetamine market in 1970. In addition, Rasmussen explores the role of the medical profession, finding that physicians were entirely too eager to use a drug when patients expressed vague symptoms of anxiety and depression, and takes the American Medical Association to task for not acting sooner to rein in amphetamine prescriptions as evidence accumulated of dependency, addiction, and even psychosis.

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Rasmussen is at his best describing cycles of work and family stress leading patients to demand medication, physicians to pathologize social conditions, and industry to feed the mix with molecules and marketing.

This is a lot of territory to cover and Rasmussen does it well, although his arguments concerning patents, drug prices, and the American healthcare system are sometimes inadequately developed and fail to engage studies that come to opposite conclusions. For example, when analyzing Smith, Kline, and French's legal successes against patent infringers, Rasmussen suggests that the company's strategies to extend patent life are "now being exported around the world through the U.S. government's 'Free Trade Agreements,' to the disadvantage of health care systems everywhere" (p. 107). This is a complex point on two levels. First, a variety of studies have shown that most of the medicines on the World Health Organization's "essential medicines" list are off-patent, and many countries find their health care systems disadvantaged for reasons far beyond international patent policies. Second, assigning agency for free trade agreements to the U.S. government is awkward considering its domestic protectionist sentiments and also in light of the fact that the Uruguay Round that led to the formation of the World Trade Organization and the signing of the Agreement on Trade Related Aspects of Intellectual Property Rights (TRIPS) included over 120 countries.

Likewise, Rasmussen uses the amphetamine case to comment on drug prices, healthcare costs, and innovation more generally. Substituting generics for brand-name drugs is a known method to lower costs, but to abolish or significantly revise patent laws as Rasmussen suggests (p. 207) would have consequences as well. A significant body of economics literature suggests that without patent incentives, pharmaceutical innovation would decline and that new drugs can lower health care costs. Research by Frank R. Lichtenberg and others has found a net savings to the U.S. health care system from prescription drug use, with especially significant gains when hospitalization can be avoided. I do hasten to add that even though some of Rasmussen's critical shots fall short of their targets, this book is not a hatchet job on pharmaceuticals, the industry, or regulators.

For historians of medicine, this book provides a new, empirically rich study of a major drug class and joins a growing body of recent work on pharmaceutical history; for historians more generally, it offers an excellent entrée to broader themes in twentieth century therapeutics; and for policy makers, industry insiders, and others, it is a lively yet insightfully critical text whose pages turn quickly even without benefit of the drug in question.

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ASIA

Anthony J. Barbieri-Low. *Artisans in Early Imperial China*. Seattle: University of Washington Press. 2007. Pp. x, 394. $60.00.

Archaeological excavations undertaken over the last several decades have yielded a wealth of information about various aspects of life during the Han period (206 B.C.E.-220 C.E.). In addition to the discovery of a range of manuscripts—including various almanacs and grave quelling texts, works of political and philosophical significance, and bamboo and wood strips with medical content—the opening of Han tombs has provided scholars of early China with large quantities of material objects. Such objects include tomb figurines, lacquer ware, mural art, bronze vessels, and pieces from daily life. Traditionally, such objects have remained the domain of art historians, who have analyzed their formal aspects and spatial distributions in order to unlock the aesthetic sensibilities, religious beliefs, and political values of the Han elite who bought and consumed them. Comparatively little has been said about the artisans who made those objects: what positions they held in society, what kind of educational background they had, and how they were organized. Less still is known about the larger economic and social conditions in which Han artisans operated and flourished. Anthony J. Barbieri-Low's book illuminates these important but poorly understood facets of Han life.

Barbieri-Low's study provides us with a multifaceted perspective of the lives and working conditions of Han artisans. The author makes use of the thousands of material objects found in tombs—with special attention to the design and construction of these objects. In addition, he analyzes textual records, including excavated administrative strips and legal cases, as well as more traditional sources, such as the official histories of the Han. The opening chapter introduces the reader to the sources of his book and provides a historiographical orientation to the study of the Han. Each of the subsequent chapters is organized around illuminating the different aspects of the lives and working conditions of the artisans—a strategy that Barbieri-Low has self-consciously adopted from Craig Clunas's *Art in China* (1997). Chapter two provides a general orientation to the position and backgrounds of artisans in the Han period. Chapter three analyzes the workshops of the artisans—what tools they used, what regiments they followed in their training, and what dangers they faced. Chapter four looks at the relationship between the artisan and the marketplace and provides a fascinating tour of the marketing techniques employed by individual artisans to hawk their goods and to enhance their name recognition among the consumers of luxury products. Chapter five moves the artisan back into the realm of court life, highlighting the importance of court sponsorship as well as the personal histories of well-known artisans, including the polymath Zhang Heng (78–139 C.E.) and the literati-official Cai Yong (132/133–192 C.E.). The final chapter investigates artisans within the

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context of labor camps and slaves. It illuminates the bureaucratic conditions that encouraged the use of forced labor as well as the working conditions of convicts and conscripts involved in the production of artisan goods.

Certainly, there is much in this book to commend. Its wide scope will interest a broad readership outside the field of early Chinese studies, including art historians of China, classicists, archaeologists, social historians, and scholars interested in the development of early states. The author's scholarly apparatus is impressive, and his command of the material record is stunning. And indeed, many of the descriptions of his subject are memorable. In particular, this reader was fascinated by Barbieri-Low's cogent analysis of the skeletal remains of the convict artisans, illuminating the mortality rates of those forced into labor camps, the analysis of physical trauma, and the bureaucratic calculations that went into the creation of such a system of labor. To be sure, there are points with which to quibble. For example, some readers will wonder about Barbieri-Low's contention that literary scholarship was viewed "as a means to enter the official bureaucracy" (p. 63). Others will question his characterization of social mobility in the Han period (pp. 60–63), arguing that he has placed too much faith in controversial interpretations of the social history of the period. Such points, of course, are contested in the field of early Chinese studies, a field that is still engaged in the work of establishing a basic narrative of China's first long-lived empire. By providing a bold and grounded interpretation of the lives of artisans, Barbieri-Low has done much to enhance our understanding of the lives of the men who served the elite. More generally, he has illuminated the social and economic dynamics of the early empire.

Miranda Brown
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Xiaofei Tian. *Beacon Fire and Shooting Star: The Literary Culture of the Liang (502–557)*. (Harvard-Yenching Institute Monograph Series, number 63.) Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Asia Center. 2007. Pp. xi, 473. $49.50.

The Liang dynasty is not likely to appear on anyone's list of major Chinese dynasties. The Liang ruled only in southern China and for only half a century (502–557). Indeed, the dynasty coincides closely with the reign of just one emperor, Emperor Wu (r. 502–549). However, an approach to Chinese history that focuses too exclusively on "great dynasties" can be seriously distorting, not only because it leaves much out, but also because it omits what were often some of the most dynamic and creative periods and makes Chinese history appear far more static than it really was. For example, the series of ephemeral Southern dynasties that culminated with the Liang mark the beginning of that great surge of commercial development that brought China to the economic forefront of the world. As one indication of this development, the Liang capital (modern Nanjing) was probably the largest city on earth in the early sixth century.

The Liang was also "an age of brilliant innovations" (p. 195). Emperor Wu himself played a role in the early promotion of China's renowned civil service examination system, decreeing in 509 that anyone who performed well on a test should be appointed, "be he a cowherd or a sheep butcher" (p. 45). Among other innovations, Emperor Wu was an early advocate of the idea that Buddhist monks should be vegetarians. The Liang dynasty also produced several noteworthy books, including pioneering works of literary criticism, Buddhist texts, and literary anthologies. Space permits mention of only one, but it was a truly major compilation, influential not only in China but also in Korea and Japan: the *Wen xuan* (*Selections of Refined Literature*). The destruction in 555 of the Liang imperial library, containing some 140,000 scrolls, was "probably the largest deliberate destruction of books in Chinese history" (p. 95). The fall of the Liang was a disaster, which set the stage for the end of the Southern dynasties and the reunification of China in 589, after four centuries of division.

Xiaofei Tian's book is not, strictly speaking, a work of history. The academic discipline may best be described as literary Sinology. There is much discussion of texts and extensive translations, especially of poetry. But this approach does accurately reflect something of the elite Chinese culture of the era, and this book reveals much about social and cultural history. It illuminates, for example, the rise of a new "cultural elite" during the Liang dynasty, drawn mostly from the ranks of the lower gentry and native southerners, who challenged the hereditary authority of the established émigré northern Great Families (pp. 9, 111). In chapter five, the author examines how Buddhist teachings on meditation and visualization of the Buddha encouraged the development of a new poetic style of seeing and perception, through close attention to the fleeting images cast by flickering candles. The author argues persuasively that this so-called Palace Style poetry, "instead of being about women and romantic love" (as conventionally assumed), was really more "about concentration" and "a new, focused way of looking" at things (p. 233).

Palace Style poetry has traditionally been dismissed as decadent, labeled "the sound of a fallen state," and even blamed for the fall of the Liang. This judgment was the work of a later generation of conquering northern moralists who, puzzled by the rapid collapse of the Liang, "faced the task of constructing a narrative out of accidents" and invented the idea of southern decadence as an explanation (p. 7). In the process, they also did much to formulate enduring Chinese stereotypes of a soft, sensuous, feminine south and an austere, masculine north. Tian, however, rightly dismisses this "decadence" theory as nonsense. Palace Style poetry was not responsible for the fall of the Liang.

I am not entirely convinced the fall of the Liang was a purely random accident, either. Despite magnificent

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achievements, the Liang did have problems. Emperor Wu's own brother and daughter, for example, reportedly once tried to kill him, and in 548 a nephew conspired with rebels to besiege his capital. Although the emperor's sons mobilized what should have been sufficient reinforcements to lift the siege, they were more interested jockeying for advantage than in saving their father. The emperor's sons stood by while the city fell and Emperor Wu died. The Liang imperial family therefore appears to have been fatally dysfunctional. There may have also been other reasons why the fall of the Liang was not purely accidental. But, such quibbles aside, this is a wonderful book. It grapples with extremely difficult classical Chinese texts and makes them come alive in sparkling and precise English. This will undoubtedly be the definitive study of the Liang dynasty for a long time to come. It is scholarship of the finest caliber.

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JOHN E. HERMAN. *Amid the Clouds and Mist: China's Colonization of Guizhou, 1200–1700.* (Harvard East Asian Monographs, number 293.) Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Asia Center. 2007. Pp. x, 344. $49.50.

Nasty, brutish, and long-lasting: that is the story of Chinese frontier expansion told here. Rejecting the kinder, gentler story of assimilation, John E. Herman narrates the incorporation of Guizhou province in southwest China as a relentless series of violent conflicts. The benign view, held by scholars such as Herold J. Wiens, Claudine Lombard-Salmon, and James Z. Lee—and betraying more than a whiff of Frederick Jackson Turner—describes Chinese settlers as bringing prosperity and productivity to backward barbarians. Instead, Herman uses indigenous and Chinese sources to portray the autonomy and resistance of the subordinated peoples. In particular, the Nasu Yi, a Tibeto-Burmese ethnic group, constantly fought for autonomy from Chinese rule. Like newer scholars of the American frontier, Herman focuses on conquest and exploitation rather than "middle grounds" and mutual acculturation.

In the ninth century C.E., the Nasu Yi had established independent polities in the poor highlands of northwest Guizhou, or Shuixi, where travelers said there were never three days without rain, three feet of flat land, nor three coins in anyone's hand. The Mongols in the thirteenth century first established civil administration in the southwest. Calling the local political leaders "native chieftains," they repressed resistance, collected taxes, invested in agriculture, and demanded military service. The Nasu Yi, famed as powerful warriors, formed personal connections with distant Mongol Khans.

The Ming rulers, however, attempted to make Guizhou an integral part of the empire. They moved 250,000 soldiers and one million civilian Han settlers to the southwest, extending military garrisons, postal relay stations, and state farms. They established Guizhou province in 1413 and relied on Guizhou troops to support their invasion of present-day Vietnam. Even so, the early Ming rulers only controlled the eastern third of the province, leaving the rest under a "patchwork of different types of political jurisdictions" (p. 102).

Many scholars have stressed the Ming retreat in the northwest after 1449, but Herman reminds us that expansion continued uninterrupted in the southwest. Generals put down native revolts, each time bringing more troops, more Han immigrants, and clearing more land. But the native officials remained separate from Ming administration. The Ming had no civilizing mission here. It built few schools and prohibited non-Han from taking civil exams.

The center heavily subsidized this aggressive expansion, while the promise of riches from minerals like cinnabar attracted miners, merchants, and grasping officials, since the Nasu Yi now controlled some of the wealthiest regions. The most interesting section of the book describes how modernizing leaders of the Nasu Yi adopted Han agricultural craft techniques to develop their local economy, shifting from swidden to settled agriculture and using cattle as farm animals instead of symbols of wealth. In 1592, they built a major bridge and erected a stele affirming the proud history of the Nasu Yi. These self-strengthening efforts strikingly parallel efforts of Mongol state builders in the northwest.

Cooperation with the Han seemed possible, but efforts to bargain for autonomy lost out to the imperial juggernaut. In the late Ming, Nasu Yi troops volunteered to help fight off the Japanese and the Manchus. Yet their wealth and strength only exacerbated the Ming drive for profit. Ming efforts to seize Nasu Yi resources drove them into rebellion in 1621–1629. They eliminated the Ming military presence temporarily and ineffectively besieged the capital city of Guiyang, but once the governor raised the siege, the Nasu Yi found their autonomy gone and their economy devastated.

They did not fare any better under the Qing. Wu Sangui's independent military feudatory, followed by Qing invasion, eliminated the independence of Shuixi once and for all. The Kangxi emperor proudly announced that the barbarians were now totally civilized, but "what had changed was their ability to militarily resist the Qing state" (p. 221). All the integration steps after 1700 merely cleaned up loose ends.

Herman's engaging story supports a provocative argument: the Ming, not the Qing, pioneered colonial domination with military conquest and economic exploitation. Many of us have focused on the Qing as the outstanding example of imperial expansion, but Herman shows that expansion has deeper roots in China's imperial past. It was not only Central Eurasian rulers who led successful military campaigns. By showing that military and strategic decisions, not superior soft power, ensured China's expansion, he forces recogni-

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tion of the inescapable violence that accompanied Han Chinese relations with frontier peoples.

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MAN-HOUNG LIN. *China Upside Down: Currency, Society, and Ideologies, 1808–1856*. (Harvard East Asian Monographs, number 270.) Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 2006. Pp. xxvi, 362. $49.95.

In this bold and fascinating study, Man-houng Lin analyses China's financial crises during the first half of the nineteenth century and demonstrates the need to consider Chinese history within a global context. She challenges the common view that the illegal importation of Indian-grown opium into China was the primary cause of the country's depleted silver reserves and consequent economic downturn. Instead, by focusing on the effects of the sharp decline in the world's silver supplies from 1810 to 1830, due to the Napoleonic wars and the revolutions for independence in Latin America, Lin is able to connect China's fiscal depression with contemporary events and developments outside East Asia. This monograph, based on years of research in a wide variety of archives in China and Taiwan and detailed analyses of British Parliamentary Papers and Maritime Customs publications, offers new insights into China's economy and the impact of global silver.

Lin divides her book into three main sections: "Global Links and the World," "Cultural Resources for Economic Debates," and "Competition among Intellectual Models." In the first section, she explains how China's domestic economy was affected by its vulnerability to world silver supplies. Already by 1775, when Japan ceased exporting silver and the output from mines in Burma and Annam was no longer sufficient, China had to rely almost exclusively on Latin American silver in the form of ingots and Mexican dollars to sustain its bimetallic currency system, by which taxes were assessed in silver and converted to copper cash for payment. While the Qing state controlled copper coinage, private merchants determined the market rate of silver and the exchange rate between silver and copper coins. As the value of silver relative to copper rose in the period from 1810 to 1830 because of slacking silver production in Mexico, Chile, and Argentina, China's real tax burden increased and prices deflated, which led to a decline in manufacturing and rising unemployment and, eventually, popular unrest. Lin finds that at this time there was also a sluggish international market for Chinese tea and silk, industries that had driven the economic boom of the previous century. In this first section, Lin also presents new statistical data to show how the net balance of trade shifted in China's favor during the period from 1857 to 1886, when opium imports doubled in volume. Silver flowed into rather than out of the country. Thus, opium alone cannot explain China's economic problems in the early nineteenth century.

In the second part, the author turns to traditional statecraft thought available to Qing officials and scholars in their discussions over the crisis, and in the third section, she recounts the competing visions for resolving the problems. Central to the debates was a relatively obscure scholar named Wang Liu (1786–1843), who proposed the introduction of paper currency and the Board of Revenue managing China's money supply, a tactic tried before in China's past, but with poor results. Lin considers Wang Liu representative of what she calls the "interventionist" school, which advocated government intercession to mitigate adverse conditions. She argues that this school shares common features with both ancient Chinese Legalist thinking and modern Keynesian economics. Among Wang's critics were leading contemporary scholars, including Wei Yuan, Bao Shichen, and Lin Zexu, whom the author deems "accommodationists." By this she means that these men favored having the market continue to determine interest and exchange rates, a point of view which she likens to Friedrich von Hayek's free market theories. The author builds an elaborate series of charts to compare and contrast the meanings and intellectual affiliations of the Qing scholars that include both their economic preferences and their literary/aesthetic style, which she views inseparable from their attitudes toward statecraft. Despite the wide range of their debates, neither group identified the exogenous factors that had created China's malaise. It was only after 1850 with China once again enjoying a sufficient silver supply that the Qing government applied interventionist solutions, as exemplified by the Self-Strengthening Movement that aimed to rebuild the country after the Taiping Rebellion and mid-century foreign incursions.

This is a rich and provocative study, but like many worthwhile books it also raises questions that are not answered. Lin begins with the query, "What shaped China's transition from the High Qing to its modern fate?" (p. xii), yet her book does not really answer this question. We are given part of the answer, but, unfortunately, it is muddled by twentieth-century models that are inapplicable to the specific circumstances of preindustrial China. One small quibble concerns the book's index, which is much too general and does not aid the reader to locate precise topics or the names of publications and persons. But these are relatively minor points of critique for a revisionist work that should prove of great interest not only to China scholars but also to global historians keen to unravel the complicated economic ties between China and the rest of the world before the twentieth century.

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STEVEN B. MILES. *The Sea of Learning: Mobility and Identity in Nineteenth-Century Guangzhou*. (Harvard East Asian Monographs 269.) Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 2006. Pp. viii, 450. $49.95.

The Xuehaitang academy, from which this book takes its title, was established by the renowned scholar Ruan Yuan (*jinshi* 1789). Ruan arrived at Guangzhou (Can-

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ton) in 1817 as governor-general of Guangdong and Guangxi. Guangdong had never been known as a center for literati scholarship , but Ruan resolved to promote classical learning , especially the evidential research (*kaozheng*), a kind of scholarship popular in the Jiangnan region and capital circles.

Steven B. Miles describes the geographic and scholarly landscape of Guangzhou in the first two chapters. The area was not so devoid of learning as Jiangnan elitists such as Ruan supposed, which Miles shows by laying out the existing institutions and studies that had been largely created by immigrants and sojourners from places like Fujian, Zhejiang, and Jiangsu prior to Ruan's arrival. Many were merchants from Anhui and Yangzhou, and it was their wealth as salt merchants, that funded many of the educational institutions and financed the printing industry of nineteenth-century Guangzhou.

As Miles describes in chapter three, the Xuehaitang was not an academy in the usual sense of preparing students for provincial examinations; it had no classrooms or dormitories. Rather, it was a gathering place for scholars, where competitive essay contests were held, along with discussions and examinations in Ruan's favored mode of evidential scholarship and Han learning (as opposed to Song-dynasty Neo-Confucianism). Built in 1826, located on a prominent hill just within the north wall of the old city, the Xuehaitang remained the center of literati studies long after Ruan departed Guangzhou in 1827. It finally declined in the 1920s under the onslaught of modernization and revolution.

Chapter four shows how the Xuehaitang was instrumental in promoting intellectual studies, poetry, collecting and printing of anthologies of classical works, and the writing of local gazetteers. Merchant wealth lay behind the burgeoning printing industry through which these works were circulated. Not a few of the Xuehaitang scholars originally came from merchant families, who in the second or third generation could afford to turn to the collection of cultural capital. As literati studies expanded, so did the printing industry, and the private libraries of scholars. Miles argues that the works produced by these scholars represented a "unified, newly confident Cantonese elite culture vis à vis other regions of the empire" (p. 163).

After Ruan departed for other posts, Guangzhou was hit by a series of calamities described in chapter five, including flooding, the Red Turban Rebellion of the 1850s, and foreign occupation by French and British troops (1857–1862), when soldiers were quartered in the Xuehaitang itself. But Canton survived, the academy was restored, and *kaozheng* studies continued there.

A second theme throughout the book is social mobility among immigrants from other parts of China, especially from Jiangnan and from the larger Guangdong delta region. These immigrants gained wealth from commercial enterprises and status from scholarly activities with institutions like the Xuehaitang. Thus, Miles argues in chapter four, the Xuehaitang was instrumental in reshaping the social as well as the cultural landscape of Guangzhou. Chapters six and seven are devoted to the two most prominent scholars of the latter half of the nineteenth century, Chen Li, whose family came from Jiangnan, and Zhu Ciqi, from Jiujiang in the Pearl River delta. Both men in different ways combined Ruan's original evidential-research agenda with Zhu Xi philosophy. Both also represented the social mobility that the Xuehaitang promoted among the literati elite. A welcome note is that Miles revives the neglected terms "literati" and "gentry" and gives them fresh meaning.

One issue that implicitly lies behind any study of intellectual activity in nineteenth-century Guangzhou is how such a peripheral backwater, as the region was perceived prior to Ruan Yuan's arrival, could spawn so many important early twentieth-century revolutionaries, including most famously Sun Yat-sen (1866–1924), born in a small town in Guangzhou prefecture. Miles does not address this question directly in the text and touches on it only briefly in the conclusion, mentioning Sun once and sketching the career of Wang Jingwei, from the prominent Wang scholarly family. But it is surely a question that merits further study and perhaps another book.

While Miles confines his examination to the world of nineteenth-century Guangzhou scholarship, a second question involves the other side of life in Guangzhou—which, prior to the Opium War, was the center of foreign trade, residence of the enormously wealthy *hoppo* officials and many rich merchants. How did their wealth affect the flowering of scholarship in the early half of the century, and how did the decline of Guangzhou as a major port affect the situation of literati and gentry in the second half of the century? Was Lin Zexu—for instance—engaged with the Xuehaitang? A third book perhaps?

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James Leibold. *Reconfiguring Chinese Nationalism: How the Qing Frontier and Its Indigenes Became Chinese*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan. 2007. Pp. xi, 271. $74.95.

Like so many other national myths, the shibboleth of Chinese homogeneity is slowly but surely crumbling before the assault of a growing body of work on the place of the non-Han peoples in the modern Chinese state. James Leibold's informative study is a worthy contribution to this scholarship, complementing another recent book, Xiaoyuan Liu's *Frontier Passages: Ethnopolitics and the Rise of Chinese Communism, 1921–1945* (2004), which covers some of the same ground. Focusing on the role of the frontier in the period between 1900 and 1960, Leibold expertly traces the ever-shifting policies of Nationalist Party (Kuomintang [KMT]) and Chinese Communist Party (CCP) leaders and the conflicted positions taken by scholars, as all labored to reconcile the ethnically complex legacy of the Qing empire

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with contemporary political reality. The struggle was messy—full of contradictions, retractions, and reversals of opinion—but anyone interested in the contortions required to turn empires into nations will find much of value here, especially the sections that deal with how Chinese Communists, guided by the Soviet experience, navigated the turbid ideological waters between the Scylla of national liberation and the Charybdis of territorial cohesion.

Leibold's book is not an ethnography itself, nor, despite the title, is it primarily about the frontier in the Qing period. Rather, it is about the uses to which discourse on non-Han "others"—Mongols, Tibetans, et al. who inhabited roughly one half the country's territory, much of it of strategic importance—was put in the name of political expediency. The author's main goals are to demonstrate the centrality of peripheral peoples and regions in modern political thinking in China and to open up for scrutiny the development of the idea of an ethnically plural but nationally unitary "Chinese people," known in Chinese as the *Zhonghua minzu*. Leibold brings a critical edge to his consideration of a significant body of writing by early- and mid-twentieth century figures. While not every reader will be persuaded that KMT policy toward the frontier in the 1930s and 1940s was really so sophisticated and flexible by design (p. 52), the overall argument offers a welcome corrective to the idea that in the "unequal dialogue" (p. 5) leading to the formation of modern Chinese identity, the West has been China's sole conversation partner. Indeed, as Leibold convincingly shows, the claims to legitimacy of both the Nationalist and Communist governments over the vast area once ruled by the Qing empire depended—and, in the case of the CCP, still depend—heavily upon a "regime of authenticity" (p. 7) underpinned by essentially identical narratives of political *cum* ethnic unity (even homogeneity), which, although endorsed personally by both Chiang Kai-shek and Mao Zedong, were, for all that, at odds with the historical record.

In tackling this problem, the author first offers an ambitious introductory chapter that describes the late Qing background and sorts out key terms. The remainder of the book is divided between the "political" and the "cultural," the author distinguishing in individual chapters between Nationalists on one hand and Communists on the other. This organizational framework is straightforward enough, and, despite some redundancy, works relatively well, even if it seemed to this reader that there was not enough discussion of how the pragmatic party policies detailed in part one were shaped by the intellectual positions described in part two. A bigger problem is that framing things this way suggests there were major divisions between the two rival political centers, whereas Leibold shows convincingly that the differences between KMT and CCP policy were often very subtle, despite the ideological gulf between them. Nor is it always easy to tell apart the positions of so-called Nationalist intellectuals from those of intellectuals supposedly aligned with the CCP. With a few notable exceptions (such as the lonely figure of Gu Jiegang), distinctions between "Nationalist" and "Communist" positions crumbled in the face of Japanese imperialism and the need provoked by that crisis for a narrative of national unity of all "Chinese" people(s) and territories (pp. 120, 137, 151). In these ways, the logic of the book's organization appears somewhat at odds with the author's arguments.

As suggested by the quotation marks around "Chinese" at the end of the preceding paragraph, terminology is a central part of the story that Leibold has to tell. He rightly draws the reader's attention (pp. 8–10) to the pitfalls of assuming there can be any single translation of words such as *zu* and *minzu*, introduced to the language ca. 1900, which ended up covering an extremely wide range of meanings, including "nation," "people," "race," "nationality," and "ethnos." Whether readers will agree with his choice to leave *minzu* and other terms mostly untranslated will, I suspect, depend largely on whether they know Chinese. My own preference would have been for more interpretation in this regard, with original terms provided in parentheses, but admittedly there is no easy solution to this problem.

All in all, the book is fluidly written and well produced, although one regrets the absence of a Chinese character glossary and of a map showing the disposition of the territories and peoples that come up in the text. I quibble with the author's use of the term "Manchurian Incident" (p. 115) to describe the Japanese occupation of Manchuria that began on 18 September 1931. In English this is normally called the "Mukden Incident"; "Manchurian Incident" (*Manshū jihen*) is how it is known to the Japanese. Also, I must express reservations at the offhand observation (pp. 89–90) that "the written Chinese language lends itself to a high degree of ambiguity" because of its "iconographic nature." Setting aside the questionable linguistic grounds of this assertion, surely all languages, whatever their writing systems, are as capable of obscuring meaning as of elucidating it. Finally, the proper translation of Fu Sinian's 1932 *Dongbei shigang* should of course be *Draft History of the Northeast*, as it is in the note on page 208, not "Northwest" (pp. 119, 136).

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ROBERT CULP. *Articulating Citizenship: Civic Education and Student Politics in Southeastern China, 1912–1940*. (Harvard East Asian Monographs, number 291.) Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Asia Center. 2007. Pp. xvi, 382. $49.50.

Focusing on the middle and normal school students of the lower Yangzi region in republican China, Robert Culp's meticulously researched study examines both the discourse and practice of citizenship—a topic that has attracted a growing literature in recent years—through the prism of civic education. His analysis transverses a vast intellectual terrain that includes curricula, textbooks, moral and behavioral training, scouting,

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gender relations, rituals, and political engagement. Throughout Culp emphasizes that the students were exposed to diverse and multiple strands of ideas and discourses relating to citizenship that often stood in tension with, or even in contradiction to, each other. That was particularly true in the 1910s and 1920s but remained so even in the post-1928 period, when the new Nationalist regime sought to oversee and direct the course of school education. Although there were obvious shifts in parts of the curriculum then, governmental control was never able to suppress completely the diversity of voices.

Culp's point, of course, is that the students were largely able to fashion their own conceptions of citizenship and proper modes of civic actions. Indeed, Culp insists that it was not so much that the political parties organized and mobilized the students during the first half of the twentieth century. Rather, the parties simply "channeled and managed" (p. 252) what the students had been doing of their own accord. The reason why both the Nationalists and the Communists were able to readily take advantage of student activism for their own revolutionary projects provides the key to Culp's main thesis: The dominance—although not the monopoly—among the Chinese students of a form of continental European civic republicanism (at the expense of its Anglo-American counterpart) that "stressed active and direct involvement by all citizens in community affairs" and "asserted that moral regulation and active self-discipline, rather than individual freedom and the expression of self-interest, were fundamental to republican politics" (p. 104). The dissemination of this strand of republican citizenship was further reinforced by elements already extant within the Chinese cultural repertoire. The result was that the students were particularly attuned, for instance, to arguments for an organic society and for civic action as an emblem of their citizenship. The latter was also a way for them "to claim social privilege and political agency" (p. 11).

And privileged they were: Culp points out that there were only about 500,000 secondary school students nationwide in a population of at least 400 million in republican China (p. 24). "The belief," Culp writes, "that the customs and habits of the common people were superstitious, backward, and in need of reform through mass education was expressed by many lower Yangzi region secondary students" (p. 257). Yet, despite their elite status and elitism, the students were strategically located, both socially and spatially, and Culp has masterfully woven together, with telling insights, a coherent narrative of the process of their molding as citizens. He deftly illustrates, for example, how republican textbooks were instrumental in the imagining of a national "geo-body," a term borrowed from Thongchai Winichakul, as a basis for citizenship. On occasions Culp might have stretched his argument a little. The school scouts, for example, were taught "to work with their hands," a measure, Culp suggests, that "challenged class hierarchies and constructed a more populist conception of cultural citizenship" (p. 188). But the display of the scouts' manual prowess in competitions could also serve to underscore the students' privileged position, as it highlighted the fact that manual labor was *not* what they usually had to do. Such minor quibbles aside, Culp's study is a judicious and impressive work of scholarship.

In his conclusion, Culp suggests that "Mao-era civic action in the PRC [People's Republic of China] can be seen as the culmination of early twentieth-century Chinese elites' efforts to construct citizens who would be publicly engaged" (p. 288) and that millions of people "performed the kind of activism associated with Maoist citizenship" during the Cultural Revolution (p. 292), while the push for "civil rights and representative politics" in the post-Mao era harks back to the Anglo-American liberal democratic model of citizenship that was marginalized in the republican era (p. 295). All that might be true. But the Cultural Revolution, for all its disastrous tactics and tragic consequences, also aimed ultimately to liberate the consciousness of the individual citizen, while the resurgence of militant nationalism—as Culp himself alludes to (pp. 297–298)—certainly threatens whatever liberal democratic impulses there are in contemporary China. Perhaps instead of positing an almost dichotomous division between the two strands of thought, it might be more fruitful not just to register the tension but also to explore further their interplay within the concept of citizenship. But that would be the topic for a different volume.

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STEPHEN R. PLATT. *Provincial Patriots: The Hunanese and Modern China*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 2007. Pp. 278. $49.95.

Carefully crafted and clearly and thoughtfully written, this book is another valuable contribution to the recent trend in historiography that challenges and problematizes the nationalist grand narrative in understanding modern China. It is a meaningful endeavor, in part because, for obvious reasons, nationalist historiography remains the mainstream in mainland China today. Stephen R. Platt begins his book with an interesting and incisive observation: from the mid-nineteenth century on, people from Hunan, a province known for its mountainous topography and located in southern China, played arguably the most visible role in Chinese history—defeating the Taiping Rebellion, waging reform and revolution, and founding the People's Republic of China (had he written the book this year, Platt probably would add that Ma Ying-jeou, the newly elected president of Taiwan, is also Hunanese). However, "it is odd," Platt laments, "that the story of the Hunanese in modern China is never taken as a whole" (p. 1). It is not that no one has ever paid attention to the Hunanese; rather, it is that no one has studied the Hunanese in their own right. In the past, scholars have tended to

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examine Hunan as a case for illuminating the changes in China—hence the book's novelty and significance.

What makes Platt's approach ingenious and his narrative engaging is that the book is weaved together around a common thread—the rediscovery of Wang Fuzhi by the modern Hunanese and their indebtedness to this "Enlightenment thinker," a shining figure rarely seen in the province's otherwise dull (dark?) past. All the Hunanese presented in the book were more or less connected to Wang: Guo Songtao, China's first ambassador to Great Britain, studied and promoted his writings, and Mao Zedong worked at the Wang Fuzhi Institute, a school initially founded by Guo and refurbished in the early Republican years. This is thus a study of intellectual history. But it is not a conventional one, in that its focus is not on how Wang Fuzhi's ideas became diffused and absorbed among his later admirers. It rather discusses how Wang's ideas "were *used*" by those inspired by him to form "a modern Hunanese ethos" (p. 4). In other words, not only is Platt's study post-nationalistic, but his presentation of it (focusing not on the author [Wang Fuzhi] but on his readers) is also distinctly postmodern.

Invoking Wang Fuzhi proves to be a clever strategy. It effectively ties together the various figures examined in the book, ranging from ranking Qing officials and noted reformers to nationalists and communists. It also makes the narrative intriguing and readable, quite an achievement for a historical monograph. Yet a curious reader may wonder: Were all the important Hunanese in modern China inspired by Wang's ideas? The answer is probably not, because even those who read Wang might not have shared his positions. Platt however clearly favors those who did, even though he intends, as shown by the subtitle, to deal with the Hunanese as a whole. He starts by describing Zeng Guofan's and Zuo Zongtang's rise to power through their success in organizing the Hunan Army and putting down the Taiping Rebellion. This is a logical place to start, because if the Hunanese can claim some political prominence in modern China, it all began with Zeng's and Zuo's distinguished service to the Qing court. Platt acknowledges that the Hunan Army, even after its disbandment, remained essential for later Hunanese in launching their careers (pp. 28–33). But his writing focuses more on Guo Songtao, because Guo made the most effort to revive and follow Wang Fuzhi (pp. 31–41). Zeng and Zuo are somewhat slighted, probably because they achieved fame by working for the Manchus, an act that Wang would have strongly reproved. Guo was also a Qing official. But he is portrayed as a lone reformer ahead of his time who found himself alienated from his conservative provincials (pp. 36–39).

Indeed, since Wang Fuzhi is accepted in the book as a progressive thinker who inspired the Hunanese to introduce change, those who followed his ideas, be they reformers or revolutionaries, receive more attention. One might note that Platt's emphasis on change and progress in history is identical to that associated with the nationalist historiography which he chastises. But there is also a key difference: His work corrects the nationalist historiography by shifting the attention away from the port cities on the coast to Hunan, a hinterland region often described as a backwater in modern Chinese history. Without question, Platt's effort is worthwhile. But I would not readily discount Hunanese conservatism either; in addition to Zeng Guofan's utmost effort to defend the Confucian legacy, Hunan was also unequivocally depicted as a cultural backwater in the novels of Shen Congwen, one of the province's proud names in modern Chinese literature. The question is: What is "Hunan"? How encompassing is the "Hunanese ethos/spirit," given the province's notorious linguistic diversity, ethnic/cultural disparity, and relatively short history as an independent administrative unit? (Hunan had not been made a province until the Qing, and, even during the Qing, it was often administered together with its neighbor Hubei.) In sum, while stressing China's regional differences to dissect the encompassing concept of the Chinese "nation," perhaps we should ask ourselves what a "region" or "province" is made of in China. Thanks to Platt's stimulating study, such questions appear all the more pressing.

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Patricia M. Thornton. *Disciplining the State: Virtue, Violence, and State-Making in Modern China*. (Harvard East Asian Monographs, number 283.) Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 2007. Pp. ix, 247. $39.95.

Patricia M. Thornton's excellent study examines the role of moral regulation and social control in modern Chinese state-making, focusing on three cases in which the state initiated institutional changes that were designed to extend the reach of central control over local political groups. These cases are the Yongzheng fiscal reforms (1723–1735); the Nationalist Party's remaking of local government (1927–1937); and, finally, the People's Republic of China's (PRC) Socialist Education Campaign (1961–1966).

Thornton sets these three cases in a thorough and careful comparative framework, and she defines "state-making" as the "concerted efforts of a government to achieve administrative centralization, increase social penetration, bureaucratization, and rationalization" (p. 2). She argues that, in contrast to Europe, where state-making was driven by war and savage efforts to extract resources by small competing states engaged in those wars, China emerged in the Qin-Han period (221 B.C.E.–220 C.E.) as a state that found a unique formula for achieving control and stability over a large territorial realm by using moral regulation and social control to knit the central authority to diverse local power groups, creating webs of moral-ritual-social relations that by the late empire arguably penetrated more deeply into sub-county society than did county government itself.

Thornton's treatment of the fiscal reforms of the Yongzheng reign provides a thorough analysis of state

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fiscal shortages caused by systemic arrears in the collection and forwarding of local taxes to the central government. Because local officials lacked adequate budgetary and staff resources, they siphoned off tax funds in order to cover their administrative costs (public) and/or private expenses (personal). The Yongzheng emperor succeeded in limiting the prerogatives and corrupt practices of local officials in tax collection by returning "meltage fees" exacted during tax collection to the public coffers; allocating funds for "nourishing virtue" (*yanglian*) to local government to supplement official salaries; and extending control over local granaries. The reforms increased central control of fiscal resources, curtailed the tax-collecting prerogatives of local officials, and expanded the boundaries of the bureaucracy to some sub-county functionaries. Thornton argues that Yongzheng was able to carry out these centralizing changes because he redefined fiscal shortage as a moral failing at the lower levels of the bureaucracy.

The second case study focuses on the Nationalist regime's attempt to impose a fundamentally new administrative, constitutional, and legal framework on China that would create a modern, unified, and, above all, loyal group of self-governing communities. To do so in an environment of revolution and foreign invasion, the Nanjing government created an overarching corporatist party-state that was built on an ideological commitment to "democratic mobilization" (p. 126). However, by empowering a varied range of dominant groups and individuals in various local contexts and creating a plethora of new party and government agencies at the local level, the Nationalist regime heightened tensions and conflicts with and among local leaders that challenged local traditions and norms and ultimately undermined central control in the localities.

The author centers the third case study on the Socialist Education Campaign that sought to reassert the disciplined order of the state after a frenzy of centralization during the Great Leap Forward (1958–1961). The campaign dramatically reduced the size of rural communes, placed accounting functions in the hands of production teams, and allowed the return of private plots; but, at the same time, it created a radically new approach to mass campaigns that subsumed the individual in the state's public "moral" sphere, which enabled the central government to transform individuals as well as institutions. Social mobilization erased, in this case, the private sphere as the state extended its moral mandate down to the individual with a vengeance, obliterating individual moral identity. Thornton's final reflections on reform-era corruption since the 1980s suggest that the web of meaningful moral-social relationships between state and society has all but disappeared, leaving Chinese adrift and Chinese society on the brink of chaos.

The author's treatment of each of the three cases is concise, detailed, and solidly grounded in thorough archival research. As a result, she draws a fascinating picture of each regime that highlights the differences in their respective visions of the relationship between state and society and the critical role that moral legitimacy played in each. Impressive for their clarity are her focused analyses of the institutional frameworks and her detailed accounts of the changing concepts and patterns of corruption of each regime. Finally, this study highlights how radically the Nationalists and the PRC sought to expand the bureaucratic and ideological reach of the state in their quest for modern transformation in comparison to the more limited vision of empire during the Qing dynasty.

JANE KATE LEONARD
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BARBARA AMBROS. *Emplacing a Pilgrimage: The Ōyama Cult and Regional Religion in Early Modern Japan*. (Harvard East Asian Monographs, number 297.) Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Asia Center. 2008. Pp. xvi, 330. $39.95.

It seems not long ago that studies of Japanese religions either concentrated on theological issues and the transmission of doctrine (a kind of cultural history) or focused on a single religious thinker and his disciples (a kind of intellectual biography). In Japan, Fumio Tamamuro pioneered an alternative approach, in which he concentrated less on spiritually oriented writings than on local documents that disclosed the practical aspects of everyday religious life, such as the details of temple administration and finances, the often thorny relations between religious institutions and their local and supralocal authorities, and strategies for the organization and servicing of parishioners. One advantage of Tamamuro's approach is that it avoids the inevitably untidy taxonomy that attends most writings on Japanese religions, as if these were clearly distinct from each other when, in fact, their boundaries have almost always been porous.

Barbara Ambros acknowledges both her indebtedness to Tamamuro's regional approach and the inspiration of Allan Grappard's notion of the combinative nature of Japanese religiosity at the outset of her study of Ōyama, a mountain substantially closer to Edo (today's Tokyo) than the more famous Mount Fuji and for over twelve hundred years the site of a fascinating and surprisingly diverse array of religious activities. Ambros traces the mountain's religious history from its earliest references as the locus of medieval mountain-hermit spiritualists (*yamabushi*), through its transformation in the seventeenth century into a regional academy of the Kogi stream in Shingon Buddhism and its emergence as a popular site for early modern pilgrimage, to its reconfiguration as a Shinto center in the 1870s and 1880s by the Meiji government.

The heart of Ambros's study, however, is the early modern Tokugawa period (1600–1867), when Ōyama's religious leadership consciously developed the site as a popular pilgrimage destination. Pilgrimage was nothing new in Japan, but it expanded dramatically from the mid-seventeenth century on. Then as now, the most popular pilgrimage destinations were the well-known

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Ise Shrines, Mount Fuji, or the eighty-eight-temple circuit on the island of Shikoku, but there were also numerous, lesser-known others throughout the country, and taken together these pilgrimage destinations became important for a number of reasons. First, they provided legitimate (read: spiritual) opportunities for recreational travel at a time when such travel was technically proscribed. The pilgrims themselves emerged as an important source of income for the sites in question as well as for providers of lodging and other services along the principal routes. The scale of these pilgrimages at times reached near-millennial proportions, provoking the government's concern over their potentially destabilizing effects while conversely providing an essentially innocuous outlet for a host of restless social energies. The pilgrimages also stimulated a national consciousness and new spatial orientation at a time when most people in Japan identified principally with their villages or immediate neighborhoods. Readers will likely want to compare Ambros's treatment of Ōyama pilgrimage with D. Max Moerman's recent study of Kumano pilgrimage, *Localizing Paradise: Kumano Pilgrimage and the Religious Landscape of Premodern Japan* (2006), also published by Harvard University's Asia Center.

Ambros describes how, at all of the major sites for pilgrimage in Japan, pilgrims were managed by their assignment to specialized priests generally known as *oshi*. These *oshi* were something like spiritual travel agents and tour guides, who arranged for the pilgrims' lodgings, meals, offerings, participation in a range of ceremonial activities, and so on. This was potentially so profitable an exercise for *oshi* that a market developed for the purchase and sale of lists of these quasi-parishioners, creating something of a controversy over who was actually qualified to call himself an *oshi* and to provide such services. Ambros provides impressively rich detail on the *oshi* and their spiritual clients, but at the same time she seems uncomfortable with the commercial dimension of the activity and the commodification of pilgrims generally, vouching repeatedly and, to my mind, not entirely convincingly for the sacrality of the exercise and its managers.

Ambros's admirable concentration on Ōyama as a geographic site leads her to overlook doctrinal issues to a degree that poses occasional problems for her study. For example, the term *Kogi Shingon* appears dozens of times in her study, but not once does Ambros define or explain it. Further, there are curious instances of repetition, which at times give the volume something of the flavor of a number of essays or articles imperfectly linked together rather than a single sustained narrative (pp. 28–29, 49, 125; or pp. 158, 167). These quibbles notwithstanding, Ambros has produced a very fine study of an important topic, and her book will be of value to anyone interested in Japanese religions, early modern Japanese society and culture, or pilgrimage generally.

PETER NOSCO
University of British Columbia

MIRIAM SILVERBERG. *Erotic Grotesque Nonsense: The Mass Culture of Japanese Modern Times*. (Asia Pacific Modern.) Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 2006. Pp. xviii, 369. $49.95.

In about the year 1930, the Japanese press began using the phrase *eroguronansensu*—adapted from the English words "erotic grotesque nonsense"—to refer to a kaleidoscopic assembly of new elements in popular culture. Miriam Silverberg's fascinating book begins and ends as a meditation on the three words in the phrase and on how, as she argues, they create new ways to think about mass culture and modern consumerism during the 1920s and 1930s.

One of the many welcome contributions Silverberg makes is to the relatively recent collective effort by historians to reconsider older narratives segregating the "dark valley" of Japan's so-called Fifteen-Year War (1931–1945) from the liberal, cosmopolitan, and consumerist 1920s. Silverberg refuses the more common designation of *eroguronansensu* as a brief, "decadent pivot between an era of 'modernism' and the years of 'fascism'" (p. 5) and instead invokes a panoramic array of documentary sources to show that popular fascination with the new practices, objects, images, and words that she identifies with the erotic, the grotesque, and the nonsensical developed over a much longer period. By tracing continuities in popular culture, Silverberg not only deepens our understanding of both the interwar and the wartime eras but also offers a fresh perspective on the "consumer-subject" by emphasizing her/his political as well as cultural autonomy and creativity. Silverberg is deeply concerned to recover a sense of ordinary women and men who, far from engaging in weakly mimetic forms of "cultural borrowing" from the West (during the 1920s) or succumbing to mass mobilization by the wartime state (during the 1930s), actively negotiated, adapted, and even resisted the wide variety of "codes" and ideologies presented to them until at least 1941.

This book is constructed ingeniously around two organizing principles. One is the title phrase itself. The first and largest portion of the book is devoted to a discussion of *ero*, as Silverberg finds it in several different "sites": writings on the new social categories of women—imagined and real—represented by the so-called modern girl and the café waitress, the film magazine *Eiga no tomo* (Friends of the Movies) and the influential mass-market women's magazine *Shufu no tomo* (Friend of the Housewife), and finally several quasi-ethnographic or "documentary" texts on the Tokyo entertainment district of Asakusa. Documentary writings on Asakusa, and more particularly on marginal groups such as vagrants, hawkers, and juvenile delinquents, are also the sites for Silverberg's investigation of *guro*, or the grotesque, which she defines provocatively in terms of "the social inequities and ensuing social practices of those living within a consumer culture defined by the economic hardships of the depression" (p. 30). Finally, the book concludes with a brief consideration of

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nansensu centered, again, on Asakusa and the visual spectacles found there in the 1930s.

The second organizing principle of the book, and a key term for Silverberg's argument as a whole, is the concept of montage. Drawing from various theorists, she proposes that the print culture of early twentieth-century Japan was characterized by numerous types of montage, or the juxtaposition of fragments, and that its producers as well as consumers were adept at the creative "code-switching" required to make, and make sense of, montage. By arguing for the centrality of montage, Silverberg promotes her persuasive vision of ordinary Japanese—whether layout editors or housewives, vaudeville performers or street kids—as canny and often skeptical agents producing a complex modernity in tandem with more obvious, better-documented actors such as Hollywood or the state. At the same time, she deliberately uses the principle of montage to assemble her argument, and the book. Whether in her disaggregated treatment of *ero*, *guro*, and *nansensu* (the phrase itself a montage), or in her method of juxtaposing readings of a wide array of texts, Silverberg demonstrates that she does "not presume to come up with an all-encompassing vision" and that "readers are expected to produce their own partial meanings with the understanding that a montage is never univocal and that a history covering 'all' of a time or place is never possible" (p. 6).

There is a remarkable openness and generosity to this sort of history writing. Silverberg offers us her sources—the result of a lifetime of work in the archives of prewar Japanese popular culture—in a manner that allows us not only to follow her arguments, but also to query them. In an answering spirit, then, I raise the following questions. First, why should modernity be defined so as to exclude any portion of the years of total war and fascism? Silverberg makes clear that Japan's "modern times" did not end in 1931; she offers little evidence, however, for her claims that they did end in 1941. Even if one agrees to define the modern in terms of "a post-traditional world not bound by national boundaries or timeless customs but informed by the open-endedness and dynamism of capitalism" (p. 13), is such a definition in fact inapplicable to Japan's wartime empire? A related question concerns the nature of the modernity Silverberg identifies with the 1920s and 1930s. Was popular or mass culture then truly as Western-oriented, urban-centered, and avowedly new as proposed here? If so, it becomes difficult to fathom not only what happened later but also key aspects of Japan's prewar cultural history, namely an abiding, often consumerist preoccupation with rural culture, indigenous tradition, and colonial East Asia. If there is a certain monolithic quality to the nature of the modernity described (and perhaps idealized) here, it is also possible to wonder if the relationship between "consumer-subjects" and *eroguronansensu* was not more variegated—by class, region, and age, for example—than Silverberg suggests. It is our great loss that she is no longer here to debate these and other questions raised by her rich and stimulating book.

KIM BRANDT
Columbia University

GREGG BRAZINSKY. *Nation Building in South Korea: Koreans, Americans, and the Making of a Democracy*. (The New Cold War History.) Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2007. Pp. xii, 311. $45.00.

The English-language scholarship on North Korean nation-building after World War II has recently been enriched by the publication of Charles K. Armstrong's *The North Korean Revolution, 1945–1950* (2002) and Andrei Lankov's *From Stalin to Kim Il Sung: The Formation of North Korea, 1945–1960* (2002). The former, relying on captured North Korean sources deposited in the U.S. archives, emphasizes North Korean agency in nation-building, while the latter, based on recently declassified Soviet documents, highlights the preponderant role played by the Soviets. Now, Gregg Brazinsky's new book on U.S.-South Korean relations between 1945 and 1972 makes a valuable contribution to our understanding of South Korean nation-building after World War II. Brazinsky has combed both U.S. and South Korean sources to produce a detailed, empirically rich study of the dynamics of this patron-client relationship. While demonstrating the important roles played by both the United States and the South Koreans, Brazinsky argues that "the South Korea we know today . . . was achieved only through constant negotiation between the two" (p. 11).

Brazinsky organizes his book into time periods (the immediate postwar years, the Syngman Rhee era, the April 19 Revolution in 1960–1961, the Park Chung Hee era, the interregnum of 1979–1980, and the Chun Doo Hwan era ending in 1987) and devotes chapters to aspects of the U.S. nation-building program: namely, civil society (chapter two covering education, the media, and the training of new bureaucrats), the military (chapter three), intellectuals (chapter six), and youth (chapter seven). In doing so, Brazinsky shows how the United States sought to shape South Korea in ways that suited its own security interests in the emerging Cold War while also paying attention to democratic values. Brazinsky demonstrates that the United States, when having to choose between promoting security and promoting democracy, more or less consistently chose the former during 1945–1980, especially during the crucial junctures of 1945–1948, 1960–1961, and 1979–1980. However, Brazinsky also illustrates how the United States, through its extensive program, helped plant the seeds of South Korean democracy leading to the movement that eventually bore fruit in 1987. Brazinsky does a good job describing the changes over time in U.S. influence, starting with the U.S. military occupation of South Korea in 1945–1948 through the heightened U.S. involvement during the Korean War up to the 1970s, by which time Park Chung Hee's "developmental autocracy" had succeeded in lifting South Korea out of pov-

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erty, which reduced the country's dependence on U.S. aid (and, thereby, decreased U.S. influence).

There is little that is original or sophisticated about Brazinsky's theoretical insight concerning the nature of the U.S.-South Korean interaction. The book's introduction and conclusion are, in fact, rather brief and do not go beyond providing what is a relatively plain theoretical framework of analysis. However, Brazinsky, more than anyone else, has provided systematic, in-depth empirical evidence drawn from both the U.S. and South Korea to illustrate the subtle and changing dynamics of the U.S.-South Korean patron-client relationship. Brazinsky excels in showing how specific U.S. policies impacted the lives of individual South Korean students, intellectuals, bureaucrats, journalists, military officers, and political leaders and how Koreans responded to these policies—whether favorably, unfavorably, or a mixture of both. Herein lies his greatest contribution to scholarship.

Overall, the writing in this book is fluent, although it drags on in a few parts where the author dryly catalogues certain U.S. programs in South Korea, such as the descriptions of 4-H Club activities in chapter seven. The book seems to contain only a few errors (such as the statement that Korea had been governed for centuries by emperors rather than kings [p. 1] or the misspelling of Nam Tŏgu's name as Nam Tŏksŏk [p. 178]). Its tone is balanced with a few exceptions, such as when the author mentions "the heroic sacrifices that Americans had made to defend the ROK [Republic of Korea]" (p. 8); or when the author seems to overstate the significance of South Korea's successful nation-building: "China and, to a lesser extent, Vietnam have been able to improve their economies and moderate their polices in recent years only by emulating elements of the South Korean model of development" (p. 252). The book could also benefit from a discussion of the sources on which it is based, as the author provides no information about the significance or the shortcomings of the materials he used in his research.

These limitations aside, Brazinsky's work will surely be read profitably by all those interested in modern economic development, democratization, and nation-building. Students of U.S. foreign relations will also profit from this in-depth case study of U.S. foreign policy, whereby U.S. intervention has actually led to what is, overall, a successful nation-building exercise. Unfortunately, the same cannot be said for many other cases of U.S. intervention.

JONGSOO LEE
Stonehill College

ANDREW WIEST. *Vietnam's Forgotten Army: Heroism and Betrayal in the ARVN*. New York: New York University Press. 2008. Pp. xviii, 350. $35.00.

After many years of neglect, the Army of the Republic of Vietnam (ARVN), America's ally during the Vietnam War, is finally receiving some attention as a major factor in that conflict. In 2006, historian Robert Brigham took up the task in *ARVN: Life and Death in the South Vietnamese Army*. Now Andrew Wiest, author of a number of monographs on various military topics, has provided us with a sequel.

In his book, Wiest argues that the ARVN has been unfairly tarnished in the United States with an image of cowardice and incompetence. While conceding that the army's performance was not always adequate to the occasion, Wiest contends that the primary source of the problem was not the much-maligned South Vietnamese soldier but the ARVN's venal and incompetent military leadership, as well as the strategic errors committed by the Saigon regime and its U.S. ally. When, in the mid-1950s, President Ngo Dinh Diem sought to create a highly mobile military force based on regional units that would focus on eliminating the threat of insurgency posed by remnants of the Viet Minh movement operating in the South, he was overruled by U.S. military advisers, who wanted to establish a conventional army in the U.S. image in the belief that any threat to the new state would result from an invasion from the North. Dependent for his survival on U.S. financial and military assistance, Diem gave in.

By the early 1960s, local insurgent forces, now popularly known as the Viet Cong, began to accelerate their efforts in the South, and the ARVN's manifold weaknesses began to come home to roost. Low pay, meager living conditions, and a lamentable lack of training and political indoctrination resulted in poor morale within the ranks, while senior military officers, many of whom had entered the service under the French, engaged in filling their own pockets and in chronic political factionalism. As the fighting intensified in the mid-1960s, policymakers in Washington, D.C. lost confidence in ARVN's capabilities and turned the war over to U.S. combat troops. The communist regime in Hanoi responded in kind and began to infiltrate its own highly trained military units from the North. ARVN troops were assigned to undertake pacification operations at the village level against local Viet Cong forces. That "other war", however, was always considered a sideshow by U.S. military strategists and never received the attention or the funding that it deserved.

When the fighting in the South reached a climax during the Tet Offensive in early 1968, many ARVN units acquitted themselves admirably, leading some observers to hope that, with Hanoi's forces now badly depleted, the prospects for victory were bright. The author cites the example of two young ARVN military officers, Tran Ngoc Hue and Pham Van Dinh, whose brilliant exploits during the fighting exemplified the very best traditions in the history of warfare. But the window of opportunity closed rapidly, as the Nixon administration began to withdraw U.S. troops, and the Saigon government failed to take advantage of the new situation. By the time Hanoi had recuperated its strength in the South, the U.S. military presence had dramatically declined, leaving behind a demoralized government which succumbed rapidly to Hanoi's final offensive in the spring of 1975.

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In the end, then, the heroic sacrifices of thousands of South Vietnamese soldiers were nullified by the venality and incompetence of a government that never lived up to its responsibility to its own people. But the author reserves his harshest criticism for U.S. civilian and military leaders, who opted for a fatally flawed strategy that sought to wage the war by traditional Western military means. Poorly trained, poorly motivated, poorly armed, and poorly led, South Vietnamese soldiers never received the support and confidence that they warranted.

Wiest's new book is the latest salvo in an ongoing controversy that has been underway since the Kennedy administration in the early 1960s, when advocates of a counterinsurgency strategy argued in vain with proponents of a conventional military approach in Vietnam. Whether such an approach would have led to a different result is a question that can never be answered. As Ngo Dinh Diem had argued, the initial threat to the Saigon regime came from local Viet Cong insurgents, not from main force troops infiltrated from the North. On the other hand, as critics have pointed out, at the end Hanoi strategists opted for a conventional invasion of the South that would have overwhelmed any adversary trained only in the tactics of counter-guerrilla war.

Unfortunately, Wiest does not weigh in on this debate. Nor does he address a second issue of equal importance: how could ARVN forces hope to emerge victorious in the absence of a stable government in South Vietnam that could win the loyalty of the vast majority of the population? The challenge of nation building in Vietnam eluded the efforts of six U.S. presidents and must be considered as the single most important reason for the U.S. failure in Vietnam. Political leaders of our own day might find this a useful lesson to ponder as they seek to carry out their own programs of nation building in the Middle East.

WILLIAM J. DUIKER
Pennsylvania State University

VINAYAK CHATURVEDI. *Peasant Pasts: History and Memory in Western India*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 2007. Pp. xvii, 307. Cloth $55.00, paper $21.95.

This book is an innovative and imaginative account of popular politics, one that probes the predicaments and possibilities of the historical record concerning subaltern worlds. It is also an intriguing endeavor that falls short of articulating its own import. The story is set in the Kheda district of Gujarat province in western India in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Its protagonists are members of the mainly poor Dharala community, who were economically and socially subordinate to the agricultural caste of Patidars in the region. Both scholarly writing and political commentary have portrayed the Patidars as formidable, even exemplary, authors of peasant nationalism and allies of Mohandas K. Gandhi, while the Dharalas haunt both the academic and political realms as marginal figures, mentioned mainly for their "criminal" proclivities. The contrast offers a poignant edge to Vinayak Chaturvedi's empathetic, accessible narrative.

In addition to the introduction, the account has three parts, each made up of crisscrossing pathways. The first draws on judicial proceedings—especially peasant testimonies in colonial courts—and other official records in order to unravel the tale of Ranchod Vira, a poor peasant and *bhagat* (religious figure) who challenged local superiors and colonial governance in 1897. The Ranchod movement and its politics are presented as part of popular religious beliefs and practices, entanglements between oral and written arenas, and shifts within the agrarian structure and imperial administration. Chaturvedi next turns to Dharala endeavors across the early twentieth century, from the initiative of a religious figure called Daduram to efforts involving caste conferences, labor strikes, and rural brigandage. These activities are understood in the context of imperial imperatives, such as the Criminal Tribes Act of 1871, that targeted the Dharalas as well as nationalist expressions among the Patidar peasantry under Gandhian leadership. The final part traverses Chaturvedi's encounters in the archive and the field. It unravels his dogged pursuit—made up of chance finds and contingent discoveries—of the details and dramas that characterize the ongoing debates, contentious legacies, and the living presence of Ranchod's and Daduram's endeavors. At each step, Chaturvedi adroitly teases out from tattered archival registers and episodic field materials self-consciously fragmentary yet immensely telling tales of peasant worlds, past and present, a plenitude that my bare summary has been unable to capture.

Critical writings on anticolonial nationalism and popular politics in South Asia, especially within subaltern studies, have imaginatively extended the terms of the dominant coupling of history and nation under modernity. But such scholarship has also emerged as shaped by these bonds, unable to break with them readily or easily. The conditions of possibility of Chaturvedi's account lie in this impressive corpus and its varied contentions. This is true not only of the substantive content of the study but also of its organizational form. Indeed, the salience of this book inheres in its narration: the ways in which a necessarily fragmentary, even perverse, archival record is made to yield acute vignettes of peasant worlds, so that the assembly and ensemble can be approached as exceeding the envisioning of history in the looking glass of the nation.

Yet Chaturvedi insufficiently draws out the critical implications of his wide-ranging account. Thus, the work's analytical stratagems—as distinct from its hermeneutic textures—turn on obvious assertions. These include claims concerning the Dharalas as authors of viable political ideas and actions, which are projected as preceding dominant, Patidar anticolonialism in the region; the community's marginalization by colonial administration and Indian nationalism alike; and the Dharalas' continued betrayal by the postcolonial nation. As a result, while acknowledging their contentious characteristics, Chaturvedi nonetheless takes for

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granted both history-writing and the modern nation—rather than defamiliarizing these concept-entities by holding a mirror up to their endless entanglements—and also misses an opportunity to articulate critically earlier arguments on the subject. Similarly, by somewhat naïvely defining its task as one of making whole the historical record, the work overlooks how its own narratives construe "facts" unexpectedly, "evidence" that deals not in dead certainties but speaks in the echoes of lingering doubt.

All of this betokens other, critical limitations. First, Chaturvedi repeatedly invokes "local custom" as an explanatory device but ignores the transformations of this terrain through time. Second, the study stresses the salience in popular politics of kingly power but stops short of locating kingship in formations of caste and their alterations. Finally, the work underplays the place and presence of the stipulations, sinews, and symbols of power—of colonialism and nationalism—in the internal constitution of the Dharala community and underenunciates the tangible textures of the group's apprehensions of colony and nation.

I offer such criticisms not to dismiss the book but to identify its author's achievements, especially in crafting multilayered and textured narratives of historical margins. These proffer new challenges to rethinking and rewriting histories of peasants and politics—and countercolonialisms and nationalisms—by probing the inextricable braiding of history and nation.

SAURABH DUBE
El Colegio de México

IAN TALBOT. *Divided Cities: Partition and its Aftermath in Lahore and Amritsar 1947–1957.* (The Subcontinent Divided: A New Beginning.) New York: Oxford University Press. 2006. Pp. xxxiv, 224. $39.95.

YASMIN KHAN. *The Great Partition: The Making of India and Pakistan.* New Haven: Yale University Press. 2007. Pp. xxi, 251. $30.00.

Arguably one of the defining events of the twentieth century, the partition of British India in 1947 has been a magnet for all manner of analysts: historians, biographers, sociologists, and novelists. Yet, as one would also expect, the way partition has been written about has changed over time. The earliest memoirs of the event (such as H. V. Hodson's *The Great Divide: Britain, India, Pakistan* [1969]) were concerned mainly with tracing its "causes" and focused largely on the political wrangles that led, tortuously, to the enabling agreement of June 3, 1947. Recent work has concentrated much more on the "impact" of partition: on its demographic and social repercussions, such as the attendant massacres and migrations, and on its enduring legacy. The two books under review epitomize these new scholarly directions.

In one sense, Yasmin Khan's project follows faithfully in the footsteps of Hodson's. It is a general history of partition that seeks to tell the story of what happened and why, and the narrative is peopled with familiar characters: All-India Muslim League President Muhammad Ali Jinnah; Indian National Congress spokesman and first Indian Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru; British viceroys Archibald Wavell and Louis Mountbatten; Mohandas K. Gandhi; Sikh hard-man Master Tara Singh Malhotra; and so on. Likewise, it follows a largely chronological trail, starting at the end of World War II and moving on from there in stages punctuated mainly by political initiatives and crises. Even Khan's title has a Hodsonian ring to it. There, however, the similarities end.

By emphasizing the crises as much or more than the initiatives, Khan changes the way the familiar story unfolds. She gives it a new shape, defined by different turning points. One of these "watersheds" is the collapse of the Unionist Party coalition in Punjab on March 2, 1947. Some of its effects, such as the March riots in Lahore and the threat from Tara Singh that the "Khalsa" was prepared to use any means to stop Punjab's becoming part of a Muslim-ruled Pakistan, are well known. But Khan shows that this was also the point at which the more percipient (and affluent) west Punjab Hindus started to leave. As she remarks, this "anticipatory migration" of March 1947 is largely ignored in the standard accounts, which convey the impression that the mass migrations began *after* the publication of Sir Cyril Radcliffe's boundary line in August. Another sharp contrast with Hodson's work is the way the British are portrayed. Hodson, who was personally involved in the handover, is, not surprisingly, complimentary of the imperial decision to leave—a "transfer of power" that culminated a long period of liberally motivated "devolution"—and about the way it was done. Khan starts with the assumption that the Raj was illegitimate and proceeds from there to demonstrate that the British exit was selfish, hasty, and ill-managed. Using A. P. Hume, the magistrate of Benares, as her main example, she pictures the late Raj as an institution that had run out of ideas and energy. While India burned, Hume spent much of his time agitating for an early release from a duty he had come to loathe. Generalizing, she writes: "The pressure of an imperial ending meant that some British colonial officials absolved themselves of responsibility for the crisis on their watch" (p. 79). Significantly, this is part of a section called "Placing the Blame." Indeed, if the book has a central theme, it is to destroy the idea that the June 3 plan represented a just compromise. The scheme "was wafer thin and left numerous critical aspects unexamined and unclear" (p. 4). More particularly, it took no account of the possibility of mass migration. At his June 3 press conference Mountbatten, quizzed about this, replied: "Personally I don't see it" (p. 100). His response is rightly condemned by the author as a terrible failure of intelligence and imagination. But then the Indian politicians are not treated too kindly, either. Nehru is accused of adding fuel to the fire with rabble-rousing rhetoric; Jinnah's insistence that his call for direct action in July 1946 was not an invitation to his supporters to use vi-

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olence is witheringly brushed aside; and other leaders are said to have been moved to act as much by "personal profiteering and local rivalries" (p. 47) as by broader nation-building aspirations. Most of all, what distinguishes this book from earlier general histories of 1947 is its resolute focus on the human story of partition. Khan wants to know, and wants us to know, how the great schemes worked out in the corridors of power in Delhi affected ordinary people. So she takes us to meet them, making full use of the wonderful collections of autobiographical writings and oral testimonies on partition that have become available since the 1990s. One of her findings is that right up to 1947 few Muslims outside the elite had any firm grasp of what a "Muslim homeland" might look like. Another is that, even after the partition plan had become public, many Indians failed to grasp its implications. Some were confident that the division would be reversed "within two years" (p. 92), others that the proposed border would pose no obstacles to travel back and forth. The suggestion here is not simply that people were ignorant of what lay in store for them, but that they were deliberately kept in the dark. The partition plan was put together without any "reference to the millions of people whose lives were being shaped" by it (p. 7).

One of the sources that Khan cites is a book by Ian Talbot, who is also acknowledged as an important mentor. Talbot's study is one of the new "microhistories" which has, in her view, led to the "seismic reappraisals of Partition" (p. 9) that have characterized the last decade. It is certainly that. A kind of comparative urban history of partition constructed around the experiences of two key Punjab cities, Lahore and Amritsar, Talbot's monograph is alive with pregnant details that can only be uncovered by research into the history of localities. Many of these have to do with the economies of the two cities, an aspect that has hitherto not received much attention in this context. Broadly speaking, Talbot shows that Hindus and Muslims in urban Punjab were separated by class as well as religion—an important insight. He then, however, proceeds to deconstruct this crude typology by demonstrating that "working practices were based on cooperation," as in the carpet industry, where advances of capital were made on trust by Hindu factory owners to Muslim master weavers, and in the shawl-making trade, where Hindu and Muslim embroiderers worked side by side (p. 18). Likewise, in pre-1947 city politics, appeals to caste and clan loyalties were as commonplace—or more so—than appeals to religion. But it is in his exposition of the spread of communal violence in Punjab that Talbot's mastery of the complexities of its urban geography really comes to the fore. General histories treat the Punjab massacres as a kind of province-wide descent into anarchy triggered by the publication of the June 3 plan. Talbot, like Khan, disrupts that chronology. He shows that, in Lahore, violence actually peaked in March 1947, with the savage attack on the largely Hindu Shah Almi quarter of the city. But then he qualifies this revisionist stance still further by drawing attention to the very different experiences of different parts of Lahore during this time. As Shah Almi went up in flames, the citizens of Model Town outside the city walls were playing tennis. Such insights pretty much rule out the older, stock explanation of the 1947 massacres as a spontaneous reaction brought on by panic and carried out in the heat of the moment.

But Talbot's book is not just about what happened during 1947; indeed its subtitle, which suggests a narrative from 1947 to 1957, rather sells the book short, since Talbot has quite a lot to say in his earlier chapters about the 1920s and 1930s, too—and there are even some flashbacks to the late nineteenth century. And these are not gratuitous, because they provide an essential context for the book's central thesis about the deleterious impact on social relations in Punjab of the growth of political and ethno-nationalist agendas in the 1940s. There is much evidence that until then (and even then in some places) Hindus and Muslims in Lahore and Amritsar coexisted in relative harmony. These connections, Talbot believes, explain why many people, particularly from the middle class, were reluctant to leave and hoped to be able to return soon. Nevertheless, they did not suffice to prevent the region's descent into civil war. Demonstrating how this composite and interlinked society was systematically torn apart, to the extent that at the height of the Partition violence identity in Lahore and Amritsar was "reduced to the physical signs of religious affiliation" (p. 24), is the book's singular achievement.

Talbot and Khan have greatly enhanced our understanding of the titanic events of 1947 in India. The former's more specialized work deserves a place on the bookshelves of all discerning South Asian academics; the latter's, in my opinion the best general account of partition we have had so far and also very readable, is likely to become a bestseller.

IAN COPLAND
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OCEANIA AND PACIFIC ISLANDS

RAELENE FRANCES. *Selling Sex: A Hidden History of Prostitution*. Sydney: University of New South Wales. 2007. Pp. x, 342. $39.95.

The first problem that confronted Raelene Frances when attempting a general history of prostitution in Australia since the days of the First Fleet was how to define such a protean phenomenon. Sensibly, she decided to cover not merely the strict exchange of money for a specified sexual service but all forms of sexual traffic between men and women that did not involve a steady and conventionally sanctioned marriage. Frances thus begins her story with the ritual loaning of women to traders from the Indonesian archipelago by Aborigines along the north coast long before white settlement, and continues it with a perceptive account of the informal liaisons that the few women among the convict transports were able to negotiate with their fel-

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low prisoners and, occasionally, with the officers. What might have looked irregular to the Victorians did not seem so to the convicts, drawn as they were from the riotous world of late Georgian London, not yet evangelized by the Clapham Sect. Common-law marriages and partnerships of varying duration in which a woman accepted material benefits and protection from a man in return for sexual access and emotional support remained a feature of the Australian social scene until well into the nineteenth century. Although such women were often called prostitutes by contemporary moralists and censorious historians, Frances argues that there is little to distinguish many of them from some of the idealized wives portrayed in American soap operas.

Turning to prostitution proper, Frances identifies four main phases of policy and practice. The first was from the gold rush of the 1850s to the early Federation period, when colonial governments tolerated and even encouraged prostitution. Luxurious brothels thrived in the capital cities, women followed the miners to rough outback camps, and hundreds of Japanese prostitutes, known as *karayuki-san*, provided surprisingly sophisticated services in port settlements, especially the pearling centers of the Northwest. Next came a period of repression, coinciding with increased state intervention in private life: the beginnings of what Thomas Szasz has called the "therapeutic state," which justifies infringements of personal freedom on the basis that they are necessary for personal or public health. By the time of World War I most states had passed laws restricting prostitution and banning brothels or confining them to obscure and unsavory corners of town where they naturally became entangled with criminal elements. Frances does not explain the reasons for the repressive turn other than in terms of a change in the moral atmosphere, perhaps arising from fear of venereal disease; one would like to know whether it was driven more by rent-seeking on the part of law enforcement agencies than by moral outrage. Whatever the cause, the outcome was massive police corruption and crime rackets that endured until the 1980s. What brought this phase to an end was nothing internal to Australia, but the arrival of a million or so American troops during World War II. Since they had to have women, prostitutes of all degrees and styles returned to favor, and even brothels reappeared.

During the next phase, covering the 1950s to the 1970s, prostitution remained illegal or semi-legal but was tolerated so long as it was not visible in the respectable parts of town or remained quarantined in red light districts—Sydney's Kings Cross and Melbourne's St. Kilda being the most notorious. At the time of World War I the specter of syphilis had been cited to justify coercive action against prostitutes, but thanks to penicillin this was no longer a problem, while condoms and the pill lessened fears of pregnancy. The festival did not last, but the paradoxical effect of AIDS, initiating the fourth phase in the 1980s, was to persuade governments to give prostitution fully legal status, thus allowing sex workers to form trade associations and to be recruited as frontline troops in the battle against HIV infection. Much of the credit for this development must go to the enlightened public health policies developed by the Commonwealth Minister for Health in the late 1980s, involving safe-sex education, encouragement of condom use (compulsory in brothels), winning the trust of people in at-risk categories, and refusing to demonize or penalize victims of the disease. The result has been that Australia has one of the lowest incidences of HIV infection in the world; there is negligible female to male transmission and, according to Frances, not a single recorded instance in which a female sex worker has infected a client, though in 2008 a male prostitute was prosecuted for infecting female clients.

Attempting as it does to cover 250 years and eight separate jurisdictions, each with its own laws, policies, and traditions, this book has an ambitious program, and it does not always provide the precision and detail that an academic reader might desire. It is, however, refreshingly sensible about sex and very good at dispelling a number of myths. Frances establishes beyond any doubt that the vast majority of women who embraced prostitution as a long or short-term career choice did so because it was a less onerous and more lucrative employment option than any others on offer; she dismisses most claims about the prevalence of sex slaves as prurient fantasy.

Preferring sensitive exposition over argument, Frances is at pains to be fair to all parties, although one consequence of such a worthy aim is that her book comes across as rather flat. Overall, however, it is a judicious, informative, and level-headed account of a sensitive subject.

ROBERT DARBY
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MARGARET TENNANT. *The Fabric of Welfare: Voluntary Organisations, Government and Welfare in New Zealand, 1840–2005*. Wellington, New Zealand: Bridget Williams Books. 2007. Pp. 274. NZ $49.99.

Margaret Tennant has written an elegant, broad survey of changes in the intersection in welfare provision between the state (largely one centralized entity after New Zealand abandoned its federal experiment in 1876) and voluntary organizations. She covers an area undervalued by many mainstream economists and politicians by dividing the book into four chronological sections: the nineteenth century; war and depression; the 1940s–1980s; and the late 1980s and beyond. These time blocks make sense in terms of New Zealand history in that welfare provision only developed slowly and erratically in the nineteenth century before evolving into a maximalist welfare state in the late 1930s. New Zealand enjoyed an international reputation as a flag bearer for the fully developed welfare state until the 1980s, when the Fourth Labour Government dismantled much of the edifice erected by the First Labour Government (1935–1949). Subsequent National and Labour governments have not returned to the full-fledged welfare

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state; New Zealand has steered a very different course into the twenty-first century from the one taken by the Scandinavian countries with which it was once compared.

Tennant highlights the important role played by women and churches in the earlier provision of welfare and uses stories of organizations and individuals to illustrate broader trends. These stories, incorporated in inserts, provide real insights even though they break up the narrative flow somewhat. Stories of organizations and individuals reveal that the lifetimes of both are often intimately connected. Most, with notable exceptions such as the Onehunga Ladies Benevolent Society and Patients and Prisoners' Aid Society, tended to have relatively short lives because they were products of a particular historical moment and met immediate needs peculiar to certain historical eras. Sometimes they depended so heavily upon the energy, vision, and determination of particularly powerful and influential individuals that they died with their founders.

The relationship between government and voluntary organizations has always been complex, ranging from fraught contestation for resources to mutual cooperation. Interestingly, politicians most associated with the development of the welfare state, such as Premier Richard John Seddon in the 1890s and Prime Minister Peter Fraser in the 1930s and 1940s, always realized that the state could not provide totally comprehensive welfare and admitted their dependence upon voluntary organizations to reach the needs of the poor, disabled, or dysfunctional. Race played a vital role in the New Zealand story as well, in that Maori welfare organizations tended to appear after the emergence of the welfare state rather than earlier, when the state largely left Maori to their own devices.

For all the paternalism, organizational rigidity, and ideological loading associated with earlier voluntary organizations, they did draw upon a widely shared notion of the importance of community service. Much of that impulse disappeared as women engaged in the paid work force and corporate-style models replaced older and simpler organizational forms. Men, meanwhile, still tend to leave the bulk of difficult caring roles to women. Ironically, bureaucracy has worsened rather than lessened as the state has retreated from broad-based welfare provision and volunteer numbers have declined.

Tennant's long-range study suggests that an urgent rethinking of the whole area of welfare provision by both state agencies and voluntary organizations is long overdue. The chances of improvement seem remote, however, until inappropriate models from big business or big government are replaced by something a little more human and less dependent upon fashionable, and all too often empty, jargon-ridden vision statements. Economists and other social scientists also need to develop ways of measuring the effectiveness and true cost of voluntary service so that politicians and policy makers will have to acknowledge the importance of such an endeavor.

Tennant uses an elaborate metaphor of weaving to tie her complex and multifaceted story together. This metaphor is relevant to both European women with their traditions of quilt making and Maori women with their flax weaving and production of intricate panels known as *tukutuku* on *marae* (Maori meeting houses). It is therefore suitably bicultural and apposite in gender terms, given that women have always dominated the membership of voluntary organizations and carried out the bulk of their important day-to-day work at the often sharp-edged interface between governments and communities. Remarkably, in telling the story of the complex and constantly shifting relationship between government and voluntary organizations, a story of interest to historians and welfare providers in many countries, Tennant has woven her fabric so skillfully that it flows seamlessly throughout this comprehensive, scholarly, and attractively produced work.

Tom Brooking
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CANADA AND UNITED STATES

Emma Anderson. *The Betrayal of Faith: The Tragic Journey of a Colonial Native Convert.* (Harvard Historical Studies, number 160.) Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 2007. Pp. xii, 303. $45.00.

Historians love cultural brokers. Whether they are "Atlantic creoles" operating at the interstices of the transatlantic slave trade or Amerindian translators negotiating the spaces between European empires, these individuals embody widely employed concepts of hybridity and agency. Emma Anderson narrates the life of someone who might seem a candidate for similar treatment: Pastedechouan, an Innu (Montagnais) man from the St. Lawrence River Valley whose life was intertwined with French missionaries in the early seventeenth century. But unlike celebratory accounts of cultural brokers, this book paints a much darker portrait of its main character. Reminiscent of James H. Merrell's reading of Andrew Montour in *Through a Glass Darkly: Reflections on Personal Identity in Early America* (1997), Anderson sees Pastedechouan as a man who partakes of two cultures only to be rejected by both. Instead of gaining power from his liminality, Pastedechouan experiences confusion, religious anomie, and ultimately death by starvation. It is a captivating story, compellingly told, even if it does not fulfill all of the author's historiographical claims.

Pastedechouan was probably born in 1608, the same year that Samuel de Champlain founded Quebec. In 1620 the Innu community allowed this twelve-year-old boy to be taken overseas by the Recollet missionaries who had arrived in the region five years earlier. The Innu hoped that Pastedechouan would serve as a liaison between themselves and the European newcomers; they likely did not anticipate that the boy would remain in France for five years. During his stay at a Recollet convent, Pastedechouan learned to speak, read, and

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write French and Latin. He was baptized and given the name Pierre-Anthoine in a dramatic ceremony attended by hundreds. He then returned to New France, his Recollet tutors brimming with hopes about the conversions he would gain among his Innu people.

Much in the first half of this book, through Pastedechouan's return to the St. Lawrence, is necessarily speculative. There is no mention of the Innu boy in French records prior to his departure in 1620, and nothing survives of his time in France, save a detailed account of his baptism. Anderson compensates for this by imagining what Pastedechouan's life was probably like, based on seventeenth-century missionary accounts and later ethnographies. Thus, in a construction repeated again and again, Pastedechouan "would have" learned to be a hunter and "would have" absorbed his people's understanding of the soul (pp. 22, 61). Most of Anderson's speculations are plausible; a few are problematic. Anderson describes the "paramount experience" of an Innu boy's life, his vision quest, but acknowledges in an endnote that there is no evidence from the early seventeenth century that vision quests were part of Innu life (pp. 34, 250 n. 59). The evidence comes from later ethnographies that Anderson "upstreams" to the seventeenth-century Innu. This is especially troubling in light of the interpretive weight Anderson places on Pastedechouan's presumed inability to perform a vision quest before he left for France, which she contends hampered his ability to reintegrate with his people when he returned (pp. 62, 130, 148).

Anderson has more detailed sources for the second half of the book. The missionaries—now Jesuits—wrote at great length about the young man who never fulfilled their goals. One in particular, Paul Le Jeune, nearly became obsessed with Pastedechouan's unwillingness to serve as a faithful missionary. Anderson brilliantly reads Le Jeune against the grain, finding evidence not only of Pastedechouan's ambivalence regarding Catholicism but also of Le Jeune's tortured mental state. Anderson also sensitively sketches several Innu characters, including Pastedechouan's three brothers and the shaman Manitougatche. But center stage belongs to Pastedechouan, who never fully readjusted to life among the Innu, even as he distanced himself from Catholicism. He starved to death, alone in the forest, in 1636.

Anderson makes numerous important contributions, especially in showing that Jesuits were not as relativistic as most historians assert. But in other ways the book does not "shatter historiographic stereotypes," as Anderson claims (p. 209). In its focus on the encounter between an Amerindian and a Jesuit, this book will remind many readers of Allan Greer's *Mohawk Saint: Catherine Tekakwitha and the Jesuits* (2005). Anderson, however, does not match Greer's subtle treatment of Catholicism. Despite her efforts to write in shades of "gray" rather than "black and white" (p. 209), Anderson's account of the Innu-French encounter is starkly dualistic. Whereas Innu religion is "sophisticated," "rich," "subtle," "complex and highly adaptive" (pp. 27, 60, 60, 62), Catholicism is "uncompromising" and "imperious," its missionaries work with "ferocity" in their campaign of "indoctrination," and their goals are "unrealistic, even laughable" (pp. 68, 121, 135, 114, 218). Rather than being innovative, this language recalls revisionists of the 1970s such as Francis Jennings and James P. Ronda.

Nonetheless, this is a thought-provoking book, gracefully written and vigorously argued. Its most enduring value is in introducing readers to Pastedechouan, not so much a cultural broker as culturally broken.

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TERRY L. ANDERSON, BRUCE L. BENSON, and THOMAS E. FLANAGAN, editors. *Self-Determination: The Other Path for Native Americans*. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press. 2006. Pp. xv, 332. $35.00.

Few subjects in North American legal history are as misunderstood as aboriginal sovereignty as it is recognized in Canada and the United States. The editors of the volume under review have collected ten essays by seventeen contributors addressing this unique and complicated legal concept. The thrust of the collection is that the "other path" for Native Americans is "the path of self-determination, individual ownership, investments in human and physical capital, and competitive achievement in the market economy" (p. ix). The essence of the argument is "that self-determination and sovereignty . . . will be fruitless if they only mean the transfer of political control from Washington and Ottawa to band and tribal authorities without limits on the sovereign. Self-determination must become economic as well as political" (p. ix).

Contributors to this collection hail from the United States and Canada and work in a variety of fields. This eclectic mix brings strengths and weaknesses to the book. First, the collective venture demonstrates the similarities and differences between how the United States and Canada have approached and continue to approach relations with their indigenous populations. Students of native studies will find that information valuable. On the other hand, the essays are very uneven in both the contributors' writing styles and their historical interpretations.

Some chapters are extremely dense, not written for the faint- hearted. For example, in discussing property rights, Bruce L. Benson wrote, "This theory predicts that property rights evolve when the benefits of creating rights (the internalization of externalities due to conflicting claims over and uses of a resource) are expected to exceed the costs (e.g., transaction costs of negotiating to voluntary solutions of a dispute over property, or the cost arising from the use or threat of force to assert and/or protect claims). Specifically, this chapter demonstrates that the economy of the preconquest Plains Indians, as well as much of the interaction between individuals, bands, and tribes in the Plains region, is ex-

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plained by the drive to create property rights in buffalo (and inputs to buffalo hunting such as horses and buffalo range), in the rich agricultural lands of the Plains river valleys, and in goods and resources that could be traded for the products of or inputs to the hunt, the products of horticulture, or the inputs to or products of warfare (e.g., captives traded as slaves)" (pp. 29–30). Although none of the chapters is written with a felicitous pen, the unevenness of the writing styles makes the book more of a labor than it needed to be.

Another unevenness is evident in the variances in the contributors' knowledge of North American native histories. On one level are the contributors such as Benson explaining that, contrary to accepted myth, pre-contact Indians were not careful environmentalists who waged war as a game. He writes that "a surprising number of academics apparently continue to believe that prior to European conquest, North Americans were environmental stewards who lived in peaceful communal societies characterized by common access property" (p. 29). He then cites, among others, the work of the controversial and, in some quarters, thoroughly discredited Ward Churchill (pp. 32, 33). I know of no serious student of Native American history who believes in the cited pre-contact myths.

Then on a completely different plane of knowledge, the chapter "Native American Property Rights in the Hudson Bay Region" is an informative, well-researched, readable essay that will engage its readers. Ann M. Carlos's and Frank D. Lewis's knowledge of their topic contributes positively to their historical interpretation. That is not the case with every essay.

To the essays' collective point—at least according to the editors, but not all essays seem to carry that theme—there is little doubt that sovereignty and self-determination have more than just political attributes. Economic freedom is clearly a requirement for prosperity, but "[n]otwithstanding their status as sovereign entities, Indian tribes do not have full control of their economic destiny" (p. 275). In another essay, Terry L. Anderson and Dominic P. Parker accurately point out that "trusteeship by the [Bureau of Indian Affairs] is a mixed blessing. On the one hand, it stopped Indian lands from being transferred to non-Indians; on the other hand, it continues to subject decisions regarding Indian use of Indian resources to a federal bureaucracy that may not always have the best interest of Indians at heart" (p. 163).

Thus, the very important question that this book raises is how to structure the relationships among the national governments and the indigenous nations that recognize the latter's political sovereignty *and* economic self-determinism without causing a loss of Indian resources, as happened with the Dawes Act of 1887, or an assault on Indian sovereignty, as occurred during the 1950s' Termination effort. Students of native histories will find this collection a valuable launching point from which to delve into that important issue.

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ROBERT B. KRISTOFFERSON. *Craft Capitalism: Craftsworkers and Early Industrialization in Hamilton, Ontario, 1840–1872.* (The Canadian Social History Series.) Buffalo, N.Y.: University of Toronto Press. 2007. Pp. x, 326. Cloth $70.00, paper $29.95.

Some of the most sophisticated literature on Canadian industrialization has focused on Hamilton. Located at the head of Lake Ontario, and until quite recently Ontario's second largest city, it had a wide industrial base that, over time, became more focused on iron and steel. Historians, including Michael Katz, John C. Weaver, Bryan D. Palmer, Craig Heron, and Paul Craven, have provided a rich and complex account of the process. Now Robert B. Kristofferson adds a close account of the city's craftsmen in the first phase of industrialization. The study has three rich empirical elements: an intensive study of crafts and industry as they are revealed in the manuscript schedules of the 1871 Census, an argument on industrial proprietorship based on constructed biographical files, and an extensive exploration of the culture of craftsmen drawn from the press and other literary sources.

Disagreeing with interpretations that emphasize dispossession, proletarianization, and loss, Kristofferson argues for a craft-led path to industrialization that sustained an optimistic industrial culture in his period. In 1871, almost all Hamilton industries were headed by men with practical working skills built through traditional craft training. In smaller establishments, the proprietor worked alongside and typically lived in close proximity to his employees. In the larger establishments, which accounted for most of the city's industrial value added, including the enormous shops of the Great Western Railway (an exception only in terms of scale and ownership), work was craft-based in ways that reinforced craft pride and craft-based hierarchies. In this system, men (and this was a male process) identified themselves not as members of a broad working class but as practitioners of a craft, who learned skills through a series of stages that they could reasonably hope would culminate in their achieving the substantial status of industrial ownership (including partnerships) or well-paid and well-respected supervisory and foreman positions in large workplaces. Their belief in this system was reinforced by a culture and institutions that emphasized what all members of the craft had in common and by the visible success of those who had gone before.

This argument is set within, and sometimes against, a wide range of international and Canadian literature. A particular target is Bryan D. Palmer's 1979 book, *A Culture in Conflict: Skilled Workers and Industrial Capitalism in Hamilton, Ontario, 1860–1914*, although Kristofferson sometimes caricatures what Palmer actually says. For example, he contends (p. 127, citing Palmer, pp. 56–57) that the latter claimed a "continuous presence" for trade processions from 1860. At those pages, Palmer argues exactly the opposite, and the quoted phrase (p. 58) follows a discussion of many activities, not just parades. Later, to sum up Palmer's

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analysis of the Nine-Hour Movement of 1872, Kristofferson (p. 213) combines in one sentence two phrases that are three pages apart in Palmer (pp. 128, 131), one that explicitly refers to "the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries" and the other a summary of two authors with whom Palmer explicitly disagrees (see p. 294, n. 37). Thus, the latter's sophisticated argument is substantially misrepresented.

In fact, what Kristofferson calls "master-man mutualism" (p. 111) bears considerable resemblance to Palmer's "manufacturer-mechanic alliance" (p. 245). The differences lie primarily in the language used (e.g., Kristofferson categorizes skilled workers in a distinct "hybrid class position of transmodalism" [p. 162]), and in the period addressed. Kristofferson's decision to end in 1872, at what both he and Palmer see as the crest of this culture, gives a different trajectory to the processes he addresses. Yet even then he situates Hamilton crafts workers "in the balance between two very different worlds," "capitalist and non-capitalist" (pp. 109, 110). Eventually, in precisely the period addressed by Palmer, he projects their destination as devalued skills and "the widespread abuses and immiseration of wage-earning" (p. 109) within "modern industry" (p. 19).

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ANDREW PARNABY. *Citizen Docker: Making a New Deal on the Vancouver Waterfront, 1919–1939.* (Canadian Social History Series.) Buffalo, N.Y.: University of Toronto Press. 2008. Pp. viii, 243. Cloth $65.00, paper $27.95.

Andrew Parnaby has written a local history of large events and big issues. The local history is about dockworkers and employers in Vancouver as the city grew and became Canada's major western port. The casual labor markets prior to the 1920s were characterized by frequent strikes and the union-crushing tactics of employers determined to protect their investments in new dockside technologies. Following the labor revolt of 1919, employers set about to decasualize the labor force and to stabilize class relations through a dockside version of welfare capitalism. A fragile stability disappeared in the Depression, and the waterfront strike of 1935 was the largest strike to have occurred in British Columbia since 1919. That strike ended in the destruction of another waterfront union, and the Shipping Federation set about to restore its fragile accommodation with defeated workers.

Parts of this local story have been told before, but no historian has painted these events onto so large a canvas. This book is about gender, Aboriginal workers, class relations, and the changing expectations of labor in the interwar period. It takes the study of welfare capitalism beyond the manufacturing sector, where it has been studied before in Canada, to the world of the stevedores, white and aboriginal, with their work gangs, hiring halls, and customary practices. Decasualization, Parnaby argues, was part of welfare capitalism, the employers' answer to the related problems of rootless single men, foreign-born radicals, and high labor turnover. The modest promise of welfare schemes began to attract a new type of dockworker, the stable married man living in South Vancouver, owning a house and perhaps a car. By the 1930s about seventy percent of the waterfront work force consisted of married men. Inherent in the accommodation with these new workers was the promise of a new citizenship, the reward for the sacrifices of the Great War. For the steady male breadwinner with his suburban home, citizenship came to mean a pension, medical benefits, and a "square deal." Parnaby concludes that a "cultural transformation" (p. 173) changed workers' expectations and underwrote Fordism and the welfare state as these emerged during and after World War II.

Welfare capitalism took a particular British Columbian turn because of the importance of Aboriginal men among dockworkers. In this racialized context constructing a new citizen docker meant excluding the Aboriginal, whose marginalization coincided with the rise of welfare capitalism. Welfare capitalism drew upon racialized notions of British citizenship, and also upon family values, familial metaphors, and male breadwinner norms. In the relatively strike-free 1920s the welfare project appeared to be working.

Parnaby sides decisively with those historians who insist that workers were not appeased by company-sponsored reading rooms, sport teams, joint committees, and family picnics. These accommodations not only failed to mitigate the harsh reality of class relations on the job; they also nourished expectations and contributed a rhetoric of entitlement that workers then used against their employers. The ideals embedded in the Shipping Federation's vision of industrial relations were used against the Federation itself. Into this vortex came Communist Party activists, articulating a virile fury that sustained the 1935 strikers. Parnaby gives us a persuasive, newly contextualized account of both the 1935 strike and the role of Communist Party leaders in that strike.

The rest of the 1930s saw the revival of company unionism, together with the survival of the citizen dockers' grievances and expectations. Parnaby wants to connect his study to the rise of the welfare state. While weaving both gender and race into his analysis, he insists upon "the critical role of class, as a socioeconomic presence and a daily lived experience" (p. 166) in shaping the cultural terrain of expectations on which a welfare state could build. Parnaby cites, by way of contrast with his own position, the view of Nancy Christie in *Engendering the State: Family, Work and Welfare in Canada* (2000) that the evolution of the Canadian welfare state had more to do with gender than with class imperatives. At this point the historian who sympathizes with Parnaby's view may well wish for more. The terminal date to his study is 1939 (we learn only a little about the late 1930s), and we need to know what became of the citizen docker and his manly expectations during World War II. If the expansion of the state was connected to a cul-

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tural transformation that was "gradual" (p. 173), then the transformation was still in process in 1935, and not completed even during the war. To ask for more is perhaps churlish, however, for this is a very fine book, deserving of a wide readership.

ERIC W. SAGER
University of Victoria

NICHOLAS GUYATT. *Providence and the Invention of the United States, 1607–1876*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2007. Pp. ix, 341. Cloth $75.00, paper $24.99.

This ambitious and important book charts the gradual process through which Americans came to believe that God had a special plan for their nation and the ways in which that conviction influenced political debates from the founding of the British colonies through the American Civil War. To argue that providential thinking played a significant role in the emergence of a distinct American identity is hardly novel, but Nicholas Guyatt goes far beyond previous studies of this subject, showing that different versions of providentialism competed with each other throughout the two centuries under examination. Guyatt distinguishes between historical providentialism (the notion that God set aside certain nations or peoples to play a special role in history), judicial providentialism (the conviction that God rewards and punishes nations based on their moral worth), and apocalyptic providentialism (the argument that contemporary history should be understood in terms of the narrative laid out in the biblical book of Revelation). The interweaving of these three strands in providentialist thought produced an intricate tapestry of self-analysis and self-aggrandizement, as the author demonstrates in a dense and yet lucid and engaging analysis.

Guyatt argues convincingly that the national providentialisms embraced by citizens of the United States grew out of an earlier sense of shared identity with the English. In the opening chapters, he shows how colonists positioned themselves within a transatlantic providentialist discourse that became increasingly fevered during the English Civil War and subsequent Revolution. Settlers in New England and elsewhere in North America were reluctant to ascribe any distinct providentialist significance to their New World enterprises and experiences, preferring to see these as part of a larger English narrative. Yet by the late seventeenth century, as English thinkers shrank from invoking providentialism because of its association with the upheaval of civil war, New England writers began to craft a providentialist version of their history that operated semi-independently of England. That new narrative focused on God's plan in bringing the Pilgrims across the Atlantic. It depicted British America as somewhat distinct from Britain and was much less flattering toward Britain than the earlier transatlantic version.

In eighteenth-century Britain, providentialist assertions were tempered not only by residual memories of seventeenth-century woes but also by worries about apparent demographic decline, poverty, and other signs of national decay, juxtaposed with an increasingly rosy and unnerving view of America's future. Meanwhile the events of the 1760s would make the inchoate sense of separate identity already present in American writings much more distinct and pugnacious. In contrast to scholars who have sought to highlight millennial strains of thought during the revolutionary period, Guyatt stresses the role played by historical providentialism in forging a broad patriot coalition against the British.

The second half of Guyatt's book charts the convoluted and often tortured role played by providentialist thought in debates over citizenship, Indian removal, and slavery that led eventually to the collapse of the union. In the closing years of the eighteenth century, a reconfigured version of transatlantic providentialism enabled by the French Revolution soon gave way to a westward vision of continental expansion in which Republicans anticipated the "Manifest Destiny" thinking of the 1830s and 1840s in a more nation-bound and yet expansive conception of historical providentialism. Guyatt argues that the providentialism of wrath evoked by abolitionists became absorbed in the aftermath of the Civil War into a new and convenient version of historical providentialism that depicted emancipation as absolving Americans of their one great sin, thus ensuring the restoration of God's favor. This postwar downplaying of judicial providentialism handily sidestepped the moral issues surrounding past and future treatment of blacks, enabling northerners and southerners to rediscover a sense of common identity at the direct expense of racial justice for African Americans.

Guyatt recognizes that political writers sometimes invoked providentialism as a rhetorical gesture that did not necessarily reflect sincere belief on their part, but he points out that authors such as Thomas Paine would hardly have deployed providentialist ideas in their writings if they had not believed that their readers found such ideas compelling. This argument makes good sense, yet it would have been helpful to see how the different versions of providentialism that Guyatt explicates from public writings and debates percolated into diaries, commonplace books, and personal correspondence. Scholars of the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries have uncovered an impressive range of personal sources that reveal the ways in which individuals absorbed and responded to public pronouncements and debates, political and religious. Guyatt makes a rather bald distinction between personal and national providentialism that would have made little sense to some early Americans. In seventeenth-century New England, for example, the idea of a federal covenant never operated in complete isolation from personal covenants with God. Some Americans came to see personal providentialism as "superstitious and backward" even though they still ascribed to national providentialisms, as Guyatt points out, yet others did not forsake such beliefs (p. 5). Guyatt has clearly chosen to focus on the ways in which national providentialisms shaped political debate, which is fair

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enough, but to operate on the assumption that political applications of providentialist thinking can be neatly separated from personal providentialism seems problematic.

Yet Guyatt's book succeeds admirably in reaffirming the importance of religious ideas in shaping public debates during the revolutionary period and as Americans contemplated the collapse of their nation in the middle decades of the nineteenth century. Guyatt shows providentialism to have been a dynamic, contested, and significant component of American political debate. His book should become an indispensable resource for scholars and students of political and religious history.

RICHARD GODBEER
University of Miami

MORTON KELLER. *America's Three Regimes: A New Political History*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2007. Pp. 336. $27.95.

In this book, Morton Keller, a distinguished political historian, gives us a well-written and engaging narrative of government since the American Revolution. The author uses the concept of political "regimes" as his organizing principle, but the value of the book is Keller's highly personal view of how the American state has changed since the eighteenth century and the lessons we might draw from that history in puzzling out contemporary political conundrums.

Regime theory is a broad term that has been applied in a variety of fields, ranging from international relations to constitutional law. Originally articulated by Robert Dahl in the 1960s, regime theory builds on a pluralist view of politics in which the issue of who wins and who loses is less important than the institutional structure that encompasses both the winners and losers. "The concept of a regime," Keller writes, "implies a *longue durée* view of history, commonly thought to be out of place in the quick-change, fast-paced American scene." Consistent with his previous work on political institutions, Keller's perspective examines how underlying political institutions act as an anchor for making sense of American political development.

Using this lens, Keller divides American political history into three eras. A deferential-republican regime, which encompasses the colonial and early national periods of American politics, was characterized by its tension between an old-world belief in natural elites' right to rule and the republican ethos of the new nation. The transition from Federalist to Republican dominance at the beginning of the nineteenth century did not represent a regime change because "Republican leaders Jefferson, Madison, and Monroe were no less steeped in the political culture of the eighteenth century than were Washington or Adams" (p. 66). Only with the rise of the Democratic Party of Andrew Jackson and Martin Van Buren in the 1830s did a party-democratic regime rise and dominate American politics for the next century. This regime weathered the Civil War, the political upheavals of the 1890s, and the Progressive era, only giving way in the 1930s to a populist-bureaucratic regime that de-emphasized parties in favor of direct appeals to the populace (enabled by the rise of the mass media) and the functioning of government bureaucracies to regulate the economy, social welfare, and civil rights.

Clearly, one can quibble with Keller's judgments about periodization. He goes to great pains to argue that the Civil War, while bringing about fundamental changes in the structure and scope of government, did not fundamentally challenge the dominance of parties and democracy. Keller runs into even greater difficulties in including Progressivism in the same political era. He argues that it represented only an "interlude" in the dominance of parties that stretched from Andrew Jackson to Herbert Hoover.

For Keller, then, it is primarily about political parties. During the deferential-republican regime, there always was a whiff of sedition in the work of political parties, as if in working for partisan success one was ignoring the public good. Along similar lines, the character of the populist-bureaucratic regime is defined by the ability of political actors to use the media and bureaucracies to get around political parties. While other institutions, especially the courts, get some notice, it is the role of political parties more than any other institution that defined the nature of regimes.

Given how momentous and infrequent these changes in regime are, Keller spends little time on the question of transition. Early on, he suggests that it took a series of major events, including the American Revolution, independence, and a variety of "economic and cultural forces released by independence and nationhood" to bring about the shift from deferential to democratic regime and "profound forces of change" including "the post-1945 transformation of American social and economic life, and the cultural upheavals of the 1960s and after" to displace parties with bureaucracies (pp. 4–5). Yet these events are largely treated as exogenous jolts to the system rather than as resulting from how the system itself works. It may be that the exclusive focus on government and parties makes it difficult for the author to incorporate these cultural, social, and economic forces into his analysis.

This may, however, be simply barking up the wrong tree. The value of this book is less in the framework than in the story. Keller is able to sustain his narrative across centuries. Using his own and other scholars' work, he sketches a story about American political development that is more engaging than the niceties of regime theory. Keller is not shy about drawing out the lessons and parallels of one historical period for another. Although he sometimes overdoes this, as when he draws out the parallels between the disputed elections of 1876 and 2004, the book is uniformly challenging and thought-provoking.

MARK J. STERN
University of Pennsylvania

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RONALD P. FORMISANO. *For the People: American Populist Movements from the Revolution to the 1850s*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2008. Pp. viii, 315. $35.00.

The challenge of defining populism and judging its proclivities for good or ill has bedeviled generations of scholars. In this sweeping survey from the American Revolution to the eve of the Civil War, veteran political historian Ronald P. Formisano stakes out a middle ground. Skirting precise definition, he considers as "authentically populist" any movement that arose from the grass roots, mobilized "masses of ordinary people," and in their name challenged the sway of "established or corrupt elites" (p. 3). Formisano aims to rescue these crusades from the condescension of history, or rather of historians. Without idealizing them, he holds that populist insurgencies have been, as a rule, neither quixotic nor destructive. Generally level-headed, and exhibiting often a mix of positive (egalitarian, feminist, leveling) and negative (intolerant, hypermasculine, xenophobic) impulses, they have on balance energized and refreshed rather than degraded American democracy.

Formisano rightly observes that Americans grounded their new polity in the useful fiction of popular sovereignty, the idea that "the people" had created government and were its only true masters. This conception practically invited the discontented to challenge authority whenever it, in their judgment, contradicted the people's real will. The predictable result was chronic instability, as one populist insurgency after another chased the chimera of a regime where the people would, truly and directly, rule.

Within this framework, Formisano narrates the careers of a series of self-anointed people's champions: Carolina and Massachusetts (Shaysite) Regulators, Anti-Federalists, the so-called Whiskey and Fries rebels, Jacksonian Workingmen's parties, Anti-Masons, 1840s Rhode Island Dorrite suffragists and New York Anti-Renters, and finally Know-Nothings. Some surprises make the list: the Democratic societies of the 1790s, an 1820s municipal reform movement in Boston. Other groups, such as antislavery agitators, that partook of populist rhetoric but apparently fail Formisano's standard of authenticity, receive more fleeting notice. So do such populist-inflected anti-authority campaigns as restorationist Christianity and homeopathic medicine. Despite some nods to "social movements," Formisano's populisms are essentially political.

Drawing heavily albeit selectively on previous scholarship (including his own), Formisano's mini-histories tread generally familiar narrative ground, at least for specialists. A certain novelty, refreshing or distracting according to one's tastes, derives from Formisano's frank branding of "progressive" and "reactionary" elements in his populisms—this despite some prudent cautions against anachronistic value-laden typologies. Formisano also uses his narrative to refight old scholarly battles, asserting again the predominance of nativism over antislavery in the early 1850s North and the shaping influence of Anti-Masonry on Jacksonian politics and reform. This latter constitutes a primary theme. Three of the book's eight narrative chapters, composing nearly one-third of the whole text, are about Anti-Masonry, an "unparalleled . . . mass enthusiasm" whose effect on "ratcheting up the prevalence of populist rhetoric, helping to moralize politics, and pushing citizens into participating" has been shamefully slighted by historians (pp. 91, 142). The Anti-Masons define Formisano's gold standard of populist authenticity: in sounding their own "radical populist" tone, Jacksonian Democrats merely "co-opted the rhetoric that Workingmen and Anti-Masons had been using against them" (p. 144). Perhaps so, yet that rhetoric was already flourishing before William Morgan's abduction set off the Anti-Masonic crusade in 1826, and continued to flourish in places that Anti-Masonry never touched.

Beyond some arguably uneven treatment and occasional ax-grinding, and complicating them, is the problem of deciding what is populism and what is not, and of distinguishing genuine populist movements from what Formisano acknowledges as a ubiquitous "populist rhetoric" or "populist style." From the American Revolution onward, nearly every social and political insurgency, and for that matter most governing establishments, claimed the mantle of popular sanction. How do we sort out the real thing from the pretenders? Imperfect as it is, the American system offered, and still offers, no better measure of popularity, no surer test of who really represents "the people" (or at least the enfranchised) than electoral politics. As Formisano shows, crusaders against politics-as-usual like the Anti-Masons and Know-Nothings quickly turned, willy-nilly, to political organization as the only means to attain their ends. They formed parties and contested elections, in which they scored some impressive but transient gains. Given the hurdles facing political newcomers and outsiders, the staying power of establishment and incumbency, one can gauge their showing as proof of real popular appeal. But then what of other insurgencies to which Formisano gives short shrift, in particular the anti-"aristocracy" Jacksonians of the 1820s and antislavery Republicans of the 1850s, movements that not only flourished but persevered, and triumphed? Were they, paradoxically, too popular to be populist? Is populism only authentic when it loses? Does everybody represent the people *except* successful political parties? While Formisano cannot be expected to resolve this conundrum, his failure to address it renders his claim to a comprehensive treatment of "American populist movements" somewhat problematic.

DANIEL FELLER
University of Tennessee

A. K. SANDOVAL-STRAUSZ. *Hotel: An American History*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 2007. Pp. 375. $37.50.

All scholars interested in the interrelationships among architecture, institutions, politics, economics, and cul-

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ture ought to read this excellent study. That it fills the longstanding need for an up-to-date scholarly history of the hotel is only the most obvious of its considerable achievements. Smoothly combining a wealth of empirical evidence with theories of space and hospitality, A. K. Sandoval-Strausz argues that the hotel was a distinctive and distinctively American institution because it contributed to the decoupling of people from place; reflected shifting American ideas about democracy, equality, and commerce; enabled a unique American mobility; modeled cultural tolerance; and constituted a radical transformation in hospitality. In making his case, he offers a model for a grounded cultural history as attentive to business strategy as it is to symbolism.

In the first section, the author supports his first three claims by examining the political and economic context in which the hotel emerged and its important role in westward expansion and commercial development between 1790 and the early 1900s. Arguing that architecture materializes political projects, the author offers an insightful reading of the ways in which hotels enacted both Federalist and Jacksonian agendas and could be used in ways at odds with the intentions of their builders. He illustrates the institution's practical and symbolic importance by examining the financing and locations of major hotels. His taxonomy of hotel types and explanation of their clienteles helpfully extends the literature beyond the usual focus on luxury hotels and wealthy travelers.

In the second section, Sandoval-Strausz lays out his evidence that hotels contributed to the development of modern social relations by transforming hospitality to accommodate the decoupling of people from place and to foster cultural tolerance. Analyzing spatial organization and labor relations, he shows that these institutions intended to create community among the uprooted strangers temporarily housed within their walls. Although earlier works have already addressed these issues, the author deploys an admirably wide range of evidence and spells out the implications: Far from fostering modernist anomie, the American hotel connected travelers with a national community. The author then turns to the legal history of public accommodations to reveal both the everyday uses (and abuses) of hotels and the conversion of what had been travelers' privileges into citizens' rights. A survey of the efforts of hotel managers to minimize illicit sexual activity, theft, and violence within their walls follows.

The third section explores the influence of hotels as "engines of modernity" (p. 229) within U.S. society. Through an ingenious analysis of three guest registers, Sandoval-Strausz maps hotels' hinterlands to demonstrate their role in linking local, regional, and national networks. Traveling salesmen, hotel décor, and trade association and political meetings all helped to build these networks. Next, he shows how the hotel modeled new types of housing, notably the apartment building. In the final chapter, the author most directly addresses the tension between exclusion and openness that runs throughout the book by focusing on legal arguments and court decisions on racial segregation, chiefly of African Americans and Jews.

While admiring the breadth of the author's vision and depth of his research, I have a few quibbles. His emphasis on the uniqueness of American mobility seems questionable, given the lack of research on comparable settler societies and the fact that American travelers were only among the more privileged of a broad range of people on the move—willingly and unwillingly—in the nineteenth century. I would also have liked a sustained discussion of "modernity" and the implications of Sandoval-Strausz's analysis for the continued use of that well-worn concept. More attention to the workings of gender within the economic and political context that he has so ably detailed would connect the chapter on hotel crime more closely to the larger analysis.

This excellent book suggests many questions for future researchers. For example, the author ends his work in the early twentieth century (except for the few pages on desegregation) with the assertion that hotels successfully adapted to the rise of automobiles and motels. Just how they did so is a worthy topic. Sandoval-Strausz's skill in demonstrating the interaction of the local and the national and the mutual constitution of hotel and political economy should encourage others to ask how the worldwide adoption of the American-style hotel transformed local conditions and was transformed by them. (Annabel Jane Wharton's *Building the Cold War: Hilton International Hotels and Modern Architecture* [2001] offers one fascinating response to this question.) In short, the text under review proves that focusing on this institution offers a concrete means of examining the mobilization of people, resources, and ideas and the meaning of that mobilization. That is a welcome achievement at a time when globalization talk is both rife and glib.

CATHERINE COCKS
School for Advanced Research

ERIC JAY DOLIN. *Leviathan: The History of Whaling in America*. New York: W. W. Norton. 2007. Pp. 479. $27.95.

Eric Jay Dolin is a writer, not a historian, a distinction he himself made when giving a book talk at Mystic Seaport several months ago. His skill as a writer provides this book's strengths, while his shortfalls as a historian are the source of its greatest weaknesses. The book is a highly readable history of whaling in America. Dolin wisely chose two top whaling experts to review his manuscript: David Littlefield at Mystic Seaport Museum and Michael Dyer, formerly at Kendall Whaling Museum and now at New Bedford Whaling Museum. Having such learned and careful scholars go through his manuscript saved it from egregious errors. The few mistakes concern finer details rather than broader themes. For example, in describing New Bedford as the "nation's whaling capital," Dolin states: "Riggers set thousands of square feet of sails" (p. 213). Riggers set up the

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standing rigging and ran the running rigging of whaleships, but sailors generally set the sails.

The book's purpose is to tell the story of American whaling for a general audience. With such a purpose, it will inevitably be to some extent lacking in originality. What is more bothersome is that Dolin seems to treat all sources as equally trustworthy. For example, he footnotes his discussion of the economic importance of whaling to the well-respected *In Pursuit of Leviathan: Technology, Institutions, Productivity, and Profits in American Whaling, 1816–1906* (1997) by Lance E. Davis et. al., and to Samuel Eliot Morison's long superseded *Maritime History of Massachusetts, 1783–1860* (1921), without distinguishing between the two.

Dolin makes no effort to quote the most accurate or definitive edition of important works, rather citing such undistinguished or questionable ones as the 1986 Bantam edition of Herman Melville's *Moby Dick* (p. 375) rather than the 2001 Northwestern-Newberry edition. He takes a Ralph Waldo Emerson quotation from the outdated secondary work, A. B. C. Whipple's *Yankee Whalers in the South Seas* (1973), originally published in 1954, rather than quoting Emerson directly (p. 401, n. 18). He also uses the term "historian" indiscriminately, labeling Nathaniel Philbrick (p. 69), Richard Ellis (p. 72), Daniel Vickers (p. 123), Elmo Paul Hohman (p. 222), Joan Druett (p. 236), Briton Cooper Busch (p. 280), and John R. Bockstoce (p. 331), among others, as "historians." Vickers and Busch are acknowledged historians, but Ellis is generally considered a naturalist and illustrator, Philbrick was trained as a journalist, Hohman was an assistant professor of economics when he penned *The American Whaleman: A Study of Life and Labor in the Whaling Industry* (1928), Druett was a secondary school teacher of English and biology before becoming interested in women at sea, and Bockstoce is an adjunct curator at the New Bedford Whaling Museum.

Dolin's use of the scholarship of others raises some questions. His six-page discussion of the Stone Fleet at the beginning of chapter seventeen is remarkably like my "Herman Melville, the Stone Fleet, and the Judgment of History," published in *The Log of Mystic Seaport* in 2004. Although he never cites my piece, Dolin uses the same sources and structures his argument in the same way. His discussion of the women who interacted with whalers is also close to those of Briton Cooper Busch and Margaret Creighton. Although he references both scholars elsewhere, he does not cite them in these passages.

The book contains many rousing stories. Dolin's account of the mutiny aboard the whaleship *Junior* is engrossing. Part of what makes his account so strong is his use of primary sources; Dolin cites only one secondary work, Chester Howland's *Thar She Blows!* (1951). However, somewhat disconcertedly, Dolin often engages his readers with an exciting tale, only to undermine it by telling us that it is apocryphal. The harrowing account of a mystery ship strewn with men frozen to death thirteen years earlier (p. 129), the playing of "The World Turned Upside Down" by the British band at Lord Cornwallis's surrender to George Washington (p. 166), Thomas Welcome Roys's "ride on a whale's back" (p. 229), and Ann Johnson's reasons for hiding her gender and shipping as a whaleman (pp. 238–239) are but a few examples. The lack of analysis and contextualization leaves the reader at somewhat of a loss as to why these apocryphal stories are included.

Dolin covers the history of American whaling from the beginning of European contact until the last square-rigged whaling voyage in 1924. Readers interested in a general overview of whaling will find this book eminently satisfactory. Unlike other works on whaling, Dolin includes social, political, and economic history within a single volume. Readers interested in serious scholarship on the history of whaling, however, should look elsewhere.

MARY K. BERCAW EDWARDS
University of Connecticut

ANDRÉS RESÉNDEZ. *A Land So Strange: The Epic Journey of Cabeza de Vaca*. New York: Basic Books. 2007. Pp. xiv, 302. $26.95.

Mesmerized by indigenous peoples' stories, some scholars look askance at storytelling by their own kind, or narrative history. Andrés Reséndez admits that this engaging project empowered him with "an enormous appreciation for the craft of the storyteller" (p. 8). It shows. Along with a sprightly and probing narrative, Reséndez provides telling endnotes, some of them essays a page or more long, that enable his readers to relate to the lives and deaths of the story's characters in times and places so remote from our own.

This stranger-than-fiction story of a sixteenth-century Spanish conquest gone cruelly wrong winnowed three hundred expeditionaries to a scarce four survivors: Álvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca, two other Spanish officials, and a Moroccan black slave. The process, deftly related at every turn by Reséndez, began with eager recruitment in Seville, a comfortless Atlantic crossing, desertion and a hurricane in the Caribbean, and the colossal navigational errors that put them on the wrong shore of the Gulf of Mexico in April 1528. Four months slogging about northwestern Florida, fatal to fifty of them, the remainder's all-or-nothing escape on ingeniously constructed rafts, being rudely beached on the Texas coast, and the resulting horrendous die-off were but a preamble to seven more unbelievable years.

For six of those years, the castaways lived among the native peoples of southeastern Texas, mostly in loose but painful bondage. Reséndez neatly balances the oddities and the commonalities of the parties to this unplanned encounter, observing that for Cabeza de Vaca and the others, "their lives depended on the commonalities" (p. 140). During their final year, as these four aliens trekked below the Rio Grande into present-day Mexico to cross the continent by an indirect looping route north and west, they re-emerged as persons of status in a new world—as healers and shamans—all but unrecognizable to their fellow countrymen.

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The author is evenhanded throughout, calling nasty conquistadors like Pánfilo de Narváez nasty, yet characterizing rank-and-file expedition members as ordinary folk who, like colonists and migrants everywhere, sought a new and better life elsewhere. Even at that, many English-speaking readers conditioned by the centuries-old Black Legend portraying Spaniards as uniquely bigoted, cruel, and greedy will cast the story in that light. Today, in New Mexico, certain Hispanic descendants of such colonists go too far in their efforts to combat the Black Legend, excusing their ancestors too readily. It is a sensitive matter of degrees: yes, they may have acted badly, but not *that* badly.

Reséndez's story, first told in Cabeza de Vaca's own *Narrative* and the lesser known *Joint Report* by the three Spaniards, is greatly enhanced by the scholarship of others which the author readily acknowledges. He cites particularly Rolena Adorno and Patrick C. Pautz's three-volume *Álvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca: His Account, His Life, and the Expedition of Pánfilo de Narváez* (1999), which he credits as the single most important source for this book. Occasionally he takes issue with Adorno and Pautz, and more often with other sources, advancing alternative suggestions from "recent findings on the archaeology, climate, geography, botany, and population history of North America" (p. 7) to clarify the castaways' route, their motivation, and the human and physical landscapes through which they passed.

Reséndez's innate curiosity adds richness of detail to the story. The rafts, for example, fascinated him. What kinds of wood, oakum, and caulking must the remaining 250 weakened men have used? How heavy a load would each of the five rafts have to carry, and how much would each weigh? Using Cabeza de Vaca's estimate of a seven-inch freeboard and applying Archimedes's principle, Reséndez reckons that each raft weighed just over fifteen tons. And who of us knew that there are more varieties of mosquitoes in Texas than in any other state, including Alaska? Sixteen good maps and almost as many illustrations lend a graphic dimension to the narrative. Finally, the author offers an exhaustive, nineteen-page bibliographical essay.

Perhaps on the basis of Reséndez's vivid retelling, the Roman Catholic Church should consider the canonization of Álvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca. As with other saints, the royal treasurer found himself quite literally stripped of worldly cultural advantage, reduced to a desperate belief that God was refining and saving him for a special purpose. Although he and his Spanish companions strictly avoided attributing to themselves miracles or the status of demigods, which would not have sat well with the Spanish Inquisition of their day, all the attributes are there. Nothing was more miraculous than their survival. And Cabeza de Vaca's conversion to a gentle, participatory Christianization of all humankind and his lifelong martyrdom because of it are bound to play well in Rome today.

JOHN L. KESSELL
University of New Mexico

RICHARD FLINT. *No Settlement, No Conquest: A History of the Coronado Entrada*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press. 2008. Pp. xviii, 358. $29.95.

Richard Flint has contributed yet another book to the historiography of the Francisco Vázquez de Coronado expedition of 1540–1542. Drawing on research in Spanish archives and documents that he has published elsewhere, the present volume has obvious strengths and weaknesses. Since the 1930s and 1940s, when A. Grover Day and Herbert E. Bolton published their works on Coronado, the story has changed little. Flint examines probable motives and behaviors of the expedition's personnel and the tribes they encountered but, in that regard, does not change what we know about the expedition. He does, however, offer assumptions about how and why things went the way they did as the expedition meandered its way from the western Mexican coast to the Kansas plains via Sonora, Arizona, New Mexico, Texas, and Oklahoma.

Some of his explanations are insightful, but most are familiar and similar to what Bolton, Day, and other scholars have written. Perhaps Flint's most interesting interpretation is his suggestion regarding the location of Moho. During the Tiguex War, in the winter of 1540–1541, the expedition attacked Moho and nearby pueblos. For over a century, historians and archaeologists have speculated about the location of Moho, Arenal, and Coofer. Twice in his book, Flint states that Moho is possibly the Basalt Point Pueblo ruins at Santa Ana Mesa. If correct, he has unlocked a door that will lead to new knowledge about both the expedition and the other pueblos that existed along the Río Grande in present-day Albuquerque. Flint, however, does not adequately support his suggestion, and some readers may disagree with him because the descriptions he offers are characteristic of the area for at least forty miles.

Flint's style is engaging. He is strongest when his arguments are supported by the documentation he has analyzed and when he writes about the material culture of the period as it applies to the expedition. He is weakest when he strays from analyst to narrator. That is a risk he chose in deciding to write an interpretive history in which he, as historian, goes beyond his analyses and offers opinions and assumptions about the expedition. Historiographically, Flint adds a few new facts that augment the level of detail concerning the expedition. While the number of Coronado's men is common knowledge, for example, Flint has found several more heretofore unidentified Spaniards and has added their names to the muster rolls. These additional facts will not change the story but may lead to a better understanding regarding problems faced by the expedition at Tiguex. Any increase in the number of people on the expedition, for example, would support the aggravating effect the demand for food, lodging, and blankets had on the pueblos. When the expedition arrived at Tiguex, it was unprepared for the freezing temperatures of the winter of 1540–1541. As Bolton and Day did, Flint explains how confrontation turned to violence.

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Some readers will likely be sensitive to the tone applied in the narrative, but Flint is critical of how history is written. He recognizes that it is unfair to apply our present-day values across time, language, and culture. At the same time, he explains that our values have also evolved cumulatively from historical experiences. The expedition's history should not be an exception. It is a truism that all European powers that met American Indians dealt with the tribes in almost the same way, although their styles may have differed. Indian policies of extermination, removal, or expulsion from Jamestown and Plymouth (1607 and 1620, respectively) to Wounded Knee (1896) certainly show that the Spanish practices were not unique. Otherwise, Flint admonishes those who would offer biased and judgmental interpretations of historical events: "If the aim of historical research and writing is to increase understanding of the breadth and depth of past human behavior and reveal it as a guide for future actions, then partisan, nationalistic, or chauvinistic glorification, promotion, and justification are to be avoided as much as possible" (p. 247). There is more to Flint's book than meets the eye, and I recommend it to the general reader.

Joseph P. Sanchez
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Paul Kelton. *Epidemics and Enslavement: Biological Catastrophe in the Native Southeast, 1492–1715.* (Indians of the Southeast.) Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 2007. Pp. xxii, 288. $50.00.

The issue of the contact population size of Native North America and the causes for its apparent collapse in the first generations following the meeting of the peoples of previously separate hemispheres is hotly contested. It is a subject of interest to numerous specialists in both the biological and the social sciences. In the past half century, thanks to the slow and methodical work of archaeologists, historians, and epidemiologists, we know much more about the approximate size of some population groups and the nature of nutrition and autochthonous diseases, as well as those introduced into North America from the outside. Although there is general agreement that populations were larger than assumed in the first half of the twentieth century, there is less concurrence about the nature and relative value of various causes for population decline and for its timing.

Contributing to the debate, Paul Kelton is clearly on the side of the societal rather than the biological camp. "An examination of the disease ecology of the Native Southeast indeed leads to a conclusion that biological forces necessarily depended on colonialism's economic aspects" (p. 3). Key to evaluation of the transference and impact of epidemics is, of course, the disease ecology prior to and after contact. This Kelton sketches broadly, regressing chronologically to the shift from hunters and gatherers to agriculturalists. America was not a virgin, disease-free paradise; rather its people were riddled with disease and malnutrition and prone to infection.

In contrast to those who see an early introduction of Old World diseases into the Southeast, Kelton's review of the evidence leads him to conclude that "the vast majority of indigenous peoples in the Native Southeast escaped catastrophic epidemics during their early experience with the European invasion" (p. 73), at least until about 1568. He does admit that the disease impact of the Columbian Exchange came with St. Augustine's founding and the introduction of the mission system. But he sees little likelihood that disease spread far beyond those mission towns. The mission system was detrimental to the well being of Natives as a consequence of the requirement to wear clothes, limitation of traditional bathing, the founding of towns, wider exchange of goods, and the destruction of buffer zones that had kept groups in isolation from each other. Kelton suggests that malaria was the only European disease to have an impact during this early period.

In the initial of the two largest chapters of the book (sixty pages each), based on extensive archival research rather than on a review of secondary literature, Kelton explores what he believes to be the most important factors leading to Native depopulation: slave raids and smallpox. Key was increasing English settlement in Virginia and the Carolinas, and their interest in trade with the Amerindians. In addition to furs and deerhide, the English were intent on acquiring native slaves. In the decades leading up to the disastrous "Great Southeastern Smallpox Epidemic," which began in 1696, the English had built up a network of Native communities that were interconnected as never before by trade. Commerce led to increasing warfare, the capture of enemies for the slave trade, elimination of buffer zones, resettlement, and a breakdown in native patterns of subsistence. He sees this epidemic as a likely consequence of introduction of the virus by recently arrived young, infected African slaves. Contributing to the passage of the epidemic by the 1690s was the growth of the Creole population. Although suffering from malaria, typhoid, and other maladies, Creoles had until now largely escaped the common European childhood communicable diseases. They hence served, along with the Native southeasterners, as a reservoir of susceptibles highly vulnerable to smallpox. The consequence especially for Native Americans was "massive mortality" (p. 145), and consolidation and reconstitution of Indian ethnic entities. The impact was experienced generally, but some more isolated regions escaped in a pattern similar to late seventeenth-century smallpox mortality elsewhere in the Americas where sharp variations were experienced. Exact measurement of the mortality of this epidemic and subsequent ones, in spite of much more detailed evidence than for the protohistorical period from contact, is impossible. Unfortunately Kelton is forced to rely on arguments not dissimilar to those of others who have tried to estimate the impact of the epidemic, using words such as "possibility," "highly likely," "probable," and "suggesting" (all on p. 146). Kelton points out in the subsequent chapter on the epidemiological origins of the Yamasee War, 1700–1715, that the im-

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pact of disease not only continued, it intensified. By 1715, argues Kelton, "up to 90 percent of the Coastal Plain and the Piedmont's original indigenous population had been swept away by germs and violence associated with English colonialism" (pp. 177–178), leaving the Cherokees as the sole large entity.

Some generalizations are suspect; for example, "Plague bacilli . . . arrived not by way of the Columbian Exchange but as a biological invasion from China [in the late nineteenth century], the ecological significance of which Eurocentric scholars have underappreciated" (p. 33). And at times interpretations are questionable. Kelton, referring to the mid-1560s French attempt to establish a base at Fort Caroline, Florida, found that the settlers were in good health for the first two months but then fell ill. "According to one French account fire and a drought left many fish dead, causing a 'putrefaction in the air,' hardly a diagnosis strongly suggesting one disease or another but fairly typical of European explanations for the cycles of chills and fevers also known by the Italian words for bad air, *mal aria*" (p. 74). Use of the term malaria as a specific disease does not come until the end of the nineteenth century. "Bad airs" were seen as a cause of contagious sickness, and many sixteenth-century Spanish medical treatises point to miasmas, putrid standing water, and foul air as the source of many diseases, including plague.

Kelton convincingly argues that the trade in Native slaves was one of the principal factors leading to the transfer and heavy mortality of European communicable diseases beginning in 1696, and his careful evaluation of its impact on the dozens of ethnic entities in the Southeast is exceptional. Although he makes a case for the absence of Old World disease—except malaria—in the period from first contact to 1696, he is unlikely to convince all readers. There was substantial Amerindian mortality in Spanish Florida prior to that date—and documentary evidence of smallpox and measles—just as there was for New England. The debate continues, and Kelton's compelling contribution should stimulate further research and refinement of arguments.

Noble David Cook
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Daniel S. Murphree. *Constructing Floridians: Natives and Europeans in the Colonial Floridas, 1513–1783.* Gainesville: University Press of Florida. 2006. Pp. 188. $55.00.

The title of this slim volume is inaccurate. In Florida history, the colonial period runs not from 1513 to 1783 but from 1565, when St. Augustine was founded, to 1821, when in both governorships the flag of the United States replaced the flag of Spain. "The Colonial Floridas" of the title are a synecdoche for a "borderless international zone" (p. 5) that stretches around the Gulf of Mexico to include Louisiana but, in this volume, fails to reach up the Atlantic Coast, although the colony's first capital was in present-day South Carolina and its missionizing mandate landed Jesuits in Chesapeake Bay. The title suggests that they go back to 1513, whereas the plural form dates only from 1763, when the British, putting their Seven Years' War spoils in order, split a 200-year-old colony into East and West. Finally, the title assumes that both Natives (meaning Indians) and Europeans (meaning colonists) lived in a *colonial world*, whereas colonists were in the Southeast by sufferance, and their settlements were enclaves of extraterritoriality in an *Indian world*—a condition that held even when there were over 26,000 Christian Indians in north Florida and coastal Georgia.

The number of primary sources that Daniel S. Murphree has assembled and searched is staggering: virtually everything written between 1517 and 1783 about the Gulf South, in French or English, that found its way into print, and a large part of the Spanish output, much of it in English translation. His bibliography includes travel accounts, promotional pamphlets, reports of military campaigns, relations of expeditions, Garcilaso de la Vega's fictionalized *Historia de la Florida* (1605), propaganda, multivolume documentary collections, memorials, histories, chronicles, reports and accounts by naturalists, traders, Indian agents, and a surveyor—anything one could ask for, short of sermons, or in this case, short of confessionaries and histories of martyrs.

Printed materials, of course, tell only the marketed parts of the story. For many, perhaps most, places and times, the past must be constructed, if at all, out of the unpublished correspondence of governors, treasury officials, regular and secular clergy, officers, ranchers, merchants, chiefs, and anyone else with a reason to write what others may have reasons to save. Scholars who do not personally go to the archives to read these less accessible sources must rely on the monographs and articles of those who do. Ruling out secondary sources means closing the door to the richness of the record. In this volume the penalty for neglecting to read monographs is a misjudging of the seventeenth-century mission provinces, the only places where Indians were part of the *colonial* enterprise. Piecing together a patchwork of quotations from unrelated times and places and concentrating on those mission ventures that did not get off the ground and those wild peoples who sought refuge, not indoctrination, under the guns of the fort, the author questions the success of conversion and labels Spain's efforts to Christianize the Indians a failure, forgetting what actually brought the missions to an end: the slave raids of Creeks with English firearms during Queen Anne's War (1702–1713).

Unmoved by the concerns of comparative literature, the author does not examine his sources for signs of intertextuality. He does not ask when a book first appeared, nor who read it. His is not a study of how ideas spread. He simply asserts that, over time, similar experiences with Indian peoples added up to a colonial consensus that he calls "racialization," defining it as a pre-racist way of thinking that allowed the colonists to blame their insufficiencies on the Indians. The author's arguments in support of this unconvincing thesis are so qualified that the reader is driven to wonder whether it

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was an afterthought, imposed upon a file full of quotations about the "nature" of Indians, collected with no particular point in mind.

As the author sorts his quotations into chapters about the idyllic Florida environment, the early disillusionments, the Spanish failure, the French entry, and the British entry, but not the Spanish return, every expression of "otherness," positive or negative, points in the same direction toward a kind of uniformitarianism in which Spanish, French, and British observers unconsciously develop the same attitudes and say the same things about Indians who are essentially interchangeable. In this simple analysis, there is no need to consider topics like Stone Age economics, the rights of "barbarians," the tendency of Europeans to look down on hunters and gatherers in favor of farmers, the long period when "otherness" was primarily religious, or Native ideas about the "nature" of Europeans.

Had Murphree begun his study in the late seventeenth century, when the missions were winding down and the Gulf was becoming the focus of settlement, and had he ended it with the Louisiana and Florida purchases of the early nineteenth century, he could have stayed within his areas of expertise. Had he taken more care, he could have caught a hundred typos. Most of his readers will be too appreciative to cavil. This compendium of quotations with its ample supporting bibliography is a gift to the field of Gulf South studies, in which the later colonies come into their own.

Amy Turner Bushnell
John Carter Brown Library

Andrew McMichael. *Atlantic Loyalties: Americans in Spanish West Florida, 1785–1810*. Athens: University of Georgia Press. 2008. Pp. xii, 226. $22.95.

Florida's eighteenth and nineteenth-century northern hinterlands have long attracted the attention of historians interested in understanding how backcountry areas shaped imperial competition and societal development in North America. Guided by Daniel H. Usner's *Indians, Settlers, and Slaves in a Frontier Exchange Economy: The Lower Mississippi Valley before 1783* (1992) and its ground-breaking "frontier exchange" paradigm, historians as diverse in interests as Samuel C. Hyde, Jr., in *Pistols and Politics: The Dilemma of Democracy in Louisiana's Florida Parishes, 1810–1899* (1996), and James G. Cusick, in *The Other War of 1812: The Patriot War and the American Invasion of Spanish East Florida* (2003), have explored the economic, cultural, and political factors that promoted both assimilation and revolution along the peninsula's northern margins. Andrew McMichael addresses these same issues in the work presently under consideration, a study that incorporates modern historiographical themes while at times reverting to perspectives held by historians of past generations.

McMichael's work examines Baton Rouge and its surrounding communities in the Spanish province of West Florida between 1783 and 1810. During this period, hundreds of Anglo-American settlers migrated to the region, plantation agriculture increased, and Spanish control ultimately ended due to a resident uprising known as the West Florida Revolution. The author primarily focuses on why most Anglo-American settlers in the district remained loyal to Spanish authorities for almost two decades and then, by force of arms, abruptly proclaimed their independence. He concludes that counter to "nationalist" historians' viewpoints of the past, these settlers did not object to Spanish rule or administrative structures but decided to rebel only when economic constraints began to limit their property-holding opportunities. In order to make his case, McMichael refutes past interpretations of these events based on Frederick Jackson Turner's "frontier thesis," rejects *la leyenda negra* (Black Legend) perspectives that have demonized Spanish colonization in North America, and embraces an "Atlantic world context" for better understanding "Latin American, African, Caribbean, European, and American" influences in the region (pp. 2, 5).

Overall, McMichael succeeds in providing an updated assessment of the Baton Rouge district under Spanish rule. His analysis is more objective regarding Spain's administration of the region than those of many past investigators. Slavery is examined in much greater detail than in previous accounts and the author ably supports his claim that the presence of a vibrant Spanish legal culture "places West Florida . . . in something of an exceptional position with regard to U.S. history" (p. 42). In his evaluation of the Kemper brothers and their attempts to promote upheaval in West Florida, the author deftly explores the nature of morality, banditry, and class antagonisms in borderland communities, finally asserting that the Kempers represent "the failed frontier settler who turned to crime as a means of existence" (p. 78). Significantly, McMichael's interpretation of the roles played by property value fluctuations and related governmental policies clearly shows the influence of economic considerations on settlers' national loyalties. Though West Florida rebels may indeed have respected and even enjoyed being ruled by a Spanish monarch, their lust for land ultimately led to the revolt.

On occasion, however, the book replicates practices characteristic of traditional studies the author derides. "Great man" theory is evident in McMichael's depiction of Carlos de Grand-Pré, Spanish governor of the Baton Rouge district from 1799 to 1808. According to the author, due to Grand-Pré's family connections and prominent social status, the impact of "his death on West Florida cannot be overestimated" (p. 155). Without Grand-Pré, "the people's relationship" to the Spanish government "began to collapse" and settlers "lost the personification of their loyalty to the Spanish Crown" (p. 156). Such an assessment undermines the economic, legal, and cultural factors much of the book's content advances as the key reasons for revolution. Also reminiscent of older studies is the author's treatment of native peoples. McMichael contends that ac-

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cording to the "records," Indians' "part in the frontier economy of the district did not reach a level meriting much note" (p. 14) Yet this perspective neglects the presence of *petites nations* Indians who, according to Usner, Robin F. A. Fabel, and others, functioned in a variety of notable capacities in the region, at least into the late eighteenth century. In addition, did the sizeable Choctaw nation, inhabiting West Florida lands in present-day Mississippi, not influence affairs in Baton Rouge? Did the deerskin trade, and the vital role southeastern Indians played in it, not affect prices, labor, and capital in the district? Finally, how much influence did the fear of regional natives have on the allegiances of Anglo-American settlers in Baton Rouge?

Although the book sheds little light on these latter issues, it does show the benefits of re-evaluating places like Spanish West Florida through a borderlands and Atlantic World perspective. Equally important, McMichael demonstrates that studying such areas reveals new insights into the meanings of colonialism and independence in North America.

DANIEL S. MURPHREE
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CAMERON B. WESSON. *Households and Hegemony: Early Creek Prestige Goods, Symbolic Capital, and Social Power*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 2008. Pp. xxviii, 228. $55.00.

In this book, archaeologist Cameron B. Wesson attempts to "explore the nature of postcontact sociocultural change for the Creeks from their initial contacts with Europeans until their forced removal from the region (circa AD 1540–1835)" (pp. xxvi-xxvii). Wesson's survey of three centuries is packed into little more than 150 pages divided among four chapters and is based on his assessment of approximately fifty domestic structures across the region. In the first chapter, Wesson explores three components that to him comprise the household: the demographic unit (the people living there), the material (dwellings and other material remains), and behavioral (the associated activities). The second chapter, "The Creek Social Universe," a brief ethnohistoric description of the Creeks, includes a description of political leadership. It is drawn almost exclusively from published primary sources (particularly the writings of William Bartram and Benjamin Hawkins) as well as recent works by Creek historians. Here Wesson surveys the nature of Creek leadership over three centuries through the lens of their relationship to high-status prestige and trade goods as well as sacred landscapes and control of ritual. The third chapter takes the reader through three centuries of Creek history, which Wesson divides into three distinct phases: initial contact, trade, and Euro-American hegemony. Wesson is careful not to marginalize Creek agency in all of this, and he plainly notes that culture change was "not controlled or directed exclusively by Europeans, nor did these changes always serve to advance European colonial agendas" (p. 59).

The meat of the work comes in the slim fourth chapter, "Changing Creek Households," in which the archaeological investigations at various sites are discussed. The Creek town of Fusihatchee, an incredibly rich site, was the subject of extensive excavation from 1985 until 1996 and has yielded evidence from approximately fifty structures, which Wesson notes is "the largest data set presently available" from any Creek town (pp. 97–98). Additional evidence comes from Hickory Ground and a variety of other sites. Cameron interprets his findings regarding the density and distribution of prestige and trade goods, which were more widely distributed in the historic era, as a blow to the "elite social power" of the leadership that resulted in "a growing factionalization of society and a contraction of chiefly power and authority" (p. 123). Historians and others will crave more on the material goods and architectural details and await a fuller and more thoroughly supported argument to bolster the assertions here.

Wesson writes that "available burial data do support the view of a decline in elite control of prestige goods, increased dispersal of prestige goods through Creek society, and possible laterations in the use of items as social markers" (p. 131). Readers expecting a full account of the numbers and kinds of goods recovered from the archaeological research will not find them included here. Nor will they find a clear description of exactly what Wesson means by prestige goods or how such items might have changed over time.

Wesson notes that archaeologists uncovered storage pits in greater numbers from the historic period and he sees this as "a direct reaction against traditional control of these supplies by social elites" (p. 136). Documentary records—not cited here—from the late eighteenth century mention such communal storage by town leadership for specific purposes. A consideration of the documentary record would no doubt lead to a refinement of the argument here. Other discussions discover meaning in the abandonment of mound building and attempt to relate social behavior to recovered household material goods.

Wesson is to be commended for bringing his expertise and archaeological evidence to the wider world of peer-reviewed monographs. Unfortunately, his failure to fully engage the documentary record undermines the effort. And an occasional lack of attention to detail also mars the effort, as when Wesson jumbles the titles of two of his few published primary sources (p. 145). Troubling as well is the easy way in which anthropological theory slips into fact. Wesson writes that "The larger towns and their political elites are thought to have controlled the redistribution of surplus foodstuffs, high-status prestige goods and nonlocal trade networks, and exacted tribute from secondary centers—acts that reinforced the prestige of these centers and their ruling elites" (p. 60). A few pages—and centuries—later, theories harden into fact and readers will find that eighteenth-century evidence suggests "that chiefs could no

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longer compel contributions to communal stores as they had during the precontact era" (p. 72). Wesson's conviction that households matter will not be contested by a scholar from any field. His failure to engage the extant documentary record will disappoint historians, as will his failure to provide fuller details on the exact nature of his archaeological findings at Creek sites over the last two decades.

KATHRYN H. BRAUND
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ANDREW K. FRANK. *Creeks and Southerners: Biculturalism on the Early American Frontier.* (Indians of the Southeast.) Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 2005. Pp. xi, 192. $49.95.

Thanks to Andrew K. Frank's new book, it should no longer be possible for historians to overlook a dimension of Great Britain's colonization of North America that was ignored for a long time. After closely examining all kinds of records, Frank estimates that at least eight hundred European Americans found spouses in Creek villages over the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The implicit challenge that Frank's unprecedented study poses to common assumptions about Indian-colonial relations in early America has ramifications that actually exceed his own immediate purpose. According to many textbooks and monographs, traders in French America supposedly differed from their counterparts in British America because of their willingness to raise families in Indian country. But here we discover within the Creek Confederacy alone hundreds of Scotsmen, among other Britons, who fathered children with Native American women. When additional Indian nations are taken into account, how many more children of mixed British and Indian parentage lived, in Frank's words, "beyond the prying eyes of the European American observers" (p. 10)?

Frank's systematic exploration into the lives of Indian countrymen and their Creek children serves as a model for future ventures into this important area of study. Until now, interest stayed on a few prominent individuals like Lachlan McGillivray, William McIntosh, Sr., and William Augustus Bowles, whose life histories were all too easily treated as exotic or picaresque. The extent and intricacy of this European American presence inside Creek society received inadequate notice because of a careless language and logic of race that, as Frank effectively claims, "led scholars to see boundaries and fixed cultures where fluidity reigned" (p. 3). To rescue the bicultural behavior and identity of many eighteenth-century southerners from an anachronistic vocabulary, he begins with Creek society's own tradition of inclusiveness toward outsiders. Originating in intervillage exchanges and alliances, the Creek Confederacy continued to recreate itself through the incorporation of defeated nations, remnant groups, refugees from other tribes, and prisoners of war. European traders, fugitives, and captives were accepted in the same fashion, while the Creeks' matrilineal kinship system and flexible political structure held this diverse population together. By examining Creek means of inclusion along with European belief in cultural mutability, Frank enables us to see how British newcomers and their Indian children experienced dual identities. And with this duality came opportunities and complexities, upon which Frank sheds new light.

Frank argues that some children of Creek mothers and European American fathers "discovered, consciously and unconsciously, that they could simultaneously act as an Indian and a European American" (p. 63). While mothers held the upper hand in socializing them, the matrilineal system did not prevent fathers from sending them to school, teaching them English, arranging their marriages, and leaving them property. With this mix of customs, skills, and advantages, their children became traders, interpreters, messengers, assistants to agents and missionaries, and even tribal leaders. Connections to both sides of the frontier, however, brought risks along with benefits, and Frank skillfully traces the rise and fall of Tustunnuggee Hutkee or William McIntosh, Jr. in a single chapter to demonstrate how "the place of opportunity could turn into a place of hostility" (p. 95). The delicate, sometimes precarious, balance of authority between societies, however, lasted until the U.S. policy of removal made it impossible to assert dual identities. Now facing a racial ideology intolerant toward biculturalism, Creek descendants of European Americans had to choose a single identity when deciding whether to stay in their homeland or to migrate with their nation. Frank also hints that the Creeks themselves began to see race as an immutable category, which would influence their society long after removal.

This is an important contribution to early American history. Some readers might regret that Frank does not engage more openly with the current debate over detrimental impacts that colonial traders and their Indian children had on Native American societies in the Southeast. Instead, he discreetly refers to the relevant work of other scholars in his endnotes and lets his own nuanced analysis offer fresh insight into the challenges faced by bicultural Creeks. Urging all of us to be more careful with racial categories in studying the early American South, Frank has significantly expanded our knowledge about how the endurance of clan and village life in one southeastern Indian society shaped intercultural relations over a long span of time.

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WILLIAM L. RAMSEY. *The Yamasee War: A Study of Culture, Economy, and Conflict in the Colonial South.* (Indians of the Southeast.) Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 2008. Pp. x, 307. $50.00.

William L. Ramsey attempts to revise the work of a large number of historians who have written about the early American South and to correct the problems he sees in their analysis and interpretation of a conflict that

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he asserts was "a serious candidate for America's bloodiest war in proportion to the populations involved" (p. 2).

Ramsey argued that the Yamasee War has been understudied by historians, who for far too long have allowed Verner W. Crane's findings in *The Southern Frontier: 1670–1732* (1928) to go unchallenged. Unlike Crane, and the many historians who have followed him, Ramsey did not see the cause of the Yamasee War in the abusive and criminal conduct of colonial traders. Evidence of trader misconduct, he asserts, came not from Native peoples but from traders and imperial administrators themselves, and thus may reflect competition for markets or the frustrations of metropolitan officials attempting to control a complex, multi-ethnic frontier. That Indians did on occasion complain about the functioning of the colonial economy should not be read "simply as evidence of greater victimization" but rather as evidence that "they were active, intelligent participants in exchange, attempting purposefully to influence and direct the process for their own advantage" (p. 33).

Whether historians have been as uncritical in their acceptance of Crane as Ramsey suggests is a highly questionable assertion. Important studies by James H. Merrell and Alan Gallay, to name two examples, have revised Crane's findings. Still, Ramsey is correct to argue that the actions of traders factor heavily in most accounts of the outbreak of the war. And if trader misconduct was not the cause of the war, what was? Certainly no historian has ever denied that the Indians purposefully attempted to direct and influence intercultural trade for their own advantage. But why did the colony's Indian trade collapse? Why did no "Middle Ground" emerge on the southern colonial frontier? These are all questions Ramsey attempts to answer.

In a nice chapter, Ramsey looks at Indian slavery in South Carolina, adding a valuable touch of nuance to the broader portrait painted by Gallay in *The Indian Slave Trade: The Rise of the English Empire in the American South, 1670–1717* (2003). Indian slavery certainly was part of the problem in Carolina, exacerbating tensions between Natives and newcomers in the colony and beyond, and Ramsey describes well the difficulties Carolinians confronted as they began to wrestle with the consequences of enslaving both Native peoples and Africans. Ramsey's research here is quite good, though readers familiar with Gallay's important book will find little that is unfamiliar.

Indeed, in offering his own explanation for the causes of the war, Ramsey returns to trade and, specifically, to the perceptions of the Yamasee and their allied neighbors over how the Atlantic economy functioned. The Yamasee desired trade goods not for material gain but because they represented alliance and "the continued whiteness of the path" between the colonial center and the native periphery. The Yamasee, like Native peoples elsewhere in early America, saw exchange as more than a mere commercial transaction. Native peoples, however, "were forced to alter their habits to meet the increasingly ardent and specific demands of the market," a process, in turn, that was coerced "by the credit power of English traders, and their behavior in turn was often a credit-generated reflex." Efforts by the colony and the empire to secure order on the southern frontier, enacted in the trade regulations of 1707, "produced a perfect spark to ignite conflict" (p. 81).

The war and its consequences Ramsey treats in his final chapters. His discussion of the regulation of the colonial Indian trade in these chapters is valuable, but in describing the role of the war in undermining Indian slavery, Ramsey is again treading in fields well worn by Gallay, Merrell, and others.

Ramsey has a good eye for detail and a knack for finding and developing a telling anecdote. I wish that he had done more of that in this volume, for Ramsey has written, in the end, for a very narrow audience. Ramsey offers his views on the historiographical developments that have shaped this history. He points out what other historians have done well and where others, in his view, have erred. His work, as a result, reads very much like a dissertation. His frequent reference to the work of other historians (he might easily have placed this material in the notes, where he already includes much discussion of historiographical matters) and the book's steep price limit the appeal of the work. The specialists for whom he has written will be familiar with these debates and will recognize where Ramsey's interpretations differ. Because portions of six of the book's eight chapters have been published previously, moreover, they likely will be familiar with Ramsey's own contributions to the literature.

MICHAEL LEROY OBERG
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CHRIS BENEKE. *Beyond Toleration: The Religious Origins of American Pluralism*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2006. Pp. ix, 305. $35.00.

It is a commonplace to note that religious toleration in colonial America was fraught. To their credit, American colonists increasingly practiced toleration, as did their early national offspring. Yet, few did so out of principle; far more did so out of necessity. What's more, even principled toleration proved limited. Tolerating Catholics and Muslims presented problems, while atheists, agnostics, and skeptics seemed beyond the pale. Praiseworthy and promising as it might be, early American toleration was of the Lockean, limited variety.

Chris Beneke champions the albeit limited nature of toleration. Even as he chronicles its limitations, Beneke sees early American religious toleration as a necessary forerunner to present-day attempts not only to tolerate but to celebrate difference. "It's hard not to locate some striking resemblances between the development of late eighteenth-century religious pluralism and the development of modern multiculturalism" (p. 9) Less concerned with theory than events and narrative, Beneke echoes the conventional wisdom that toleration

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proved a pragmatic innovation. "More often than not, toleration was an instrument of prudent statecraft." The question Beneke seeks to answer is why Americans ventured beyond toleration? When did they embrace as a positive good the ideals ultimately articulated in the First Amendment?

This book is in some ways a wide-ranging, ambitious survey that covers sometimes familiar ground. It is well written and highly engaging, although Quakers are "hung" instead of hanged and Ira Berlin becomes the author of *Four Essays on Liberty* (1990). More problematic is the lack of a bibliography, which is sorely missed in a work based on a dissertation and that glides back and forth between primary and secondary sources.

The book opens by reviewing a number of the famous debates concerning religion and rights in the colonies, as well as some commentary on English notions of toleration. There is the Quaker/Puritan controversy in Massachusetts Bay; Massachusetts's dispute with Roger Williams (who "probably exercised very little influence on the development of colonial religious discourse") (p. 33); the impact of the English Toleration Act of 1689, particularly upon New England; and Benjamin Franklin's debate with the Philadelphia Synod over the preaching of Samuel Hemphill. Conspicuously missing is any mention of the Maryland Toleration Act of 1649 that granted equal status to all Trinitarians. Out of this admirably sweeping survey, the author draws two conclusions. The first, echoed in a chapter title, is a play on the belief that dissent was a plague; simultaneously it was opprobrative and ubiquitous. The second champions John Locke's writings and Protestantism, for both based salvation on the right to private judgment. "Liberty of conscience was not welcomed with enthusiasm," but it followed logically "within a culture that accorded the highest value to the right of private judgment" (pp. 36, 40). Following Jonathan Israel, some might query Beneke calling Locke's views on toleration "radical" while not even broaching the deeply challenging writings of Baruch Spinoza and Pierre Bayle.

Early Americans came to realize the necessity of toleration as well as the rectitude of going "beyond toleration" in fits and starts. During the Great Awakening skirmishes on the boundaries became major public disputes. The significance of the religious controversies at mid-century was twofold. Firstly, "To the theoretical right of choosing one's affiliation," Beneke observes, "the Great Awakening added the concrete possibility of having a choice" (p. 75). In addition, the rise of evangelical faith and practice greatly reinforced the incipiently democratic Protestant denial of mediating institutions between individuals and salvation. Awakened colonists continued to engage in religious dispute and other forms of intolerance; yet, "the diversity generated by the Great Awakening" (p. 87) afforded ample opportunity for cooperation among disparate religious groups. The resulting "latitudinarian principles" of "ecumenism" (p. 85) gave Americans "good reasons to minimize the differences among themselves," ever more frequently referring to themselves broadly as "Protestants" and "Christians" (p. 86). Similar notions of being "open to all parties," Beneke notes, washed over secular institutions from colonial legislatures and provincial colleges to Freemasons, who "welcomed virtuous men of all creeds" (p. 89). Interaction across lines of religious belief became widespread in colonial politics and high culture; as a result, Beneke hortatively concludes, "religious civility would become a prerequisite of public life" (p. 112).

The concluding chapters explore how religious freedom "unevenly" replaced toleration in the revolutionary period. Examining Virginia, Massachusetts, and Pennsylvania, Beneke finds a high degree of synchronicity. Colonists fighting an established Anglican church, dissenters taking on a Congregational establishment representing a supermajority of citizens, and Quaker pacifists fighting for the right not to fight, all deployed similar rhetoric and arguments. Their efforts spurred on a general movement championing religious liberty as a positive good, a movement that mooted earlier talk of toleration. Ironically, disputants on both sides of these sometimes acrimonious contests embraced varying types of religious liberty. Nascent Americans of all stripes had moved on.

By the 1790s, in the wake of Independence and Constitution, "fervent zeal to maintain individual rights, together with a forceful commitment to equality, formed the crux of an American identity more compelling than their English identity had ever been" (p. 158). Equality informed actions at both state and local level, culminating in the First Amendment, which enshrined religious pluralism into the fabric of the American nation. Without appearing overly celebratory and with due recognition of the continued struggles of Americans to tolerate differences of religion, belief, race, and ethnicity, this book nevertheless documents what its author clearly feels is an American success story. Beneke concludes that "the religious pluralism of late eighteenth-century America stands as a remarkable achievement" (p. 200).

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JEROME DEAN MAHAFFEY. *Preaching Politics: The Religious Rhetoric of George Whitefield and the Founding of a New Nation*. (Studies in Rhetoric and Religion, number 3.) Waco, Tex.: Baylor University Press. 2007. Pp. xiii, 295. $39.95.

This book offers a bold contribution to the venerable, if attenuated, debate on the relationship between the Great Awakening and the American Revolution. While some historians admit little or no connection, others have linked revivalistic Protestantism with revolutionary ideology, ecclesiastical schisms with partisan broils about British policies, and churches' entrance into provincial politics with the coalescence of organized bodies mobilizing the patriot resistance. Jerome Dean Mahaffey educes a rhetorical tie centered around George Whitefield, who produced and circulated a "rhetoric of

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community" (p. 17) that promoted the "Awakening conceptual system" (p. 101). Rooted in the New Birth's spiritual dynamism, this worldview led believers to consider themselves a regenerate collectivity, "us" distinguished from the unconverted "them." As the Awakening conceptual system became more politically inflected by civil millennialism, it disposed people to challenge the authority of ungodly rulers and view political conflicts as apocalyptic affairs pitting good against evil. Operating across denominational lines, it fostered a sense of collective as well as personal identity that both created the audience revolutionary orators mobilized and, by infiltrating republican ideology, underwrote the persuasiveness of their speech. Maintaining that Whitefield's idioms made subsequent attacks on Britain coherent, Mahaffey connects the evangelist's discourse directly to those of patriot activists like John Dickinson, James Wilson, Thomas Jefferson, and Thomas Paine. His strongest claim is that Whitefield instantiated a "*preconstitutive* rhetoric" (p. 19) and a community of religious receptors without both of which revolutionary cadences "would not have been fully intelligible," and "Revolutionary polemicists *could not have produced* [their] arguments" (p. 244).

Mahaffey smartly portrays Whitefield as more than an single-minded evangelist who depended on extemporaneous inspiration and theatrical exuberance to turn hearts. However charismatic his performances may have been, Whitefield's persuasiveness rested on the formal rhetorical training he received at Oxford. Moreover, though he never departed from his central gospel message, he increasingly engaged political issues, defending the colonists' religious freedom against Anglican efforts to establish a bishop. Mahaffey suggests that Whitefield's efforts to reconcile New and Old Lights once he recognized the divisive effects of radical separatism paved the way for the two sides' political cooperation against Britain in the 1760s and 1770s. He intriguingly proposes a structural similarity between Whitefield's project to forge a collection of awakened Christians across denominational lines and the revolutionaries' task to make thirteen clocks strike as one. Whitefield broke down denominational affiliations to erect parachurches consisting of Christians thrust into a new identity through the new birth, while the revolutionaries had to dissolve provincial and imperial loyalties to found a nation constituted on citizens' new self-appraisal as Americans. In proposing that the Awakening and the Revolution both sought to unify disparate elements of the colonial population by transforming core identities, Mahaffey advances one of the most thought-provoking efforts in the literature to establish a congruence between the two events.

That said, Mahaffey's contention that the rhetoric of community "helped bridge the gulf" between the Awakening and revolutionary generations (p. 250) runs into difficulties. It overstates Whitefield's role in formulating the Awakening conceptual system's paramount themes: one can trace the strategy of regarding "us" as a group favored of God over against the ungodly "them" at least as far back as Exodus, and sixteenth-century Calvinism embeds the call for people to unseat a ruler who transgresses divine law. Whitefield deployed both tropes, but they were familiar long before his birth. Many scholars now believe that millennialism figured less prominently in revolutionary rhetoric than Mahaffey supposes; as Melvin B. Endy, Jr. has demonstrated, religious arguments for resistance stressed just war theory more often than they did apocalypticism. The claim also overstates the range of Whitefield's receptive audience. Mahaffey draws most of his examples from New England, where his argument works best, but he does not explain why either Pennsylvania Germans—who appropriated the revolutionary mantra of "liberty and property" from entirely different sources, as A. Gregg Roeber has shown—or (especially) Virginia Anglicans joined the resistance. At the same time, it understates Americans' ability to discern the injuriousness of Britain's program of imperial reform in material and legal terms—they did not need the Awakening conceptual system to recognize how the Stamp Act lightened their pockets and denied them rights—while ignoring alternative explanations for identity-formation, such as T. H. Breen's recent thesis that colonists discovered their commonalities and learned to trust each other by together consuming and then spurning British goods. Finally, Mahaffey's claims rest on the presumption that the structural similarities between the Awakening's and the revolution's discursive rhetorics, which demanded transformational changes in personal and collective identity, argue for a causal relationship, but the notion rests more on analogy than evidence. That religion, especially evangelical Protestantism, conveyed political messages is indisputable, as Mahaffey has powerfully explicated once again. That revolutionary rhetoric owes its most salient features to the Awakening conceptual system is, however, a more doubtful proposition.

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Nicole Eustace. *Passion Is the Gale: Emotion, Power, and the Coming of the American Revolution*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, for the Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture. 2008. Pp. x, 613. $45.00.

Although daily life regularly reveals the primacy of emotion, scholars have only recently made emotion history a distinct field. For early Americanists, study of feeling has focused on the literary culture of sensibility, women, the family, sexuality, and religion. Building on such works (including my own), Nicole Eustace moves emotion out of the private and literary and into the public, political arena. By her concluding chapter on *Common Sense*, Thomas Paine's title suggests not "what everyone knows" but "what everyone feels"—or, rather, "what everyone knows about what they *should* feel."

Eustace's focus is eighteenth-century Pennsylvania, a

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colony that easily demonstrates her themes of fluidity, diversity, and ambiguity. Between the 1740s and 1770s, Quakers, Presbyterians, and Anglicans competed, the urban elite quarreled with the frontier's Paxton boys, and imperial wars and slavery impelled white attention to racial difference. Taking her conceptual framework from historian William M. Reddy, Eustace sees emotion as a central component in power disputes, with emotions "mask[ing] continuing inequalities of power even as they maintained them" (p. 69). Her sources are private papers, especially letters, newspapers such as the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, and political proclamations, debates, pamphlets, and cartoons. Using these, she explores specific emotions—love, anger, sympathy, and grief—beginning each chapter with an individual's experience, which she then effectively interweaves with broader political issues.

Alexander Pope's words—"Reason the card, but passion is the gale" (p. 4)—indicate the book's thesis: initially, Pope and some colonists maintained that "all passions were natural and that self-love was the source of social good" (p. 57), with passion usefully instigating the "gale" of action. Opposed to this were a general unease with the self, Quaker association of passion with war, and elite fear of an impassioned lower class. Political crises, especially concerning the frontier, led many Pennsylvanians gradually and hesitatingly to associate passion with manliness and civility, until by the time of the American Revolution Thomas Paine proclaimed that citizens of all classes possessed the same passions, to the polity's benefit. The need for a common revolutionary spirit did not, of course, end debates about passion's uses or resolve anxiety about selfishness, but significant shifts had occurred.

Although she is attentive to women's experience, Eustace's treatment of gender mainly concerns masculinity; in line with the work of Caleb Crain, Sarah Knott, and Toby L. Ditz, she finds that for eighteenth- century men gender was a prime consideration in the presentation of self to society. But there was no one concept of manliness: age, class, religion, and political purpose influenced whether men wept or assertively protected their honor. Equally ambiguous were associations of race and feeling. Eustace is particularly perceptive in her analysis not only of white views of Native Americans but also of Native Americans' understanding of appropriate emotion. Her work supports historians' increased emphasis on the French and Indian War, which clearly played a major role in developing concepts of masculinity, race, and emotion.

Emotion being her subject, Eustace's meticulous exploration of feeling's intersections with gender, race, class, and a variety of power plays situates her book in the new history of emotion, but it is equally grounded in the older history of ideas. As she puts it, "The subject of this study, then, is not the internal *experience* of emotion, but rather the external *expression* of emotion through language" (p. 12). Her thoughtful discussions of how colonists employed different words to describe what they should feel provide a model of textual analysis. With 479 pages of text, Eustace has provided extraordinary detail on a hugely complex, important, and ambiguous subject. Her ideological framework will prove essential as other historians examine emotion's "internal *experience*." In their most private as opposed to public moments, did Americans express and experience their feelings differently?

As both history of emotion and history of ideas, this work leaves the impression that even as passion became more important theoretically to Pennsylvanians, they were often calculating in its use. Eustace's own language is telling as she describes colonists' approach to emotion: a "kind of doubleness" and "an interesting dodge in elite exchanges about emotion" (p. 81); "strategic ambiguity" in expressing love (p. 149); and elite efforts to "appropriate desirable traits of anger" (p. 155). Authenticity was difficult at a time of emotional regulation. Eustace has effectively established emotion as a prime tool for negotiating power, and as a result, historians should hesitate to label the eighteenth century the "Age of Reason" (a phrase that always was inappropriate for an era culminating in revolution). But neither was it an "Age of Emotion," if we understand that phrase to denote the free expression of inner feeling; colonial society was clearly a long way from nineteenth-century Romanticism. Rather, the eighteenth century appears to have been an age of performance and political calculation.

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Alvin Rabushka. *Taxation in Colonial America*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 2008. Pp. xx, 946. $60.00.

At $60.00, this nearly one-thousand-page book packed full of data, with a dozen figures and over a hundred tables, is a bargain. For a half century after the emergence of professional history in the United States in the 1880s, patterns of taxation and finance in the thirteen British colonies that revolted in 1776 were popular subjects for doctoral dissertations, and by 1950, virtually every colony had one or more monographs devoted to its financial system. For the past sixty years, however, colonial historians, even while turning out many sophisticated studies of overseas trade, the money supply, commodity production, labor systems, land distribution, and economic development, have largely ignored this important subject. Alvin Rabushka has set for himself the formidable tasks of pulling together the information in all these older studies, of mastering much of the more recent literature on the economic dimensions of Britain's North Atlantic continental empire. By adding mountains of material from his research in state archives and published documentary collections to produce "an analysis of taxes in all thirteen colonies for the entire colonial era" from 1607 to 1775 (p. xix). The author's neglect of the social context and cultural meaning of the developments he describes, his cursory treatment of local taxation (a severely understudied subject), and

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his omission of a few significant taxes (such as the quit rents paid to the Fairfax family by all landholders in the Northern Neck of Virginia, about a fifth of that colony's occupied lands), gainsays the "definitive" status for the work that its dust jacket claims.

Nonetheless, the volume is one that scholars will find enduringly useful. Its core consists of five chronological parts: (1) the long founding era to 1688, (2) the period of the Atlantic wars from 1688 to 1714, (3) the decades of salutary neglect and relative peace from 1714 to 1739, (4) the time of the world-wide wars from 1739 to 1763, and (5) the years just before the War for Independence from 1763 to 1775. Within each of these parts, the author uses a standard organization. Three sectional chapters on New England, the middle colonies, and the southern colonies respectively follow an opening chapter on British taxation. Within each sectional chapter, Rabushka proceeds, one by one, to discuss each colony, providing, insofar as data permit, an account of monetary conditions, a description of taxes levied and collected by Britain and the provincial government, and an informed estimate of the annual tax burden for each provincial polity. He then compares the experience of each section with the metropolitan experience. This organization is useful for its systematic presentation of information in a form that the user can easily consult. Indeed, the study's main utility is in providing in a single volume a guide to the many kinds of taxes imposed on each colony, by whose authority, on what objects or endeavors, upon which categories of the population, and yielding how much revenue.

If the volume is rich in detail, it is disappointing in its interpretive payoff. Well-read specialists in early American history will be familiar with all the main themes running through or implicit in it: the use of tax abatements and incentives to lure settlers to the colonies, the widespread settler evasion of taxes and trade regulations, the variations in tax systems as a consequence of local conditions, the creative use of paper currency to solve liquidity problems and meet public revenue needs, the difficulties of enforcing unpopular metropolitan regulations in the colonies, the limited scope of colonial governments and the small size of colonial civil establishments, the escalation of taxes during wartime, and the great disparity between the per capita tax burdens in Britain and the colonies. Nor will they be surprised to learn that the American Revolution "was a tax revolt, first and foremost" (p. 868), or that "it was less the amount than the principle of taxation without local consent that animated colonial opposition to Britain" (p. 756) after 1764, albeit they might want to ask precisely what it was about that principle that made American resisters hold it so dear.

Indeed, along with the volume's modest interpretive reach, the author's devotion of almost thirty percent of his text to a general discussion of the metropolitan political background, the formal structure of metropolitan and colonial governance, metropolitan colonial policy, and the imperial and colonial constitutions suggests that Rabushka is not primarily addressing specialists, although they will be the book's primary users. He needed to master those subjects before he wrote his book, but even if they were drastically condensed and updated, these sections would only benefit the uninformed. These sections are, moreover, at odds with the best recent work on the dynamics of British imperial governance, which no longer privileges government prescriptions over settler agency.

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BENJAMIN L. CARP. *Rebels Rising: Cities and the American Revolution*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2007. Pp. ix, 334. $35.00.

That cities and their residents played a significant role in fomenting the American Revolution is hardly a new theme. Carl Bridenbaugh's largely descriptive *Cities in Revolt: Urban Life in America, 1743–1776* (1955) offered the first major assertion, and Gary B. Nash's masterful work, *The Urban Crucible: Social Change, Political Consciousness, and the Origins of the American Revolution* (1979) emphasized the role of class consciousness, especially among artisans and the working class, both in framing revolutionary ideals and in the conflict that followed from those ideals.

This book does not replace Nash's work but offers a different and equally valuable perspective from which to appreciate the role of cities in the founding era. Although class plays a role in Benjamin L. Carp's analysis, this is not a book about class consciousness. In some respects, Carp harks back to the Chicago sociologists of the 1920s and 1930s as he emphasizes the crucial role of urban space in forming a revolutionary consensus in the increasingly diverse and divided colonial city.

Where Nash focused on three cities—Boston, New York, and Philadelphia—Carp studies those cities and adds Newport, Rhode Island, and Charleston, South Carolina, thus covering the five largest cities in colonial America. Carp selects a representative space in each of these cities and takes the reader inside those spaces to watch and understand how the colonists transformed themselves from loyal British subjects to revolutionaries. He uses three major crises that increasingly stoked the colonists' rebellious spirit—the Stamp Act (1765), the Townshend Acts (1767), and the Tea Act and Intolerable Acts (1774)—to demonstrate how, through the making and unmaking of coalitions, and the employment of local and regional networks, urban residents led not only their cities, but their respective regions, and eventually other colonies to revolt against British authority.

Mobilization is a key theme in this book revealing how colonists turned thought and rhetoric into action. Drawing upon a long history of political agitation, the merchants, artisans, and printers organized, voiced their grievances, cajoled, fought with, and eventually persuaded a cross-section of fellow citizens to join them in the streets. It was a messy and sometimes violent process of negotiation, confrontation, and, ultimately, con-

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sensus. Cities, as centers of economic and political power and of communication were well situated to organize rebellion. These activities played out in what Carp terms the "cultural landscape": the cities' buildings, spaces, and material objects. The alliances were temporary. If anything, class and spatial boundaries hardened by the early nineteenth century.

Women, especially in the churches of Newport and the households of Charleston, as well as in their spinning clubs, also forged a revolutionary spirit. Free blacks and slaves took note of what the revolutionary rhetoric of liberty and self-determination could hold in store for them. But, Carp asserts, the revolution did not result in significant changes in gender or racial status, even if the ideals embodied in the Declaration of Independence would later serve as a rallying cry for freedom and equality.

Carp's approach enables him to appreciate the distinctiveness of each city and why some cities responded early and forcefully to British imperial policy, and others more tentatively. In Boston, the waterfront served as the key urban space for building the consensus that led to revolution. New Yorkers drank a lot and were prone to raucous activities, so the tavern became the crucible of revolution. Newport, known for its religious diversity, employed the houses of worship (Anglicans excepted) as a source for political mobilization. In Charleston, the household, both as metaphor and as actual space, offered the gentry in particular an opportunity to direct and control the revolutionary movement amid dangerous racial and class cross-currents. And Philadelphia, the most reluctant of the Atlantic cities, achieved a grudging revolutionary consensus "out of doors," that is, in the spaces in and around the Court House and, more particularly, the State House (later Independence Hall). Loyalists also frequented these spaces, but Patriots did a better job of persuasion and organizing. This does not mean that New Yorkers did not organize in churches or that taverns in Boston mainly hosted poetry readings, but Carp is convincing in designating these particular spaces as reflecting best the cultural landscape of each city.

Alas, the cities' star turn did not last long. Occupied, the coastal cities played very minor roles in the revolution they helped to initiate. After the Peace of Paris in 1783, the cities' role as spearheads of the revolution largely receded in memory. Carp provides an important analysis of both colonial cities and the origins of the American Revolution. This book is a marker of how the historiography of this period has advanced from either a top-down or bottom-up approach. Neither tells the whole story of the revolution. Carp's book is a methodological model of how that story might be told.

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JOHN R. DICHTL. *Frontiers of Faith: Bringing Catholicism to the West in the Early Republic*. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky. 2008. Pp. ix, 240. $50.00.

This book examines the establishment of the Catholic Church, primarily in the Ohio River Valley, during the late eighteenth century and first decades of the nineteenth. For John R. Dichtl, this is the period in which Catholicism anchored itself in the United States, at least east of the Mississippi. After overcoming shortages of clergy (and in many cases problematic priests), materials, and buildings, the Catholic Church in the United States came to view its prospects during this period very optimistically. Interactions between Protestants and Catholics in a frontier environment in which each group often depended on the other for assistance resulted in the decline—albeit temporary—of the severe anti-Catholicism common in the thirteen former English colonies. It was in the Ohio River Valley of the early nineteenth century, according to the author, that the church had the opportunity to grow strong before the next onslaught of virulent anti-Catholicism appeared in the 1830s-1840s.

This monograph has many noteworthy features, but two aspects of Dichtl's scholarship deserve close attention here. First, the author's development of Catholic-Protestant interactions is especially strong. Because of shortages of both Catholic and Protestant clergy on the frontier, Christian faithful often had to use whichever minister was at hand for marriage, interment, and other sacramental events. Moreover, since Catholics remained a minority and were seen as little threat to them, Protestants in many instances encouraged them to erect churches and schools because these added a civilized physical presence to the area. In fact, some wealthier Protestants donated land and building materials to the Catholic Church for such endeavors. And finally, often because of their superior education and training, Catholic clergy became influential in other areas of life, such as economic development and community self-promotion, on the frontier. Consequently, the church hierarchy became confident enough by the 1820s that they engaged in public polemics with Protestant preachers, something they had avoided throughout the colonial era.

Dichtl makes clear, too, that Catholicism in this epoch was not being altered by the Ohio River Valley frontier—there is no Turnerian frontier dialectic at work here. From the beginning, even when the church was often hampered by a lack of priests and might have been more lenient, the hierarchy brooked little in the way of unacceptable behavior on the part of clergy. By the 1830s, the U.S. Catholic clergy was as disciplined and obedient as that in Europe, and the lines of authority were as rigid. Moreover, the church took a hard line on Catholic-Protestant marriages, either by preferring close-relation nuptials or insisting that children of "mixed" marriages be raised Catholic. The fact that items of faith most often had to be procured in Europe meant that the church edifices in the Ohio Valley often replicated in mystery and grandeur those that the immigrants had left behind in the Old World. The Catholic Church in the United States, Dichtl concludes, "by the 1830s was conservative, strongly supportive of the

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pope's authority, and traditional" (p. 180). Indeed, it was these characteristics that would see it through the anti-Catholic assaults by nativists in the decades prior to the Civil War.

Dichtl offers other contributions to our understanding of Catholicism's history in the United States, especially in the early national period. Prior to the development of their own training facilities, bishops in the United States often contended with priests who were either dumped on them from aboard or who had fled to the United States to continue nefarious behaviors. By 1820, however, new seminaries and a Catholic college in Bardstown, Kentucky, gave American bishops greater control over who their clergy were. Dichtl's employment of the extant papers of many of the important bishops and priests of this era, and his effective use of quotations throughout, provides insight into the personal lives of Catholic clergy in this period. Finally, this work relates the process by which individual clergy interacted with their parishioners in what was often an adversarial relationship. The priests required financial support and wanted religious obedience; the faithful resisted the former because their resources were often limited but generally complied with the latter. After all, the laity wanted to worship their God; the priest was the means to that worship.

Dichtl's work is an important and vital history. Well researched, topically organized, and clearly written, it adds immensely to our understanding of the place of religion, especially Catholicism, in the nineteenth-century United States.

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Patricia Cline Cohen, Timothy J. Gilfoyle, and Helen Lefkowitz Horowitz. *The Flash Press: Sporting Male Weeklies in 1840s New York*. (Historical Studies of Urban America.) Chicago: University of Chicago Press, in association with the American Antiquarian Society. 2008. Pp. 278. $20.00.

In 1841, a flurry of illustrated men's newspapers sprang into public view, only to be suppressed by a conservative judiciary by 1843. In this book, Patricia Cline Cohen, Timothy J. Gilfoyle, and Helen Lefkowitz Horowitz explain the long-term significance of the papers and the prosecutions that shut them down. The authors investigate the brief heyday of "flash" newspapers in terms of the motivations, sexual politics, and complex legal issues they represented. They also reproduce hard-to-access samples from the genre, particularly those that triggered the obscene libel prosecutions that put the papers out of business by 1843.

The first two chapters explore the impact of the flash newspapers—the *Sunday Flash*, the *Whip and Satirist*, the *Libertine*, and the *Weekly Rake*, among others—arising in New York in the early 1840s. Seeking a "combination of money and honor" (p. 55), the men producing these "innovative little weeklies" (p. 18) used ribaldry, insults, and shock to find an audience and also as a means of social leveling. Their "libertine republicanism," the authors say, demonstrated four recognizable traits: a penchant for male heterosexual indulgence, fascination with commercial prostitution (evident in both positive and negative coverage), disdain for privilege, and skeptical rationalism. It challenged prevailing manly ideals, from the restrained Christian father to the rugged frontier individualist. Instead, libertine republicanism celebrated a knowing man about town, who saw "[s]exual passion [as] natural, its elimination impossible and its repression injurious" (p. 57), in a way that anticipated modern attitudes.

Two additional analytical chapters explore the satirical references to sexuality, pornography, and prostitution that triggered the flash press prosecutions in 1843. Relying on English legal tradition, American judges blurred the line between suppression and censorship, the authors say: "The shutdown in 1843 came by legal means, at the hands of New York's deeply conservative judiciary motivated by its opposition to libertine republicanism" (p. 109). Attempts by defendants to distinguish titillating words from criminal deeds, or to argue that the truth they represented protected them from prosecution, failed to prevail in court.

The trials of 1843 left their mark by establishing precedents for later prosecutions. While overshadowed by the more famous obscenity legislation from later in the century, particularly the 1873 Comstock Law, the flash press prosecutions "transformed obscenity. Future publishers of sporting newspapers were discouraged from celebrating prostitution and employing blatantly sexual images in their political and social critiques. Conversely, obscene or pornographic texts grew increasingly detached over time from their early political contexts" (p. 115).

The book represents a significant contribution to the field of cultural history.This book opens a significant new window on antebellum urban culture. As the authors note, "Flash reportage contested multiple nineteenth century conventions: the limits on public discussions of sexuality, the mal-treatment of sexual and public women, the exploitative behaviors of the social and economically privileged" (p. 76). Flash publishers sometimes adopted the rhetoric of moral reformers in their sexually explicit revelations, making it difficult for other reform publishers to draw distinctions between moral and immoral publications. Through such "linguistic duplicity" (p. 75), flash publishers challenged contemporaries to face their own assumptions about decency in print. By focusing on the legal precedents shaping sexuality discourse, the authors show how legal decisions in the 1840s had ramifications for affected myriad publications in subsequent decades, ranging from medical textbooks to hygiene tracts to illustrated newspapers to pornography. In the process, they the book illuminates a long-neglected early phase in the process of defining obscenity, particularly the "important tradition of court supervision of sexually explicit words and images in America" (p. 122).

The brevity of the analytical section (roughly half the

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book, in terms of pages) leaves some tantalizing questions unanswered. Highlighting the male-dominated nature of the conservative prosecution, the authors gloss over the fact that flash publishers press producers were themselves predominantly also typically male (with the a possible exception was a female brothel owner who provided financing for one paper of financing from one female brothel owner). Producers Flash publishers consciously appealed to men and that cornerstone of male heterosexual privilege, "male honor," and the book's focus on the genre's democratizing potential for male heterosexual privilege consequently risks dismissing its critics (many of whom were women). The fascinating illustrations, which clearly promoted an ideology of voyeurism, objectification of women, and male license, receive only brief commentary. Comparison with mainstream newspapers, beyond the microcosm of the flash press, might be useful; many daily papers echoed the genre's libertine republicanism. THowever, the book's groundbreaking and timely contribution to the field, however, far outweighs these concerns.

In its recovery of a forgotten period in media history this book has great relevance to current debates over decency in the public sphere. By today's standards, the excerpts reprinted in this volume seem both at once tame and politically provocative, reminding readers that context is everything in understanding publishing standards from the past. Ironically, the authors conclude, flash publishers' failed defense—that excerpts should not be taken out of context (or divorced from the intent of the publishers), or that publication of things that could be proven true or commonly practiced could not be censored—ultimately won out in twentieth-century cases, giving flash editors the "last laugh" (p. 125).

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SALLY G. MCMILLEN. *Seneca Falls and the Origins of the Women's Rights Movement*. (Pivotal Moments in American History.) New York: Oxford University Press. 2008. Pp. x, 310. $28.00.

One of the most striking moments of women's history appears early on in this book, and it does not concern the historical events of the title. Author Sally G. McMillen was talking with noted Civil War historian James McPherson about his new co-edited series from Oxford University Press. Hearing the list of the titles that qualified as "Pivotal Moments in American History," McMillen noted with astonishment that none of them included women's history. When McPherson asked her if she had any ideas, she suggested the Seneca Falls Convention. Happily, not only did McPherson recognize a good idea, but also he realized that he was talking to the ideal author.

The appalling part of this anecdote, of course, is that the question had to come up at all. Of all the many stories of U.S. women's history, Seneca Falls and the fight for women's suffrage fits most comfortably into the conventional progressive narrative, and, notwithstanding the many fine monographs and articles on the subject, the story remains to be told cogently to the educated general reader audience and college market at which Oxford University Press has aimed this series. Therein lies one of the tensions of this book. On one hand, McMillen has the ingenious idea of framing the study around the biographies of four of the major players: Lucretia Mott, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Lucy Stone, and Susan B. Anthony. But this "Founding Sisters" approach is at odds with McMillen's need to tell this story as fully as possible to an audience that she must assume knows nothing. Her impressive attempts to contextualize the fight for women's rights mean that often the style gets lost in the spadework. Interestingly, the material itself works against the "History-Channel-one-man-one-moment" model. There are so many fascinating and inspiring figures in the suffrage story that McMillen rightly feels she must include Angelina and Sarah Grimké, Henry Blackwell, Abby Kelley Foster, among many others, and often these characters appear more vivid than McMillen's chosen few. Even though the 1848 Seneca Falls Convention provides the book's hook, McMillen knows that she could not conclude or even climax a book with the triumphant moment of Cady Stanton declaring independence. Hence, the Seneca Falls chapter comes not quite halfway through the book. Sadly, the urgency of both contextualization and chronology does not allow McMillen to follow up on some of her most intriguing points: for instance, the internal resistance of American women to the fight for equal rights and what their champions made of it.

As historian Nancy F. Cott has noted, feminism is a movement of rising expectations. McMillen makes it clear that both a passion for justice and a sense of indignant entitlement motivated the women who began the fight for the vote. Chapter one opens with Cady Stanton's famous remembrance that her father told her, "Oh, my daughter, I wish you were a boy," a statement that McMillen does not accept at face value, but one that pushed Cady Stanton ever forward (p. 9). Chapter two also begins biographically, with Lucretia Mott, but both chapters quickly shift into dazzling pieces of historiography. McMillen tries to catch up her audience on the plight of women, black and white, in colonial and early national America, and then supplies the nineteenth-century "perfectionist" context that informed the fight for the vote. Taken together, the two chapters constitute a formidable and useful digest of the major movements of American history. Given this part of McMillen's educational mission, one wishes that her notes incorporated more of the secondary scholarly literature.

Chapter three covers the Seneca Falls Convention itself, which McMillen relates in an expert and lively fashion; particularly strong is her analysis of both the democratic and undemocratic aspects of "The Declaration of Sentiments" (1848). The real contribution of the work lies in the last three chapters that take the

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narrative from the Convention through the Civil War and the separation and then reunification of the two major suffrage organizations. McMillen skillfully presents the long, largely discouraging slog that is often portrayed as a "march" for equality. She unflinchingly depicts the infighting among the suffrage supporters and handles the most difficult moments, such as when Cady Stanton and Anthony turn to race baiting upon the Republican Party's betrayal, with balance and considerable acumen.

In spite of the occasional impressive insight, there is not much new here for specialists. However, this is an excellent volume for undergraduates studying women's or U.S. nineteenth-century history, for graduate students of other areas of history or women's studies, and for the lay reader who wants to understand a fundamental (in all senses of the term) American story.

CATHERINE ALLGOR
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KATHLEEN S. SULLIVAN. *Constitutional Context: Women and Rights Discourse in Nineteenth-Century America.* (Johns Hopkins Series in Constitutional Thought.) Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2007. Pp. x, 181. $45.00.

Joining previous scholars and critics who have faulted American liberalism for its abstract rights theory, Kathleen S. Sullivan invents a novel explanation for this. In her view, liberal failure to recognize that human selves are socially situated began with woman suffragists' attack on coverture and their denigration of the common law. Sullivan champions "the contextual nature of the common-law method," and its invitation to "possibilities of multiple interpreters." When woman suffragists went for "equality over equity" (p. 6), she argues, they moved liberal theory from a common law basis in which "rights had always been contextualized" toward "a doctrine defined by its abstract principles" (p. 148). In short, "when the woman suffragist version of liberalism became definitive of American liberalism, American rights discourse lost an alternative rights theory" (p. 6).

A political scientist, Sullivan traces a historical narrative. She covers codifiers' attacks on the common law, abolitionists' and then suffragists' delineations of inherent natural rights, and suffragists' description of coverture as an unjust feudal remnant of an era of "barbarism" (in the common trope of the day). In two chapters containing the only near-original research of the book, she describes a few states' adoption of statutes protecting married women's separate property and related rights, and a few court cases interpreting these reforms. She finds (as have several historians before) that these laws did not end coverture but only moderated the marital status relationship in some respects. Where previous scholars have pointed at judicial conservatism for this outcome, Sullivan sees both state legislators and judges as similarly committed to keeping the overall structure of coverture while modernizing it. She lends force to this unexceptionable argument by exaggerating previous scholars' arguments.

Sullivan's method does not inspire confidence. Her narrative finds its way across a running stream of potential complications by relying on one selected text after another as stepping-stones, each given equal and unmeasured weight no matter whether it came from a treatise writer, a delegate to a constitutional convention, an essayist in an elite journal, or a famous reformer (unless that reformer is Elizabeth Cady Stanton, who is more equal than others). A reader looks in vain for convincing evidence to prop up Sullivan's claim for the "progressive possibilities of the common law" (p. 148) and her view that "common law liberty" recognized the situated self, offering an admirable "model for deriving rights affixed to status" (p. 95).

A similar lack of evidence undermines her contention that suffragists' rights discourse was sufficiently distinctive and influential to shift the very ground under American liberalism (even though it proved incapable of eliminating coverture). Her "suffragist" view comes entirely from the first two volumes of the classic *History of Woman Suffrage*, a documentary anthology that Stanton, Susan B. Anthony, and Matilda Joslyn Gage published in 1881 and 1886. Sullivan cites page numbers only, instead of crediting particular authors or documents—which vary widely within the volumes—as her sources. She also neglects to acknowledge what canny historians now acknowledge: that the volumes offered not a comprehensive account but a political intervention, a constructed history in which the Stanton-Anthony faction staked proprietorship over the suffrage movement.

Although she exaggerates suffragists' battle against coverture into a full-scale campaign to unseat the whole common law, Sullivan cannot persuasively show that their views or expressions were uniquely instrumental in its demise. She does not address the more likely possibility that detraction and devolution of the common law were overdetermined in the expansive and capital-mobile society of the nineteenth-century United States.

Whatever suffragists' critiques, they composed a tiny proportion of the era's pronouncements on women's, men's, and human rights. Are we to infer from Sullivan's argument that if suffragists had never appeared, abstraction in understanding of individual rights would not be typical, and the common law would still be in place? Perhaps most puzzling, her argument sidesteps the fact that the common law method has had a very long shadow; much of the uncertainty, flexibility, and susceptibility to popular constitutionalism that she calls virtues of the "lost" common law inhere still in our system of judicial interpretation.

NANCY F. COTT
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JOHN T. CUMBLER. *From Abolition to Rights for All: The Making of a Reform Community in the Nineteenth Century.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 2008. Pp. xi, 238. $49.95.

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There is much to enjoy and respect about John T. Cumbler's book concerning the social justice activism of Boston's abolitionist community, but there are also aspects to ponder. In general, the work presents a portrait of a select group of radicals, who, Cumbler contends, were driven by their Lockean belief in natural rights to expand their political agenda beyond antislavery work to include women's, labor, and civil rights. The activists' credo stated that all humans had basic rights which the state needed to enhance and protect including "decent housing, health care, safe and well-paying jobs, prison reform, and equal rights at home and abroad" (p. 1). Cumbler could well have added anti-imperialism, peace, and nonviolence to the list.

Each of Cumbler's chapters emphasizes a specific aspect of the movement's thrust—and each is a pleasure to read for its drama and description of personalities and situations. But first, he introduces the reader to the tightly knit Boston abolitionist community, highlighting Henry Ingersoll Bowditch, Julia Ward Howe (the two principal protagonists), Wendell Phillips, Thomas Wentworth Higginson, Elizabeth Buffum Chace, the famous Weston sisters (Maria, Anne, Deborah, and Caroline), William Bowditch, and a host of others. Oddly missing from this merry band are Helen and William Lloyd Garrison, whose home was often noted by others as a central meeting and socializing place and "inn" for visiting abolitionists from out of town. Even Cumbler's descriptions of the interrelationships among these folks, the antislavery fairs, and the many plots and schemes they hatched as a group seem devoid of Garrison's input. The omission appears to be based on the fact that Bowditch, although claiming fondness for Garrison, had some reservations about his seeming resistance to criticism from his fellow radicals.

Several chapters emphasize the main issues faced by this community. One is the social and professional isolation caused by being an abolitionist in a city whose wealth often depended on the slave labor of the South. (Wealthy activists, like Bowditch and Howe, for example, found their former friends and colleagues shunning them.) Another is the work of the Boston Vigilance Committee organized to protest and militantly fight against the draconian measures of the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850. Although the arrests and slave rescues described have been covered in some detail in many other historical narratives, Cumbler adds a new twist in analyzing the effect of the turn to violence on the part of some abolitionists as creating a split in terms of gender roles within the movement. Whereas before, men and women worked as equals, militancy created a situation where men handled slave rescues and women were simply excluded from the conversations held in secret meetings. With this change also came the self-questioning of these men about their masculinity in terms of whether rescues were successful or not.

Less satisfying was the author's presentation on women's rights and the struggle between abolitionists and woman rightists over the Fifteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution, which gave all men the vote but no women. Much of the information in these chapters was relevant to the overall book but not new in terms of abolitionist or women's historical narratives. More innovative was the issue of Bowditch's fight for women's equality within the medical profession and his anti-poverty positions while serving on the Massachusetts State Board of Health and its Board of Charities.

Although the book is a wonderful read, it has a problem in its conception. Cumbler began the work as an investigation into the life of Bowditch and his leadership role in the area of public health. Somewhere along the way, he decided to expand his vision to embrace the wider abolitionist community and its work on broader social justice reforms. For some reason, he chose to add Julia Ward Howe as his second focal point. As a result, the book is neither biographical nor really a broad study of the Boston abolitionists. As the list of sources indicates, the great majority of the archival collections involved the Bowditch family with a sprinkling of other primary sources thrown in. In spite of this off-kilter presentation, however, this book is pleasant and informative.

HARRIET HYMAN ALONSO
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ERICA ARMSTRONG DUNBAR. *A Fragile Freedom: African American Women and Emancipation in the Antebellum City*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 2008. Pp. xvi, 196. $55.00.

Erica Armstrong Dunbar's book traverses territory becoming ever more familiar to historians—the transformation from slavery to freedom in the antebellum North—while seeking to illuminate unexplored terrain. In her setting of Philadelphia, she joins company with Gary B. Nash, Jean R. Soderlund, Julie Winch, Emma Jones Lapsansky, Richard S. Newman, and others who have studied the emergence of free black communities in the decades between the American Revolution and the Civil War. Dunbar follows enslaved African American women through the process of gradual emancipation, indentured servitude, freedom, and community organizing and racial activism. With the passage of the Gradual Abolition Act of 1780, indentured servitude shifted from a labor system encountered primarily by European immigrants to one almost exclusively for African Americans. Servitude vastly attenuated the process of becoming free—a phenomenon previously acknowledged in Nash and Soderlund's *Freedom by Degrees: Emancipation in Pennsylvania and Its Aftermath* (1991). For Philadelphia's women of African descent, indentured servitude was a double-edged sword, lengthening the time of their exploitation while sometimes providing them with skills that would prove useful in freedom. Black women worked within the system to assert their needs, negotiate the terms of their labor, and resist the labor and sexual oppression so often a feature of household work. Freed into an expanding city undergoing the market revolution and a wave of evangelical reform, African American women con-

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fronted a tumultuous labor market, fragile communities, and new notions of "respectability." The free black community welcomed them with caution, with institutions such as the black church acting to regulate behavior at the most intimate level. The community could not escape a confrontation with racial politics, and female white reformers and black elites joined together to combat slavery—a union that was short-lived due to white abolitionists' failure fully to comprehend the lives and challenges of free black northerners. Black women activists thus forged their own protest culture through institutions and print, nurturing their private networks through an ethos of sentimentalism that mirrored that of whites but for the racial imperatives no black northerner could escape.

The focus on women promises to distinguish this work, as does Dunbar's effort to address class divides in her community. She offers a story of black women's triple jeopardy, in which gender combined with color and class to offset the palpable gains of freedom. For example, the emergence of a gendered ideology of separate spheres among middle-class white women established standards for female conduct that could hardly be met by a group compelled by economic need to work outside the home. Dunbar's hope to "bridge the gap between the illiterate indentured servant and the well-read antislavery activist" (p. 3) promises the sort of cross-class analysis that has become something of a Holy Grail for students of antebellum free black communities. Too often, though, Dunbar illuminates the disparate worlds of indentured servants and well-to-do reformers without putting them in conversation (admittedly a difficult task). For example, the writings of non-elite women preachers such as Jarena Lee and Zilpha Elaw may indeed "contribute another layer to the multifaceted political writings of African American women" (p. 111), but to what effect? Important differences in the protest styles of non-elite and elite women go largely unanalyzed here.

Similar opportunities abound. Dunbar's subtitle speaks generically of "the antebellum city," itself a surprise given the book's exclusive focus on Philadelphia. Where exactly, though, did Philadelphia fit within the broader pattern? Studies of New York by Leslie M. Harris and Shane White and of Boston by James Oliver Horton and Lois E. Horton and George Levesque offer tempting, but here missed, points of comparison. Some notable slips result. To claim that "Pennsylvania's system of gradual emancipation was similar to the abolition process in Massachusetts" (p. 2) neglects the *Mumbet* (1781) and *Quock Walker* (1783) cases, which ended slavery judicially, immediately, and without compensation—all in contrast to Pennsylvania. It is not even entirely clear how Dunbar sees herself in conversation with other scholars of Philadelphia, whose work she builds on uncritically. Another example: the abolition of slavery in the antebellum North was indeed a "rehearsal for reconstruction"—a point that Dunbar claims as a central argument (pp. 2–3, 48), but never develops through comparison with the policies of Reconstruction. Many interesting claims are left unsubstantiated, while others seem rather non-adventurous. Dunbar's last chapter, which touches on the racially stereotyped cartoons of Edward W. Clay, provocatively asserts that middle-class black women "contested these images through public writings" (p. 133), but here she offers no direct evidence in support. One easily imagines that the culture of sentimentalism evident in friendship books might have "helped to strengthen political networks" (p. 121) among activist women, yet Dunbar makes no sustained argument clearly to this effect. This book too frequently suggests an unrealized work. It is a work with promise, though, and perhaps a candid appraisal will suggest the unmet potential that is clearly evident here.

PATRICK RAEL
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ARLIN C. MIGLIAZZO. *To Make This Land Our Own: Community, Identity, and Cultural Adaptation in Purrysburg Township, South Carolina, 1732–1865*. (The Carolina Lowcountry and the Atlantic World.) Columbia: University of South Carolina Press. 2007. Pp. xxi, 435. $59.95.

In 1732, Jean Pierre Purry and about 400 Swiss Protestants established a town upon a hundred-square-mile grant on the north bank of the Savannah River. From a distance, the scene may have resembled the founding of a New England town, albeit one hundred years later and one thousand miles farther south. But, as Arlin C. Migliazzo demonstrates, Purry was no John Winthrop, the Lowcountry was not New England, and the eighteenth century was quite unlike the seventeenth. Consequently, while its name appears prominently on colonial maps, for most of its history the town of Purrysburg consisted of little more than a dozen or so buildings clustered around a ferry landing.

Purry is a character worthy of a micro-history. Born in Neuchatel in 1675, he spent his first thirty-five years in a series of low-level government or military offices in Switzerland and Holland. In 1711, perhaps to escape legal problems, he enlisted for six years as a soldier in the service of the Dutch East India Company. Upon his return to Europe, he promptly lost a fortune in the Mississippi Bubble. By 1720, Purry's greatest asset was a proposal he had written and published theorizing that the thirty-third degree of latitude was perfect for colonies. Migliazzo suggests Purry may have developed an affinity for this latitude during sojourns at Cape Town, en route to Java; but his belief that climates and latitudes correlated across the globe was an early modern commonplace.

Purry shopped his plan in Amsterdam and Paris before finding a friendlier reception in London. His proposal to settle several hundred Swiss Protestants on the Savannah River (thirty-two degrees north latitude) was perfectly suited to the ministry's plans to enhance South Carolina's defenses. After an abortive effort in 1726 (which Migliazzo argues may have been the last strike

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against the Carolina proprietors), Purry, with the support of South Carolina's first royal governor, Robert Johnson, turned his scheme into a reality.

Unfortunately for the historian, colonial Purrysburg differed from an early New England town in another way: it had no town meeting (or any local government above a justice of the peace, i.e., Purry himself) and so left few archival records. Migliazzo offers "fragmentary glimpses" (p. 69) painstakingly gleaned from immigrant lists, land grants, militia rolls, marriage records, and wills. From these, he shows that Purrysburg was settled by family groups; that marriages crossed ethnic, religious, and linguistic lines (between French and German speakers among the Swiss, and between the Swiss and nearby German or English settlers); and that land was from the start unevenly distributed (Purry claimed 20,000 acres, or almost a third of the township, for himself). Religion was not a strong bond of community. On Sundays, while most of the French Swiss majority attended services presided over by the town's Anglican missionary, many of the German Swiss crossed the river to hear Johann Martin Blozius's sermons to the Salzburger colony in Ebenezer.

At times, Migliazzo implies that Purrysburg was more closely knit and better populated (and Purry more well meaning and community minded) than the evidence he presents indicates. For example, repeated references are made to an elaborate town plan (including a street grid and numbered lots), which is also shown in three illustrations, but this plan (like many such in the colonial South) was a dead letter. As early as 1739, settlers were described as living "scattered here and there on their plantations" rather than in a nucleated town (p. 195). Likewise, although population figures are notably lacking, reading between the lines suggests that "an astronomical mortality rate" (Purry himself died in 1736) as well as the migration of many artisans to Charleston or Savannah probably reduced the number of white inhabitants of Purrysburg dramatically within a few years of their arrival. By 1750, the remaining white settlers were likely outnumbered by their slaves, who, while mentioned here, are not considered either as part of the larger Purrysburg community or as forming a separate community of their own.

Yet, Migliazzo argues that the descendents of the Purrysburg immigrants did ultimately form a community, if only an imagined one. Years after the last traces of the town were destroyed by Sherman's Yankees in 1865, white South Carolinians remembered their Purrysburg origins and honored their Huguenot forebears. For Migliazzo, this indicates an unbroken thread of identity and ethnicity through the centuries. But perhaps the formation of the Huguenot Society of South Carolina in 1885, like that of the Mayflower Society twelve years later, reveals more about American culture and identity at the end of the nineteenth century than the beginning of the eighteenth.

ROBERT OLWELL
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BRUCE W. EELMAN *Entrepreneurs in the Southern Upcountry: Commercial Culture in Spartanburg, South Carolina, 1845–1880*. Athens: University of Georgia Press. 2008. Pp. xii, 313. $42.95.

It is striking that well over fifty years after its initial publication so many historians still feel compelled to engage C. Vann Woodward's apparently timeless work, *Origins of the New South, 1877–1913* (1951). The continuing legacy of this classic text can be found in a number of recent studies that examine the theme of change versus continuity in the nineteenth-century South. Pursuing Woodward's lead, many scholars long understood the Civil War as representing a permanent break with a very different antebellum past. After the war, new leaders arose like so many clichéd phoenixes from the ashes of the defeated Confederacy to build a New South order premised on industrial development, boosterism, and white supremacy. This rather neat history has taken a thrashing over the years. Recent, compelling works by Mark Smith, Chad Morgan, and Jonathan Daniel Wells have revealed tremendous economic, social, and even political antecedents for the postwar South in its formative antebellum years. Bruce W. Eelman's book builds upon this literature to establish quite convincingly how so much that seemed new or "modern" in the postwar South originated decades before secession.

The effort to modernize the South, according to Eelman, began well before the Civil War when entrepreneurs attempted to create a dynamic commercial economy "complemented by widespread educational opportunities, a formal rationalized legal system, and social reform" (p. 6). During the antebellum period this effort, led mainly by merchants, manufacturers, and professionals, enjoyed limited success. Only after the Civil War did the "political climate" permit "town-based entrepreneurs to eclipse the power of rural elites and help the region transition to a more fully capitalistic New South economy" (p. 8). The focus of Eelman's book is Spartanburg County, South Carolina, but he maintains that much of what he uncovered in this upcountry community regarding the activities of these entrepreneurs repeated itself across the South. In a series of well-organized chapters, Eelman describes how businessmen established critical roles for themselves in the growing city of Spartanburg and the surrounding region during the 1850s. Utilizing an impressive number of primary sources, Eelman demonstrates how these middle-class entrepreneurs created a growing interdependent relationship with the planter class. Certainly tension existed among planters, yeoman farmers, and their more commercially adventurous entrepreneur neighbors. Yet this did not stop the latter from promoting state support for railroad development, bank reform, and a host of other causes typically associated with the more advanced antebellum North. Indeed, but for the intransigence of the lowcountry planter elite in the state legislature, there is some evidence to suggest that these upcountry businessmen would have created a statewide public school system that bore striking similarities to

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those found in many northern states. In possibly his strongest chapter, Eelman mines court records to illustrate how entrepreneurs in Spartanburg County attempted to end lawlessness, drunkenness, and other immoral behavior, in part to make the community more attractive to outside investors. At the same time, these businessmen tolerated a certain measure of extralegal violence in order to maintain the privileges their race and class afforded them.

Most upcountry entrepreneurs supported secession and eventual war. Like so many communities across the South, the conflict left Spartanburg County in desperate circumstances. Its economy in tatters and institutional life dislocated, local businessmen championed the economic diversification and social reforms they had supported in the antebellum era. Enjoying unprecedented influence during Reconstruction, business leaders argued that increasing trade networks, capital investment, and both manufacturing and mercantile activity were the keys to prosperity in the New South. This ambitious agenda alienated many poor, rural whites who often did not benefit from such economic change and the expanding reach of government. Eelman concludes, like Lacy K. Ford, Bryant Simon, and others, that these cracks in the social foundation of upcountry South Carolina did not widen due in large measure to the business leaders' skill in cultivating a "race consciousness" based upon white supremacy that "stalled the formation of class consciousness" (p. 245). As they had before the Civil War, these entrepreneurs adapted to their surroundings in order to create the order they had long envisioned.

This book exemplifies much about what is best in local history. It is deeply researched. Its textured analysis places the history of Spartanburg County and its business leaders in a local as well as a regional context. Social historians may wish Eelman had offered a more substantive treatment of the personal lives of the men and women in Spartanburg's commercial classes, while his political analysis occasionally understates the peculiarities of the Palmetto State. These criticisms aside, historians of the nineteenth-century South will benefit from this book and from grappling with the continuing trend in historiography it signals.

FRANK J. BYRNE
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JEFF FORRET. *Race Relations at the Margins: Slaves and Poor Whites in the Antebellum Southern Countryside*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 2006. Pp. ix, 269. $45.00.

The study of poor whites and their relations with other elements of antebellum southern society poses a unique challenge for historians. The voluminous manuscript letters and diaries that enable scholars to paint a vivid portrait of the more affluent members of that society simply do not exist for a group that was only marginally, if at all, literate. More than a decade ago, however, Charles C. Bolton rose to that challenge with his path-breaking study *Poor Whites of the Antebellum South: Tenants and Laborers in Central North Carolina and Northeast Mississippi* (1994). More recently, Max L. Grivno has explored the relationships among poor whites, free blacks, and slaves in his award-winning dissertation, "There Slavery Cannot Dwell: Agriculture and Labor in Northern Maryland" (2007). Now Jeff Forret has applied the same imaginative investigative techniques to an examination of the social and economic relations between poor whites and slaves in the rural areas of Virginia and the two Carolinas. The result is a well-written, logically organized, and refreshingly objective view of the complex relationship between those two groups.

Forret's initial task was to define the term "poor whites." He begins by accepting Bolton's definition of poor whites as those who owned neither land nor slaves, but he also includes some others who were commonly labeled "poor white trash"—so-called because of their unsavory personal characteristics. Then, in a study enlivened by anecdotes drawn primarily from court cases, he proceeds to examine interracial contacts in the workplace, grog shops, bedroom, and in the underground economy. Basing his work on indefatigable and imaginative research in such primary sources as court records, slave narratives, legislative acts, governors' correspondence, newspapers, travel accounts, and census returns, Forret argues that instead of the stereotypical racial animosity that divided slaves and poor whites, the relationship between the two groups was actually more complex—"a curious mix of love and hate, equality and inequality" (p. 15). In short, class as much as race frequently governed the relationship between the two groups.

Despite the ubiquitous barrier of race, poor whites and slaves frequently collaborated in fencing stolen goods, working side by side as farm laborers, and sharing such leisure activities as drinking and gambling. Particularly noteworthy was the cooperation between the two groups in operating an illicit underground trade in commodities, a trade that increased sharply in the 1840s and 1850s despite laws prohibiting such activity. In most of these cases, slaves traded foodstuffs stolen from their masters for liquor. With respect to the institution of slavery, poor whites played an ambivalent role. Some upheld the slave regime by serving as overseers, patrollers, and slave catchers, while a few helped to undermine the system by forging passes, harboring runaways, stealing slaves, and, in rare instances, actually aiding rebellious slaves.

Violence and sex are the predominant themes in the last two chapters of this book. The latent hostility between slaves and poor whites, together with misunderstandings resulting from social fraternization, frequently led to violent encounters between the two groups. Most involved cases of simple assault and battery, but a few degenerated into drunken brawls. Forret contends that the upper-class concept of honor affected both groups—even the slaves—and was a factor in pre-

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cipitating these affrays. At the other end of the spectrum, there were numerous examples of interracial sexual liaisons between poor whites and slaves, most of them involving white men and slave women. Some of these relationships were consensual, while others clearly involved rape. Because the rape of a female slave was not considered a crime in the antebellum South, evidence concerning sex between white males and female slaves is difficult to obtain. Consequently, Forret has chosen to focus upon the much more infrequent examples of sex between slave men and poor white women. Because of the assumed promiscuity of the latter, the author finds that juries frequently failed to convict slaves accused of rape. Jurors simply did not believe the charges leveled by these fallen women.

This is an important book, illuminating a hitherto neglected chapter in the history of the slave South. For the most part, the writing is clear and unpretentious, the research is truly awesome, and the conclusions are sound. Some may fault the author for emphasizing narrative at the expense of analysis. Others may find that Forret has exaggerated the degree of harmony and cooperation that existed between slaves and poor whites. However, the reviewer would argue that the fraternization between whites and blacks that the author discerns in the antebellum period is a salient characteristic of the South and was common after the Civil War, even during the years of most rigid segregation, and extended well into the twentieth century.

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TIMOTHY JAMES LOCKLEY. *Welfare and Charity in the Antebellum South*. (New Perspectives on the History of the South.) Gainesville: University Press of Florida. 2007. Pp. xiv, 276. $59.95.

Examining practices of welfare and charity in the antebellum South, Timothy James Lockley has produced a timely book addressing the history of a region and country now in the throes of an extended debate over its commitment to welfare programs and the relationship between public and private charitable efforts. Lockley's work offers an informed and carefully balanced exploration of the many formal and informal networks of charitable activity, including government programs, voluntary societies, orphanages, poorhouses, indentures, private loans and exchanges, and schooling. With this broadly conceived approach, Lockley's first purpose is to recover for historical memory the presence and character of the many charitable efforts in the antebellum South, activities and organizations lost because of the destruction over time of some ninety percent of the charitable organizations' records, according to Lockley's estimation. His efforts toward recovery more than succeed; Lockley not only overcomes historical neglect of the region, he makes important statements about sectional practices and the influence of race and slavery on charitable practices.

Despite the absence of the many lost institutional records, Lockley has developed his study from a host of sources. He has scoured archives throughout the South to find surviving newspaper articles and editorials, local account books, and private papers and diaries to supplement the remaining organizational records. It is a significant collection of sources, and Lockley capably integrates his diverse materials into a readable narrative analysis. He weaves together substantial case studies focused on individual experiences with the generalizations he bases on numerical and anecdotal patterns. The result is a book that offers both a synthetic overview and vivid case studies to illustrate the applications of the South's practices and attitudes.

Neglect of charity and welfare in the South has been the consequence of historical forgetfulness, not historical reality. Lockley introduces a host of charitable efforts practiced in the South—enough, he claims, that many elements of southern charitable efforts effectively matched northern operations in scope and extent, a pattern set in the colonial era and continued in the nineteenth century. Although limited at times by private fundraising, public reluctance to be taxed, and a constant impulse to sort the "undeserving" from the "deserving" poor, expressions of charity were relatively generous, Lockley says. Women took the lead in nineteenth-century charitable efforts, supported by the expectations that the postrevolutionary ideology of "republican motherhood" created. Women successfully supplemented and then outdid the work of government and established church, who had led welfare and charity efforts before the American Revolution. Steadily in the mid-nineteenth century, however, men joined in the causes, creating their own voluntary organizations, and with their contacts and public influence they outpaced women in financing and monetary support for charitable organizations. The tensions between male and female-led organizations joined the various sectarian rivalries and debates over indoor and out-relief as dynamic issues in the nineteenth-century relief efforts.

These spats paled before the core issues of race and slavery, Lockley writes, and ultimately the latter made southern relief efforts distinctive. Planters sought control over their communities, and they worked to lead and gate-keep relief efforts so that they could maintain the appearance of white solidarity and strength. Lockley argues that charity, relief, and education retained significant support because white planters felt compelled to maintain their standing as community benefactors known for generosity. They were most likely to give loans and help to their nearest neighbors, a tendency reflecting their concern for reputation and the face-to-face nature of neighborhood relations. Planters and others also sought to maintain white solidarity by preventing the poorest whites from falling out of the racial ranks. Although some relief programs reached out to free blacks, relief in the South was patterned to favor and distinguish white people. Lockley's work restores the history of southern charity to our attention, persuasively compares the region with the North, and

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sharply highlights the uncharitable intentions attached to the many charitable programs.

PHILIP N. MULDER
High Point University

JOHN ASHWORTH. *Slavery, Capitalism, and Politics in the Antebellum Republic*. Volume 2: *The Coming of the Civil War, 1850–1861*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2007. Pp. ix, 683. Cloth $120.00, paper $34.99.

In a time when many Americans studying United States history have jettisoned the concept of class as a primary category of historical analysis, John Ashworth argues in this volume that class was central to the coming of the Civil War. Those who look for a revival of Charles and Mary Beard here, however, will find Ashworth calling for "a more subtle notion of class" (p. 4) and a "far more subtle and complex . . . relationship between ideas and interests" (p. 6) than many readers might expect from one who employs class as his organizing concept.

For Ashworth, both the cause and the consequence of the American Civil War were tied inextricably to the weaknesses of the southern slave system. The economic underperformance of the South stemmed directly from the central class conflict of this book, that between masters and slaves. Slaves' desire for freedom lay at the root of all sectional controversies, not only the obvious ones surrounding the 1850 Fugitive Slave Act but also the more central ones relative to northerners' civil liberties and the expansion of slave territory. He thus begins his group-by-group analysis with southern fire-eaters, for whom worries about outside forces—from the federal government to free blacks and non-slaveholding white southerners—intervening in the master-slave relationship ever and always went back to anxieties over slave resistance. Their need to preserve their control over this class relationship shaped their political behavior within the Union and the drive for secession. Their solicitude to protect slavery was only evidence of its weakness, for northern employers of wage labor did not need to go to such lengths to preserve their class system.

Breaking with the likes of E. P. Thompson, Ashworth insists that class consciousness does not need to be present for class to exist. In the case of slaveholders, they neither admitted nor were fully conscious of this weakness in slavery. Nevertheless, he insists, "to be blind to a problem . . . is not to be immune to its effects" (p. 15). This viewpoint allows Ashworth to paint both northerners and southerners far more sympathetically than if he saw them as crassly and consciously fighting for their material interests. His interpretation instead centers on "the unintended but nonrandom furthering of class interests" by both sides, without any "hint of conspiracy or hypocrisy" (p. 303). He employs this same nuance when addressing the long-running and currently hot topic of the place of slavery in the Democratic Party. Not only does Ashworth attend—as too few do—to change over time within the party, but he also argues that since its founding by Thomas Jefferson, this party had been unintentionally but "functionally proslavery" and had unwittingly "furthered the interests of slaveholders in a nonrandom way" (pp. 204, 467).

While this sort of analysis may be too noncommittal for some, one of the real strengths of the book is that Ashworth takes every group he studies—southern extremists, Republicans, northern Democrats, and Whig Unionists—seriously. He points to how their respective ideologies, rooted as they were in class interests, blinded them to reality in several cases. Thus, "misunderstanding and mutual incomprehension" (p. 340) marked every step along the road to war. But Ashworth resists the notion that these misperceptions rendered this the "blundering generation" portrayed by one school of Civil War historiography; for him the choices these groups made were the rational, even natural, outcomes of their respective worldviews. He thus fits more closely with the school who has described the Civil War as an "irrepressible conflict," one so rooted in divergences between the sections that it was well nigh unavoidable. But he seeks to walk a middle path between these scholarly traditions and many others that he parses throughout the volume.

Although he hedges various bets, Ashworth's volume will no more escape scholarly controversy than did the antebellum moderates to which he devotes some of his attention. For instance, while he recognizes the importance of the political dialectic wherein the North and South became convinced that their rights as well as their interests were under attack from the other side, he unduly downplays this vicious cycle in pursuit of showing that "economic and class factors were of primary importance" (p. 333). And in his zeal to point out the weaknesses of slavery, he gives short shrift to the adaptability of this labor system. He even agrees with antebellum theories that climate constrained slavery (p. 76)—a difficult proposition to maintain in the face of the stubborn persistence of human bondage into the twenty-first century in a wide variety of climates. Possessed of a powerful argument, brimming with large and small insights, and intervening in a host of thorny historiographical controversies, this book should provoke discussion for some time to come.

MATTHEW MASON
Brigham Young University

ALLEN C. GUELZO. *Lincoln and Douglas: The Debates That Defined America*. New York: Simon and Schuster. 2008. Pp. xxvii, 383. $26.00.

In the field of Lincoln studies, saying something that has not been said before—often many times before—is a challenging enterprise. It seems the more a subject has been studied, the greater the need to concoct something, *anything*, new to say about it.

On one level, Allen C. Guelzo's latest entry into the field is meant to reach a nonacademic audience, some members of which hold fantastic notions about Abraham Lincoln. If they read it, they will find this book one of most accessible and astute books on Lincoln and his

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times written in quite a while. Guelzo's narrative style is riveting. His touch is artful and dramatic. His backstories are revealing. His timing for quotes that frame motive and emotion and human frailty is always right.

This book is more than a great read, however. It is also a work of genuine scholarly distinction that manages to say something new. Despite its title, this book is as much about the Lincoln and Douglas campaigns of 1858 as it is about those famous seven debates. Naturally Guelzo has immersed himself in the Lincoln-Douglas literature—both obscure and canonical—and the reader is treated to all the familiar high points of this epic confrontation: Lincoln's "House Divided" speech, which in effect launched his campaign (and which badly damaged his reputation among Illinois's large and decisive contingent of Old Line Whigs); Stephen A. Douglas's dogged and monotonous defense of popular sovereignty, and his equally dogged charges that Lincoln, and his party, favored racial equality; Lincoln's famous queries at Freeport and Douglas's equally famous response (which doomed the Little Giant's forlorn hope of receiving Southern Democrats' backing for his presidential bid in 1860); Douglas's rear-guard battle with pro-southern National Democrats in Illinois, who seemed hell-bent on thwarting Douglas's re-election; and Lincoln's now infamous announcement at Charleston that he unequivocally opposed social and political equality for black people. Guelzo's is as graceful and lively a summary of these debates as exists in print today. More than that, though, this book is the product of prodigious archival digging into Illinois's antebellum political landscape. The result is a fresh understanding of the crucial political and social contexts in which the debates took place. Guelzo foregrounds the influence of Illinois's Democratic and Republican Party leaders, and state party committees, not only in staging the debates but also in shaping each candidate's strategy and rhetorical moves. He provides a detailed account of the circuits traveled and speeches made by the candidates before, after, and in between the seven debates. In the final analysis, victory in 1858 turned on the ribbon of conservative former Whig districts and counties that cut across the middle of Illinois. Here resided voters who abhorred southern slavery but abhorred black folk a little more. And here resided voters who, perhaps more than anything else, gravely worried for the future of the Union. The candidates' and their parties' strategies to target these complicated districts place much of what was said during the campaign in necessary context.

There are some things to quibble with. Guelzo's ungenerous characterization of the New Political History as having somehow devalued politics is bound to cause more than a few tempers to flare. Then there is Guelzo's overarching argument regarding his protagonists' core political philosophies. Douglas emerges here as a value-neutral politician who merely championed a process—popular sovereignty—that enabled the people to get whatever they wished. In contrast, Lincoln, perhaps predictably, emerges as the nation's moral compass. Democracy in the form of popular sovereignty is ultimately empty if not imbued with a fundamental moral purpose: that is, to achieve for all, including a society's most despised and degraded castes, the natural rights of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. Slavery is antithetical to this liberal project and thus must be put on the road to extinction. In other words, Lincoln's politics were guided by principle, Douglas's by process. This may oversimplify the case. Nevertheless, by giving equal time to the debates and the campaigns in which those debates unfolded, Guelzo has produced a book that at once becomes a classic of the genre. It is a must read for Lincoln enthusiasts, Lincoln scholars, and nineteenth-century political historians.

MARK VOSS-HUBBARD
Eastern Illinois University

RUSSELL MCCLINTOCK. *Lincoln and the Decision for War: The Northern Response to Secession*. (Civil War America.) Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2008. Pp. xii, 388. $35.00.

In the last two chapters of this well-written and deeply researched book, Russell McClintock finally addresses that old chestnut of an issue: Abraham Lincoln's handling of the Fort Sumter crisis. What McClintock has to say about the maneuvering that led to the firing of the first shot is shrewd, nuanced, and definitely worth reading, but ultimately—and not surprisingly—he does not really dissent from the story on which most Civil War historians would now probably agree, which is that the president, recognizing that the opportunity to avoid war had evaporated (if it had ever existed), cleverly insured that the South would be seen in the North as the aggressor. The strength of this book, though, does not rest on its analysis of presidential decision making *per se*, but, first, on an argument about the relationship between what happened in the White House and the political process more broadly, and, second, on the thoroughness with which McClintock traces, on an almost day-by-day basis, the ebbs and flows of northern responses to what was happening in the South between Lincoln's election and the mobilization for war. More completely than previous scholarship, this account of those fraught months reveals the importance of misunderstandings, false rumors, and the delays and unreliability of published information. This is not the story of a steadily growing realization of the severity of the crisis; instead McClintock shows that the majority of northerners (the moderates who were not especially zealous about slavery one way or another) prevaricated and vacillated about what to do. The path to war was a winding one, and there was more than one dawn of false hope along the way.

What stands out about this book is its defiantly old-fashioned re-assertion of the primacy of politics to an understanding of northern society on the brink of war. It is not, perhaps, especially controversial to note, as McClintock does, that the northern public saw the crisis through the prism of politics, almost invariably responding to secession through conventional political

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channels—petitioning, writing to officeholders, attending public meetings, and so on. But it is less common nowadays to argue as strongly as he does for a top-down view of the relationship between the public and politicians. McClintock is aware of the ways in which officeholders were sensitive to expressions of public opinion, but he claims that ultimately the public took their lead from the politicians, or at least from what they read in their newspapers about what politicians were doing and saying. Similarly, while one of the features of this book that distinguishes it from most other work on the issue is the attention the author pays to non-Republicans, he nevertheless shows that the majority Republican Party ultimately called the shots. The book thus begins with a broad canvass and a cacophony of northern voices and then gradually narrows its focus to Washington, the cabinet, and finally the president himself. McClintock originally set out, he tells us, to write a more fashionable book that would explore society and culture as a way of understanding why northerners responded to secession as they did. He is surely right to insist that such an approach ultimately could not have explained why the decisions that mattered were taken. Consequently, while it is not at all methodologically naïve, the argument in this book is unashamedly driven by the intrigues of "high politics."

There are many telling observations in this book, but in the end McClintock leaves the impression that for all the political energy expended on finding a solution to the crisis, there was no real likelihood of avoiding war. The political actors he examines were, for the most part, trapped in the logic of their own conception of what was politically possible. Even the proposal, supported by several leading Republicans, that all the land south of the old Missouri Compromise line be immediately admitted as slave states (which would have sidestepped the Republican platform's absolute opposition to slavery expansion in U.S. territories) went nowhere, in part because of radical northern opposition, but mainly because the cotton states were in no mood for a deal of any kind. The irony here is that this careful study of northern politics ends up demonstrating that, in the final analysis, the explanation for why the war came requires, after all, an analysis of politics in the South. McClintock's study will not alter our understanding of the momentous events he describes in any substantial way. Yet, in telling the story so thoughtfully and with such attention to detail, this fine piece of scholarship certainly deserves to take its place alongside the familiar historiographical landmarks left by Kenneth M. Stampp, David M. Potter, and Richard N. Current a generation ago.

ADAM I. P. SMITH
University College London

PHILLIP E. MYERS. *Caution and Cooperation: The American Civil War in British-American Relations*. (New Studies in U.S. Foreign Relations.) Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press. 2008. Pp. xi, 332. $55.00.

Improved Anglo-American relations in the antebellum period were primarily responsible for preventing a war between the Union and England during the American Civil War. The North-South struggle over foreign recognition of the Confederacy; Secretary of State William H. Seward's repeated warnings that intervention meant war; the Union's forceful removal of two southern emissaries from the *Trent* (1861); the Confederacy's clandestine efforts to build a navy in British shipyards; the British flirtation with a French armistice proposal—none of these issues seriously threatened the rapprochement. Indeed, Phillip E. Myers asserts, those historians who have discerned the possibility of a third Anglo-American war have ignored the strength of this accord. This is his revisionist argument in a study that devotes considerable space to the period before and after the Civil War as well as to the war itself.

Such a bold reinterpretation requires a fresh look at the documents and a convincing analysis that rejects much of traditional scholarship. It necessitates discounting the war threats cast both ways across the Atlantic by establishing the danger as more imagined than real. It diminishes the importance of the recognition issue, which to many writers was a vital interest to both North and South because it could determine the verdict of the Civil War by designating the Confederacy as a sovereign state authorized to negotiate commercial and military treaties. Has his argument changed the literature?

Myers regards neutrality as proof of a genuine British desire to stay out of the American war, and that is correct; but he does not explore how neutrality itself carried the potential of war. Not only did the British proclamation of neutrality infuriate the Lincoln administration by bestowing belligerent status onto the South—only one step removed from recognition—but the British (and French) quickly realized that their neutral policies often helped one side while alienating the other. Furthermore, the international law on neutrality could justify an intervention that in itself threatened war. As the fighting ground on, the British foreign secretary, Lord John Russell, came to support a principle set out by the Swiss legal theorist, Emmerich Vattel: that neutral nations have the right by international law to intervene in a war (including a civil war) that endangered their commerce and security.

From the opening moments of the Civil War—when both North and South denied the relevance of slavery—the British insisted that the South simply wished to establish independence and escape the tyrannical North. The outcome was a fait accompli, they (and the French) declared; how could the Union subjugate eleven states and millions of people? As the casualties mounted, the British complained about the war's atrocities and the senseless nature of the fighting, asserting their responsibility as a civilized people to stop the war in the name of peace. Mediation, an armistice, making their good offices available for peace talks, the use of force—all options involved an intervention *not* on the side of the South but on behalf of either humanity or the economic

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welfare of all peoples hurt by the war. Yet as the Union understood and the British acknowledged, *any* form of intervention benefitted the South because a settlement rested on its separation from the Union and ultimate recognition as a nation.

These were reasons for war that the Lincoln administration well understood. The *Trent* affair threatened a war over British honor that would assure the Confederacy of an ally against the North. Resolution of the *Trent* crisis did not come as easily as Myers insists, and not primarily from a mutual respect for caution and cooperation stemming from the prewar rapprochement. The Lincoln administration realized that Captain Charles Wilkes had violated international law and that a war with England while fighting the Confederacy would virtually assure southern independence. Nor did recognition and other issues go away after the *Trent* crisis. The Emancipation Proclamation did not quiet British interest in intervention; indeed, their belief that Abraham Lincoln sought to stir up slave revolts heightened Lord Russell's support for intervention until the British cabinet overwhelmingly voted down Napoleon's armistice proposal in early November 1862. Vital interests lay at the bottom of the intervention issue. Why else would the Lincoln administration warn England (and France) that recognition of the South meant war with the Union?

One does not have to agree with Myers's argument to recognize that his work will stimulate more interest in the foreign relations of the Civil War. Unfortunately, the deluge of books on battles and generals has obscured the international dimension of the war. Myers's work, though repetitious, lacking tight organization, and not always persuasive, has integrated foreign relations into the story and, by posing a different interpretation, should promote a fuller understanding of the war.

HOWARD JONES
University of Alabama

RICHARD M. REID. *Freedom for Themselves: North Carolina's Black Soldiers in the Civil War Era*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2008. Pp. xvii, 420. $40.00.

Richard M. Reid's study of North Carolina's black soldiers makes a valuable contribution to the growing body of literature on the African American experience during the Civil War era. In his preface Reid acknowledges that the book's title "is meant to highlight the greatest accomplishment of these soldiers as a group, while at the same time hinting at other social gains that would be denied them despite all of their sacrifices" (p. xv). In the pursuit of this theme, Reid explores the collective memory of the soldiers to reveal military service in the Union Army as an ongoing struggle for equality. While narrating the soldiers' stories, Reid empathetically describes the costly sacrifices of war, the soldiers' personal accomplishments and failings, and the challenges of living in the reconstructed South. It is Reid's ability to describe the human face of war in all its rich, complex detail that makes this an important study.

The content and structure of this book center upon the military history of four United States Colored Troops (USCT) regiments. Reid justifies his study of these regiments by arguing that "these four regiments act as a prism to illustrate the wide spectrum of the black wartime experience" (p. 19). It is the very diverse nature of the regiments that enables Reid to expose the wartime experiences of the ordinary soldiers. While two of the regiments, the 35th and 36th USCT, won plaudits for valor in combat, the 37th USCT had a reputation as a poorly performing unit, and the 14th U.S. Colored Heavy Artillery was considered a fatigue unit.

Reid develops his study chronologically and first positions it in a national and state context. Then, in chapter one, he discusses recruitment and training. In chapters two to five the history of each regiment is examined. These military histories provide the structural spine of the book and it is here that we find Reid at his best, probing the inner texture of the ordinary soldier's military service. Chapters six, seven, and eight discuss the civilian and postwar dimensions of the soldiers' lives by examining the families' war time experiences, the soldiers' service in the army of occupation, and the life of black veterans in North Carolina.

One particularly strong aspect of Reid's study is the way it gives voice to the ordinary black soldier; through the richness of his subject matter, the reader is able to gain glimpses of soldiers performing a great variety of roles. It is the cumulative effect of all these fragmentary stories that enables Reid to build a collage of the soldiers' total military experience. Yet Reid does not rely on description alone. One of the strengths of his writing is his exploration of personal conflicts in order to discover deeper racial themes. Reid's ability to relate the soldiers' military service to their home communities is another strength of his book. In this regard his discussion of the Roanoke Island freedmen's colony is particularly revealing.

This book yield fresh insights into some neglected areas of the black soldiers' experience, such as the work of white non-commissioned officers in black regiments, and the role of black prison guards and black recruiters. Reid also asks Civil War historians to revise their perception of the role of state recruiting agents in the South and the psychological impact of the Civil War on USCT veterans.

Although Reid must be commended for the comprehensive nature of his study, the very complexity of his work suggests that this book deserves a longer, more reflective conclusion that addresses the soldiers' common experiences. This issue aside, it remains an important work. The text is well documented with extensive primary references and contains numerous maps and photographs that are effectively integrated with the text.

From a historiographical perspective Reid's book is a valuable addition to the literature on the African American experience in the Civil War era. This book

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picks up many of the themes of Joseph T. Glatthaar's ground-breaking study, *Forged in Battle: The Civil War Alliance of Black Soldiers and White Officers* (1990) and develops them at the brigade and regiment level. Reid's study will also add to the work of historians who have studied specific black regiments, such as Versalle F. Washington and Edward A. Miller, because of the comparative perspective it yields. By examining four diverse regiments from a single state Reid effectively reveals the empowering and liberating experience shared by ordinary black soldiers and their families during the Civil War era.

KEITH P. WILSON
Monash University

WILLIAM WARREN ROGERS, JR. *A Scalawag in Georgia: Richard Whiteley and the Politics of Reconstruction*. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press. 2007. Pp. xiii, 269. $40.00.

Between 1868 and 1876 Richard Whiteley, an Irish immigrant and former Confederate officer, took to the campaign trail five times, "more than any other southern Republican during Reconstruction" (p. 2). The odds against him were tremendous. The Republican Party lacked local political tradition in southwest Georgia's Second Congressional District. Whiteley nevertheless served in Congress, and his district, author William Warren Rogers, Jr., writes, "provides a point of instruction to evaluate the successes and failures of the Republican blueprint" (p. 3). Following the revisionist path begun by David H. Donald and Allen Trelease, among others, Rogers presents a more objective portrait of a scalawag than the Dunning school. Whiteley emerges as a politically astute and complex personality who attempted to represent the best interests of his black majority district while striving not to alienate whites.

Whiteley arrived in the United States during the late 1830s. His widowed mother settled in Augusta, Georgia, where Richard was apprenticed to textile factory work. By 1860 Whiteley was a husband, father, slaveholder, and naturalized citizen. He moved several times, finally settling in Decatur County. There he passed the bar examination and supported Democrat Stephen A. Douglas for president. Whiteley immediately threw himself into the Confederate war effort. After joining the Hardee Rifles, he went on to become captain of the Second Georgia Sharpshooter's battalion. He saw service at Shiloh, Perryville, and Atlanta and was promoted to major before the war's end.

Just what caused Whiteley to abandon the Democratic Party and become, unlike most former Confederates, "an avowed Republican," is unclear (p. 21). Few private papers have survived that reflect his thoughts. He believed, however, that southerners should accept the results of the war and throw their weight behind the region's economic rejuvenation. "Freedom and justice," he believed, "were the rights of the ex-slaves" (p. 31). By 1867 Whiteley had publicly stated his newfound Republicanism. After attending the Georgia constitutional convention in Atlanta, he became the Republican candidate for his district and ran against the popular Democrat Nelson Tift of Albany. Although Whiteley was defeated in an election marred by fraud and violence, Republican Rufus Bullock was elected governor and his party controlled the legislature. Meanwhile, Whiteley continued to work for the Republican Party cause, but as a moderate Republican with wealth and a record of Confederate service, he did not face the "extreme ostracism" that confronted many scalawags (p. 49).

After serving as solicitor general of the Southwestern Judicial District, a Bullock-appointed office, Whiteley in 1870 once again ran against Tift. His years as solicitor general made his name a familiar one on the district level, where approximately 30,000 more blacks resided than whites. He actively campaigned at African American churches and Republican clubs but also enlisted the support of whites, including the economically disadvantaged who found the debt relief and homestead measures of Georgia Republicans attractive. Moreover, he called for political amnesty for former Confederates barred from holding office.

Once again, Tift narrowly defeated him. But this time, Georgia's Republican Party controlled the election certification process and Whiteley was declared the winner. In 1871, he took his seat, which "marked a Reconstruction milestone. Georgia was the final state to return to the Union, and he was the last congressman from the state to be sworn in" (p. 82). In Washington, Congressmen Whiteley voted for the Ku Klux Klan Bill, supported reducing the protective tariff, and busied himself with political appointments, while at home he and his wife took part in ceremonies memorializing the Confederate dead.

Protecting the young Republican Party in Georgia from charges of corruption was foremost in Whiteley's mind, and for this reason he soon broke with the Bullock administration. Ultimately, Whiteley's attempt to balance the interests of Republican stalwarts and white voters in his district helped bring about his downfall. Bullock's camp accused him of giving patronage jobs to ex-Confederates, while his support of the Civil Rights Bill (1875) alienated many whites who considered him too radical. With his own party divided, and Georgia Democrats using his support of the Civil Rights Bill against him, Whiteley lost his bid for re-election to William Smith, a former Whig and Confederate officer. He returned to Bainbridge to continue his legal career but moved to Colorado in 1877. Two final chapters describe Whiteley's years in Boulder, where he continued to practice law and died in 1890.

Well written and deeply researched, this book is an important contribution to our understanding of the difficult road that some southern white ex-Confederates, men who could not return to the prewar status quo, traveled beyond the Democratic Party pale. Rogers presents a balanced account, concluding that while Whiteley was "an indefatigable advocate of causes" and

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a "man of vision" (p. 207), there was also "a complex and dark side to this enigmatic figure" (p. 210). Although Whiteley publicly supported the civil rights of blacks and the rights of women, for example, he physically abused his wife in private, and "more than once his sexual desires overcame his will to pursue a morally higher course" (p. 210). Whiteley will in all likelihood remain an "enigmatic figure," but this study is exemplary in its intent to explore the landscape and boundaries of his political and social world in Reconstruction Georgia.

MARK V. WETHERINGTON
Filson Historical Society

LINDA HEIDENREICH. *"This Land Was Mexican Once": Histories of Resistance from Northern California*. (Chicana Matters Series.) Austin: University of Texas Press. 2007. Pp. xiv, 255. Cloth $50.00, paper $19.95.

Since at least the early twentieth century, largely in reaction to the final phases of imperialism and other factors surrounding the coming of the world wars and the forces unleashed by them, concerned historians have sought to give greater voice to previously excluded groups and individuals to broaden and enrich our understanding not only of the past but the present as well. Drawing upon other disciplines in the social sciences and beyond, the *Annales* school and what was once the "new social history" were early manifestations of this concern, which has grown and matured significantly over time to become nearly dominant in the historical profession.

A current exemplar at the cutting edge of this trend is Linda Heidenreich's new study. In her concern for the diversity of history in Napa County, California, Heidenreich draws not only on her innovative research but also on her personal background to overcome what she sees as the traditional chronological, Euro-American history of this fascinating region. She wants to make it clear that the region "contains more than grapevines." In an imperative introduction, six relatively brief but important chapters, and a conclusion, she seeks to separate out the variously paced "overlapping histories" of the different major ethnic groups of the area—Indian, Latino, Chinese, and Euro-American—to tell their stories and the story of Napa more effectively. While concentrating on the nineteenth century to the present, and often favoring currency over history, she does try to give a relatively complete account of each people's time in the area. Thus, for example, in the first chapter on the Wappo, the major Indian group in the county, she admirably reconstructs their pre-European contact past from studies of their rituals and ceremonies, in addition to their oral histories and other stories. This volume is particularly strong on the histories of Napa before and outside of Euro-American dominance.

From her extensive endnotes and bibliography, it is clear that the author has thoroughly researched the existing primary and secondary source materials. But she also incorporates information from diverse literary and oral sources rather well. In addition to specific references to primary sources throughout this work, there are three novel two to three page "source breaks" of primary material inserted at critical junctures that enhance the impact, readability, and stability of this volume. In this regard, at the end of chapter two, "Stories of Settler-Colonizers, and the Colonized," the "Bear Flag Narratives" (pp. 72–74) are particularly telling and point the way to chapter three, "The Bear Flag Incident."

In her introduction, and throughout, Heidenreich talks of trying to break with chronology, by which she means the perceived linearity imposed on the histories of other peoples by Euro-Americans and their historiography. Her stories are individual and "conflicting histories." The author is engaged in an exercise of decolonial history. Plainly, she sees the regional historical context, when examined through the histories of individual peoples, in the overarching terms of "nation building" versus "resistance."

This study is a complicated, interesting, and even compelling book. At its finish, however, the author and reader are confronted by a seeming paradox. Heidenreich set out to re-chronicle the past of Napa County, away from Euro-American-centric chronological and historiographical influences, to illuminate the abounding multiethnic diversity of the region. On the contrary, as she acknowledges in the conclusion, she has not produced an alternative history but rather "a series of micro-histories, many of them linear in themselves" (p. 168). Even so, this volume should not be judged too harshly for its shortfalls. It makes a noteworthy contribution to the history of northern California and the American West and is representative of current efforts to understand more fully the complexity of this subject matter. It is not a definitive work, but a beginning.

DENNIS REINHARTZ
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JARED FARMER. *On Zion's Mount: Mormons, Indians, and the American Landscape*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 2008. Pp. 455. $29.95.

Jared Farmer explains in the opening sentence of this book that he has written "the creation story of a landmark" (p. 1). More specifically, he has written about the manner in which Mt. Timpanogos, a peak that is neither the highest in the Wasatch Range nor the most historically prominent landmark in the Utah Valley, became such a beloved monument in contemporary Utah. This task requires a great deal of effort and insight, for Mt. Timpanogos's rise to prominence depended on a complicated series of events that are closely tied to the ways in which Mormons in particular and Americans in general have constructed their histories and defined the natural world around them. Therefore, the creation of "Timp" is emblematic of how "the senses of place that make present-day Americans feel at home would not exist without past displacements" (p. 16). Just as Mt.

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Timpanogos is more than a simple landmark, this book is far more than the history of a mountain peak.

The text is divided into three sections, and each one takes apart the very history Mt. Timpanogos represents to contemporary inhabitants of Utah. The opening three chapters examine how Mormon emigration and settlement in the second half of the nineteenth century affected both people and place. Prior to the arrival of Brigham Young and the tens of thousands of Mormons in search of Zion, the indigenous residents of the Utah Valley depended on Utah Lake and the rivers that carried the snowmelt into its waters. Although these Southern Numic speakers, known more specifically as Lake People or Fish Eaters, had contact with Spaniards and fur traders, it was the arrival of the Mormons that truly changed their lives. The initial pioneer settlements near the Great Salt Lake led to uneasy but relatively equal relations between Mormons and Indians, but by the 1860s the Mormons had begun to stake a claim to the Utah Valley as well. The resulting displacement of numerous Ute Indian bands also removed their way of life from the valley. By the mid-twentieth century Utah Lake no longer represented a cultural or subsistence center for the residents of the region. A victim of pollution and neglect, the lake became an element of the past as the gaze of Utahans turned eastward to the Wasatch Mountains.

The second and third sections of the book explain how it is that Mt. Timpanogos went from an unnamed peak to a looming natural presence of such symbolic and cultural importance. In both cases Farmer weaves together the particular story of this Utah landmark with larger developments within the United States. He masterfully illustrates the manner in which mountain veneration, alpine aesthetics, and elevation measurements combined in late nineteenth and early twentieth-century Utah to make a symbolic mountain out of a peak that, upon further review, did not actually tower over its colleagues. Equally important, however, were the ways in which Timpanogos became a crucial part of the local cultural landscape. As Farmer describes, the creation of the Annual Timpanogos Hike in 1912 tied the Brigham Young University community to "Timp" in a way that soon placed the mountain and the valley residents in an apparent symbiotic relationship that continues to this day.

But the boosterism involved in that process also entailed giving meaning to physical landscape. In this final section, entitled "Marking a Mountain: Indian Play," Farmer once again reveals how the specific relationship between the Mormon residents of the Utah Valley and Mt. Timpanogos reveals a great deal about local and national developments. Both the name of the peak and the legends created to give that name meaning crafted a story that would eventually displace the history of the Mormons' early years in the Great Basin just as those same Mormons had removed most of the Ute Indians from their lands.

Farmer weaves together multiple historical narratives to produce a book that is both intellectually rigorous and pleasurably accessible. The main difficulty is figuring out how to describe it properly. This work is a study in American and Mormon pioneering and Mormon-Indian relations even as it serves to explicate the intricate relationship among geography, memory, and societal construction in the years following that initial pioneering. Though it covers the better part of two centuries, the depth of analysis and the rigor of the explanation make that chronological expanse appear to be less of an obstacle than one might imagine. Indeed, Farmer displays an impressive grasp of the interplay between a society and its history and capably presents that interplay in a smooth narrative. In the process, he has written a book that will engage historians of multiple fields and will make significant contributions to multiple historiographies.

JOHN P. BOWES
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DEBORAH A. ROSEN. *American Indians and State Law: Sovereignty, Race, and Citizenship, 1790–1880*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 2007. Pp. xvii, 340. $55.00.

This book analyzes the policies, laws, and court cases dealing with American Indians in some selected states and territories from 1790 to 1880, focusing on how three conflicting assertions played out: tribal sovereignty, states' rights, and federal power over Indian affairs. Despite the prevailing erroneous notion that Indian policy and regulation have been exclusively under the jurisdiction of the federal government, the problem of the state and federal governments' authority over the Indians has long attracted the attention of leading legal scholars and historians, who have produced significant works.

Drawing not only upon these works but upon major court cases, Deborah A. Rosen has produced a most comprehensive study of the subject. The book covers a wide range of topics within the general categories of sovereignty, race, and citizenship and encompasses New York, Georgia, Massachusetts, Louisiana, Michigan, Minnesota, New Mexico, and California.

As to sovereignty in the triangular relations among the state governments, the federal government, and the Indians, the most important conflict, Rosen argues, was the one between federal and state authorities over the Indians, and thus the main legal issue was not tribal sovereignty but states' rights in a federal political structure.

The author then turns to racism and racial discrimination against Indians. Although Indians legally had a racial advantage over blacks, many states nevertheless passed laws discriminating against Indians on the basis of race. The Indian removal, which took place not only in the Southeast but also in the Northeast and Midwest, was the result of this discriminatory attitude of whites, who did not accept Indians in their community as equal citizens. Moreover, Indians were excluded from certain rights and civil obligations. From the Civil War into the

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early twentieth century, many states continued to discriminate against Indians.

Surveying the debates in the Michigan and Minnesota constitutional conventions from 1835 to 1867, Rosen discovers a shift in rhetoric from a focus on race to a focus on Indians' political status. By the end of the nineteenth century, both Michigan and Minnesota granted the right to vote to "civilized," detribalized Indians, so far as the federal government recognized them as subject to state authority.

The author next examines the politics of Indian citizenship rights, dealing specifically with the Mashpees in Massachusetts and the Pueblos in New Mexico. The motives for bestowing citizenship upon them were, Rosen points out, far from idealistic. Economic reasons often dominated. Indian citizenship, for example, would enable conversion of communal land to privately held property, providing whites easier access to it.

Although during the period of 1790–1880 the states played a major role in dealing with Indians, the federal government by 1880 began to be more active. The objective of its aggressive assimilation policy was to acculturate Indian citizens and make them independent of their tribes. Their attempt, however, was only partially successful because of the Indians' persistent adherence to their traditions and cultures. The federal government finally declared all Indians to be citizens but ruled that citizenship was not inconsistent with retention of tribal ties or with guardianship status.

Rosen's work is not just a study in legal history but a broad social, economic, political, and cultural history of American Indians in the context of the federal and state governments during the first 100 years of the new nation. Careful readers, however, may disagree with some of her arguments and approaches. Divided sovereignty, for example, needs to be more fully examined. Since the states retain all the powers except the ones specifically designated to the federal government (both express and implied powers), the author should have concentrated on defining the federal government's jurisdiction over Indians instead of trying to enumerate all the possible powers the states could exercise over the Indians. The matrilineal nature of Mashpee society should be analyzed fully to ascertain the real nature of property ownership, and the distinction between federal citizenship and state citizenship should have been more clearly explained. In dealing with the states carved out of the Louisiana Purchase lands, Felix Cohen's idea of suzerainty seems crucial to understanding Indian-white relations.

These reservations notwithstanding, the book makes important contributions in the field. The author has succeeded in integrating a huge amount of significant material culled from both primary and secondary sources. The book teems with rich and useful information and will certainly serve as a valuable reference for historians and general readers.

YASUHIDE KAWASHIMA
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FAY A. YARBROUGH. *Race and the Cherokee Nation: Sovereignty in the Nineteenth Century*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 2008. Pp. x, 184. $55.00.

In this finely written and well-researched work, Fay A. Yarbrough examines how the Cherokee Nation in the nineteenth century fostered a racial ideology through the regulation of interracial marriage. The author also demonstrates how the Cherokees, in the face of increasing subjugation by the United States government, were able to preserve a degree of political sovereignty throughout the 1800s by defining their own marriage policies. By focusing on Cherokee attitudes toward marriage, she also explodes the popular myth that blacks and Indians felt as equals who easily entered into sexual unions with each other. On the contrary, the evidence demonstrates that Cherokee lawmakers consistently and repeatedly prohibited marriages between slaves, and then free people of color, and tribal members. According to Yarbrough, throughout the nineteenth century the message was clear: whites "were suitable marriage partners for Cherokees, but people of African descent were not" (p. 4).

During the first third of the nineteenth century, Cherokee legislators passed laws to organize their society that demonstrated how they were already immersed in a racialized view of the world similar to that of the surrounding whites of Georgia. In 1824, the Cherokee Council passed a resolution to conduct a census that recognized three specific groups—Cherokees, "negro" slaves, and whites intermarried with Cherokees—as being lawful residents of the Nation. The Council also passed a series of acts dealing with marriage. Whereas the laws called for the adoption into the nation of all white men who married Cherokee women, an 1824 act expressly forbade marriages between black slaves and Indians or whites.

In 1839, following their forced removal to Indian Territory, Cherokee legislators wrote a new constitution similar to that of the United States in an attempt to prevent future incursions by the federal or state governments on tribal sovereignty or territory. In the laws passed after the 1839 constitution, the Cherokees moved to establish a kind of equality with the federal government by imitating whites' governmental and judicial practices as well as seeking common ground in the whiter identity that clearly defined itself in opposition to blackness. Therefore, the Cherokees in the Indian Territory extended their prohibition on marriage partners to include free persons of color as well as slaves. At the same time, however, the legislators also tightened restrictions on white men's ability to marry Cherokee women in an attempt to reinforce Cherokee sovereignty. Despite the legal injunctions, sexual contact between Cherokees and blacks did take place, as the slave population—many of whom were of mixed Cherokee and African descent—grew to eighteen percent of the entire population of the Nation in 1860.

The Civil War and emancipation did little to change the attitudes of Cherokees toward blacks or the nation's

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willingness to accept marriages between its native citizens and former slaves. The Cherokees had a similar experience during Reconstruction to that of the southern states; although the tribe was forced to capitulate to the federal government's demands to extend citizenship to the freed people, the Cherokee legislators created new categories of citizens with various legal rights. Accordingly, Cherokee freedmen could not be full citizens, nor could they exercise all the rights of Cherokee citizens by birth. Cherokee lawmen also resolved to keep the freed blacks separate from other citizens of the nation and passed laws that continued to prohibit intermarriages. In light of the precariousness of the Cherokee Nation's continued existence in the post-Civil War era, the Cherokees maintained a separate legal category for intermarried whites and placed limits on their legal rights. In an attempt to shore up their power vis-à-vis the increasing numbers of whites in the Indian Territory, the Cherokees also moved toward embracing a pan-Indian identity by making it easier for friendly Indians to marry into the nation.

In spite of the Cherokees' efforts to maintain strict control of tribal citizenship, they unwittingly overlooked the status of non-tribal African Americans marrying into the tribe by wedding Cherokee women. That oversight has led to controversies over the criteria for membership in the Cherokee Nation that persist to the present time. In the relatively weak final chapter, Yarbrough interprets Works Progress Administration narratives of ex-slaves in an attempt to prove that—despite the Cherokees' consistent attempts to identify a common ground with Oklahoma whites against blacks following statehood in 1907—many blacks thought of Indians as nonwhite peoples who had also faced poor treatment from whites. Therefore, according to the author, Oklahoma blacks have considered Indians as friends, collaborators, and equals throughout most of the twentieth century. While this may be, the reasons for the alliance are not clear in Yarbrough's account. Despite this unconvincing conclusion, Yarbrough's important work adds to a more complete understanding of the complex world of the Cherokees in the nineteenth century as they struggled to maintain sovereignty in the face of overwhelming odds.

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John P. Bowes. *Exiles and Pioneers: Eastern Indians in the Trans-Mississippi West*. (Studies in North American Indian History.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 2007. Pp. xiv, 272. Cloth $70.00, paper $22.99.

In this book, John P. Bowes traces the experiences, ordeals, and even triumphs of four eastern Indian peoples—Shawnees, Delawares, Wyandots, and Potawatomis—through their removal from the Old Northwest and their resettlement in the trans-Mississippi West. The fate of dispossessed Indian peoples forced across the Mississippi River by the expanding tide of Euro-American settlement remains an underdeveloped part of their history, a shortcoming which Bowes attempts to rectify. Centering his efforts on the struggles of these Indian peoples to create geographic and political places within an emerging United States, Bowes argues that for eastern Indians who were pushed into the West "military defeat and the Indian removal served as points of transition, not as benchmarks of their demise" (p. 3). Indeed, Bowes explains that the overall lack of federal authority in the trans-Mississippi West offered the Indian migrants opportunities to recreate themselves in a myriad of forms, even if their new found autonomy also subjected them to ever increasing pressures from the settlers, traders, land speculators, and local or state officials over whom the United States government also exercised little control. The crux of Bowes's analysis falls on Kansas, where all four of the Indian peoples under study faced a difficult but crucial choice: to become exiles or pioneers. In Bowes's estimation, those who accepted another removal, this time to Oklahoma Indian territory, became exiles, while those who adopted Americanized standards of living, including private ownership of property, numbered among the pioneers. It is an effective if perhaps overly artificial distinction: were not those who went to Indian Territory also pioneers, while those who remained still exiles in a very literal sense?

The strength of Bowes's book is the important contribution it makes toward understanding the experiences of dispossessed eastern Indians struggling to find a new existence in the West, obstacles that Bowes convincingly demonstrates were similar to all American migrants. Yet Bowes does not offer a linear chronology of the westward migrations of these four peoples. Rather he organizes his study thematically, with each of his seven chapters organized around specific topics that advance the timeframe forward. The opening chapter presents an overview of eighteenth century migrations, bringing the four Indian peoples to the brink of the Mississippi River, where Bowes argues that the Indian migrants viewed the river as a corridor for further movement and even opportunity. This is an interesting claim given that these Indian peoples all at one time negotiated and signed treaties establishing rivers as boundary lines between themselves and the Americans. Chapters two and three assess the removal experience and discuss the experience of rebuilding communities along the eastern edge of Missouri. Chapter four deals with eastern forms of Indian diplomacy in the trans-Mississippi West, demonstrating how patterns of continuity meshed with novel approaches to create a new hybrid method of negotiation. It is perhaps the best chapter in the book. Chapter five follows two men—Joseph Parks and William Walker—to demonstrate how religion and other factors altered leadership patterns in the West. The final two chapters trace how the Shawnees, Delawares, Wyandots, and Potawatomis ultimately became exiles or pioneers, a process that created deep rifts within each nation and ended tragically, as many of the Indian "pioneers" eventually became exiles in Indian Territory.

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This fascinating study suffers from a few shortcomings. Bowes makes little effort to connect the earlier removals of the Shawnees, Delawares, Wyandots, and Potawatomis to the decisions each made in the trans-Mississippi West. In addition, ethnic and cultural differences between the groups often are glossed over in an effort to seek commonality, while internal divisions and separations play too small a part in the overall analysis. Likewise, the short epilogue does not adequately assess the rest of the story, rendering Bowes's claim that "more than any other historical period, developments of the mid-nineteenth century created the framework for the legal and political battles of these four communities over the decades and centuries that followed" very debatable (p. 15). On a technical note, the historiographical discussion in the introduction seems out of place and distracts from Bowes's own arguments. Moreover, the questionable claims about the inadequacy of some focused tribal histories is unnecessary; it is often simpler and more effective to discuss what one's own work proves rather than stressing what others do not.

These caveats aside, this is an important book on a long neglected topic. It should be required reading for the history of westward movement into the trans-Mississippi West, Indian and American alike. Like all good history, it is certain to generate as many new questions as it answers, but hopefully it will lead to further efforts to study eastern Indians in the trans-Mississippi West.

DANIEL P. BARR
Robert Morris University

WILLIAM E. UNRAU. *The Rise and Fall of Indian Country, 1825–1855*. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. 2007. Pp. xiv, 201. $29.95.

In his new monograph, William E. Unrau argues that the Indian Trade and Intercourse Act of 1834 *created* a distinct "Indian country" in space located between the Mississippi River and the Rocky Mountains but not within the state of Missouri or the territory of Arkansas. As a place of purpose, Indian country had been *imagined* in the Proclamation Line of 1763, the Louisiana Purchase debate in 1803, and in treaty negotiations with the Osage and Kansa Indians in 1825. In the created territory, both indigenous and emigrant Indians would enjoy a permanent and safe haven where they could accommodate economic and social change according to their own time schedule. Although a noble vision, the imagined promise of Indian country was never more than an illusion. The burden of this book is to explain why and how that turned out to be so between 1825 and 1855.

The area selected for Indian country complicated its reality. Described as the "Eden of America," its richest soils were already occupied by white agriculturalists, especially just west of the state of Missouri where most tribal reservations were or would be located. Moreover, the authors of the Indian Trade and Intercourse Act of 1834 chose not to describe the borders of Indian country in words suggesting permanency. They assumed instead that those boundaries had to be flexible enough to accommodate non-Indian usage of the Santa Fe and other trails, the relocation of eastern tribes to Indian country, the work of missionary groups, the occupation of military troops, and even the settlement of white farmers. Clearly, the fence-like boundaries requested by Potawatomi Chief Quish-Queh-Leh to make the security and peace of his people a reality were never seriously considered.

Also, the Indian Trade and Intercourse Act created virtually no internal, formal governmental structures in Indian country, despite the anticipated arrival of tens of thousands of Indians from east of the Mississippi River. To deliver basic programs in the field for social, economic, and moral improvement as prescribed in negotiated treaties was not especially difficult; to maintain proscriptive standards of behavior (such as the prohibition of whiskey), which were usually spelled out in congressional legislation, was, however. In 1834, some federal officials proposed creating a formal territory in Indian country, which with similar rights and powers granted to other federal territories, could address its unique problems. Congress declined to take such a step, although twenty years later it did create Kansas-Nebraska Territory. Both decisions crippled Indian country as a viable haven of safety and permanence for its Indian residents.

Even before creation of Indian country, intruders challenged its borders. Some passed through on their way to Oregon, California, Utah, Santa Fe, or Chihuahua; others followed a proliferation of trails winding across the prairie plains. Federal troops entered during the Mexican-American War, and subsequently surveyed prospective routes for a trans-continental railroad. Pressured by federal officials, tribal leaders compressed the size of their reservations by an average of 80 percent not only to open pathways for the intruders, but also to create "surplus" land to be used for the resettlement of eastern Indians or white agriculturalists. The emergence of such an expanse of unappropriated land deemed available for non-Indian settlement enabled U.S. Senators Thomas Hart Benton and Stephen A. Douglas to justify creation of Kansas-Nebraska Territory in 1854. To former Commissioner of Indian Affairs George W. Manypenny these developments meant that Indian country as identified in 1834 was a "dead letter," merely "a relic of the past" (p. 131). And so it was, at least west and north of Missouri. Elsewhere, thanks to an 1877 U.S. Supreme Court decision, Indian country would survive, but with borders determined by action of Congress.

In sum, this is a well-researched, thoughtful study that deserves the attention of scholars of the American West, American Indians, and Kansas. I have two minor complaints, however. First, Indian country as defined by the Indian Trade and Intercourse Act of 1834 included the region west of Arkansas and south of the 37th Parallel, now Oklahoma. Of this area, which by 1840 contained at least one-half of the total population,

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Unrau has little to say, probably because it does not conform to his thesis about the demise of Indian country in 1855. Happily, Indian country was no illusion there and has continued to exist to this very day. Second, the organization and complex analysis of the author's narrative will reward the reader—but only with considerable labor.

W. David Baird
Pepperdine University

Joshua David Bellin. *Medicine Bundle: Indian Sacred Performance and American Literature, 1824–1932*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 2008. Pp. 264. $55.00.

Joshua David Bellin traces what he terms "Indian" and "non-Indian" traditions of performance in the nineteenth century to argue that the cultural encounter played a central role in producing American identities, American culture, and American literature. His argument begins with the Indigenous notion of "medicine" as not just healing remedies but also as the performance of sacred ceremonies; he adds "white medicine" or Euro-American systems of power to arrive at the "medicine bundle" of the title, which derives its power through contact with the other. Thus the encounter between sacred performance *by* Indians and the performance *of* Indianness by Indians and whites, he argues, lies at the "heart of American life and literature" (p. 4).

In three long chapters Bellin examines discrete examples of performance to test his theory. He focuses on the nineteenth century as the period of the most intense national attack on Native lands, communities, and spirituality, but his somewhat arbitrary periodization (1824–1932) reflects the publication dates of two of the texts under consideration, Cherokee convert Catharine Brown's jointly authored *Memoir* in 1824, and John G. Neihardt's *Black Elk Speaks* in 1932.

Bellin then begins in the middle. Chapter one analyzes George Catlin's mid-century role as artist, impresario, and interpreter of Indian sacred performance. For Bellin, Catlin is representative of a shift in Euro-American attitudes toward Indian medicine, from savage and blasphemous to sideshow spectacle stripped of its sacred qualities and appropriated as the white cult of Indianness. But, Bellin argues, however much this "white medicine play" (p. 24) presumed to displace Indian people and their medicine, it was indeed possessed of that medicine. This is the essence of Bellin's metaphor of the medicine bundle: Indian and white struggling for control of Indian sacred performance where each is given meaning by the presence, or absence, of the other.

Chapter two, "Being and Becoming 'Indian'" (a swipe at James A. Clifton's work of the same title), analyzes Catharine Brown's *Memoir*. It is, as Bellin admits, an improbable example of Indian sacred performance since Brown as a Christian Cherokee was held up as a model of the success of the missionary cause and the tragedy of Indian removal. But, Bellin argues that Brown's *Memoir* can be read as an attempt to construct novel identities through imitation of the dominant culture: by consuming white medicine Brown was able to sustain an Indian identity.

Chapter three, "The Acts of the Prophets," continues this discussion through another improbable case, the late nineteenth-century Buffalo Bill's Wild West Show juxtaposed with the Ghost Dance prophecy. The Wild West Show, Bellin argues, was at once the performance of colonialist oppression that destroyed Plains peoples and their cultures and also a reinvention of genuine Indian identity because it was performed by Indians. Bellin claims that Buffalo Bill and his contemporary Wovoka, the Numu (Paiute) prophet whose vision of a Ghost Dance that would inaugurate an Indian utopia where the ancestors would be reborn and the white oppressor cast out, can be seen as walking common ground. Both the Ghost Dance and the Wild West Show, for Bellin, capture the complexity of the medicine bundle: "a return to sacred tradition that is simultaneously a departure from it, a recapturing of Indian essence that is simultaneously a disruption of any essential continuity, a radical, indeed revolutionary, assertion of blood-red indigenism" (p. 138). Bellin concludes with a discussion of another "performance," Neihardt's *Black Elk Speaks*. Black Elk, the Lakota visionary and Catholic catechist, was a Ghost Dancer and performer in the Wild West Show. Neihardt's text has been variously seen as a desecration of Indian belief or a spiritual call to all Indian peoples. For Bellin, though, Black Elk embodies the power of the medicine bundle, the often conflicting and creative circumstances through which Indian people and their prophets perform Indianness.

Bellin's is a complex argument that relies on performance theory to describe how Euro-American and Indian performance create a "middle ground" of understanding and intentional misunderstanding. He takes issue with Richard White's conclusion that the middle ground was eroded in the early nineteenth century and argues that it was in the last half of the century that Indian medicine became most fiercely debated and redefined, that in this era Indian performance played a definitive role in the constitution of America. Bellin's argument about performance relies on textual representations and especially mediated autobiography, but he sees no absolute distinction between the two. In performance theory there is no original performance against which others can be compared; any one performance emerges in relation to its others. In his introduction Bellin attempts to preempt his critics by arguing that his study of Indian sacred performance is different from the inglorious Euro-American tradition of appropriating and secularizing sacred objects and ceremony. He answers his would-be critics by arguing that all those in the cultural encounter are profoundly affected by the other's medicine. I am not sure that Na-

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tive peoples, colonized and dispossessed, would view the cultural encounter with such equanimity.

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JACKI THOMPSON RAND. *Kiowa Humanity and the Invasion of the State*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 2008. Pp. ix, 198. $45.00.

Jacki Thompson Rand provides a case study of the Kiowa as they experienced American colonialism in the nineteenth century. This short primer is valuable for introducing generalists to the effects of American policy on the Kiowa's daily life. Going beyond frequently cited descriptions of lost lands and population decline, Rand focuses on colonialism's impact on the most human, everyday level as members of the tribe attempted to maintain agency, community, and traditional values.

Rand seeks to "rupture" the conquest narrative commonly found, she believes, in social studies curricula and textbooks as well as national institutions such as the National Museum of the American Indian in Washington, D.C. In this book she sets out to give sanitized terms like "cultural destruction" and "survival" meaningful historical, sociological, and psychological content. The book begins with an accessible description of Kiowa life and gendered responsibilities before the invasion of the state coupled with a short history of nineteenth-century U.S. federal Indian policy and the values on which it was situated.

Rand uses the 1867 Treaty of Medicine Lodge Creek, signed by the United States and Kiowa, Comanche, and Apache tribes, as an entry point into the history she wishes to illuminate. The core of her study follows both the breakdown and the resistance of Kiowa men and women on and off reservation as the government in Washington reduced the tribe's territory, depriving them "of the environment [its members] required to maintain their subsistence ... and assumed control over the distribution of capital and commodities, a role it performed poorly" (pp. 56–57). Using the tools of a historian to visit everyday life, Rand reinterprets the actions of male members of the tribe. She argues that behaviors meant to aid in warding off starvation, while criminal to officials in Washington who accused the men of "perpetrating depredations" (p. 8), may be seen as fulfilling traditional social values and role training. Understanding Kiowa actions in this light, she rejects the view that these men were "randomly, chaotic savages" (p. 63).

Treaties with tribes promised annuities and rations. Both were used by Washington as tools of manipulation. Rand gives a powerful account of the ways in which U.S. agents assigned to the Kiowa pursued "stability," and acculturation, with the carrot and stick of food and money (p. 79). The voice of Quaker agent Lawrie Tatum is telling: "I did it to punish them, and I thought the punishment would be the most effective by keeping the sugar They have not appeared to be nearer conquered since I have been here than they did on that day" (p. 83).

Equally affecting is Rand's account of the incarceration in Florida of seventy-two Plains tribes prisoners of war accused of "perpetrating depredations." She follows them as they were placed under the supervision of Lt. Richard Pratt (later the founder of the Carlisle Indian School) and were taken to Fort Marion in St. Augustine for a three-year term of imprisonment. Pratt, an assimilationist, controlled their days and nights. While some of their families imagined them to be dead, Pratt used the term of their punishment as an experiment "to test the idea of Indian civilization" and his personal maxim "kill the Indian to save the man" (p. 96). The prisoners' account of these years and the liberty that followed is given life through Rand's presentation of artwork and letters. These documents, part of chapter five, along with the author's explanatory text, provide an excellent teaching tool. They should be incorporated into high school and undergraduate curricula—coupled perhaps with the story told in chapter six of the way that Kiowa women responded to invasion and used traditional beadwork as a tool of trade and a means of maintaining "an unexpected level of autonomy in a colonial system" (p. 150).

Rand has been a public critic of the ongoing use of conquest narrative and the failure of the United States rigorously to examine the consequences of internal colonialism. She asks whether Native people should look to the state to narrate events she has characterized elsewhere as "unhappy history." Committed to preventing "the erasure of Indians in historical scholarship" (p. 10), Rand has written a book that explores the complications and nuances of Native history, one that should be used by scholars, journalists, and museum curators in better integrating American Indians into the national consciousness and academic discourse.

JILL NORGREN
John Jay College and Graduate Center, City University of New York

MICHAEL A. ELLIOTT. *Custerology: The Enduring Legacy of the Indian Wars and George Armstrong Custer*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2007. Pp. 336. $25.00.

More than 130 years after the event, George Armstrong Custer's defeat at the Little Bighorn remains a subject of widespread fascination and contention: it has spawned amateur historical societies, performers reenact the battle at rival annual spectacles staged near the battlefield, and the voluminous popular and scholarly literature on the topic continues to grow. Michael A. Elliott engages the question of why this anomalous event in the Indian Wars continues to garner such attention in contemporary U.S. culture. A literary scholar by training, Elliott aims not to contribute to historical studies of the battle but rather to explicate Custer's place in the American cultural imagination. Elliott coins the term "Custerology" to denote "the continuing

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production of knowledge of Custer and the nineteenth-century Indian Wars in which he fought" (p. 2). Elliot's analysis takes account of the fascinations of the overwhelming white Custer aficionados who celebrate the triumph of what the nineteenth century labeled "Manifest Destiny" as well as those of Native peoples who commemorate the Battle of the Little Bighorn as part of a continuous history of indigenous anticolonial resistance. Such contradictory purposes, argues Elliott, "are what kee[p] Old Custer so vibrantly alive in the historical imagination of Americans at the turn of the twenty-first century" (p. 2) and render the Custer story a "site of ideological confrontation" (p. 264).

After reviewing how the Battle of the Little Bighorn transpired, this book examines the historical and contemporary significance of Custer's story in chapters that focus on several related sites: Custer's adopted hometown in Michigan; the location of his 1868 attack on a Cheyenne and Arapaho village on the Washita River; the Black Hills region in South Dakota, where Custer led an 1874 expedition and where the Little Big Horn Associates, an amateur historical society, holds annual meetings; and the Little Bighorn National Monument, near where rival white and Crow Indian reenactments of the battle occur annually. The anomaly in this spatial schema is a chapter on Indian testimonies about the Battle of the Little Bighorn. Each chapter surveys the nineteenth-century histories of these sites and analyzes the contemporary commemorative activities that occur there. Rejecting the "clash of cultures" mode of analysis that now frequently characterizes commemorations at national historical sites, Elliott insists instead on a political approach that foregrounds the questions about political and economic control of land that continue to shape contemporary U.S.-Native relations.

Among the numerous strengths of this study is Elliott's commitment to take seriously popular renderings of Custer's demise, accounts by both whites and Indians that often fall outside of official history. These Elliot reads as articulations of ongoing debates about the U.S. national past and contemporary social and political relations. Although many readers will find the historical terrain covered by the book familiar, Elliott's analyses of the contemporary social significance of the Custer story are consistently illuminating and nuanced. The events at Little Bighorn, he contends, offer a means to reflect on the collective national history of violent conquest and to grapple with the unresolved question of the relationship of indigenous nations to the United States, an issue that makes the Custer story particularly resonant in the context of Native struggles for political sovereignty that gained momentum in the late twentieth century. Elliott probes the contradictions and continuities between white and Indian perspectives on the Custer story as well as their internal inconsistencies. While white Americans' fascination with Custer expresses "a collective desire . . . to see their historical conquest of North America as a defensive, rather than offensive, history" in which civilization ultimately triumphs over savagery, he explains, their commemorations are also tinged with guilt, lament, and admiration for traditional Plains Indian life (p. 59). Similarly, Native peoples' renderings of Custer's demise sometimes express both U.S. patriotism and tribal nationalism, a contradiction that bespeaks enduring conflicts about U.S.-Native relations.

An engaging, meticulously researched, and well-argued study, Elliott's book makes significant contributions to the voluminous literature on Custer and the Indian Wars. In addition to its attention to the social significance of popular representations of Custer, the book is notable for its sustained, complex engagement with indigenous perspectives and politics. Along with its contemporary focus, this differentiates Elliot's study from earlier cultural analyses of Custer's story, such as those by Richard Slotkin in *The Fatal Environment: The Myth of the Frontier in the Age of Industrialization, 1800–1890* (1985) and *Gunfighter Nation: The Myth of the Frontier in Twentieth-Century America* (1992). Although it is remarkably even-handed in its approach to a wide range of commemorations, Elliott's scholarship subtly refutes the primary aim of Custer's mission—the political subordination of American Indians—and it calls for its readers to consider the challenges that historical and contemporary Native peoples present to dominant understandings of U.S. history and culture.

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LAUREN L. BASSON. *White Enough to Be American? Race Mixing, Indigenous People, and the Boundaries of State and Nation*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2008. Pp. xiv, 238. Cloth $59.95, paper $22.95.

Race mixing between whites and African Americans has long been a productive fetish of literary critics and historians. Attention to such racial mixture has paid off in a litany of crucial insights, even as those insights have now become a sort of commonsense about the American racial landscape: biracial Americans make "race" visible as a cultural construction; they challenge and expose as absurd monoracial conceptions of racial identity; they highlight a tension central to American-ness, between the idea that we are all the same under the skin, and the idea that racial difference is an insurmountable and constitutive feature of American life.

In this book, Lauren L. Basson moves us beyond this now-conventional focus on mixing between whites and African Americans, calling our attention to the ways in which indigenous, mixed-race populations and territories have long shaped American notions of state and nation. She does so through four very interesting case studies taken from 1885–1905, all of which expose the ways in which mixed-race indigeneity has challenged America's thinking about itself, its boundaries, its people, and its politics. As Basson writes, this book "concentrates on how debates about racial mixture at the margins of the state and among its indigenous inhabitants reflected and contributed to conventional conceptions of American identity that linked discourses of

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race, property, and citizenship" (p. 12). Basson is a smart, thoughtful writer, and her research is wide ranging and impressive. Her case studies are quite fascinating. And yet, there is a way in which her attention to indigenous populations rarely takes us beyond what we already know about race-mixing from our study of white/black relations. For example, her focus on native populations reveals that "constructed racial categories played a central role in defining the territorial boundaries of the state and the sociopolitical boundaries of the nation"; that mixed-raced peoples exposed "the inconsistencies that characterized definitions of standard racial categories"; that the tension between "universalistic principles" and more racialized logics worked "to sustain European American dominance—that is, white supremacy" (p. 2). These insights are true and important, though not terribly surprising, which is a shame, given how rich Basson's source material is.

Chapter one presents the cases of Jane Waldron and Barney Traversee, "mixed blood" Indians seeking land allotments from what had previously been the Great Sioux Reservation. These legal challenges garnered nationwide attention, provoking intense debates about the meanings of "whiteness" and "Indian-ness." Chapter two focuses on Louis Riel, leader of an indigenous community of French and American Indian descent straddling the U.S.-Canadian border. Despite his status as a naturalized U.S. citizen, Riel's insistence on claiming a mixed-race identity and community (the Métis) challenged conventional notions of citizenship and American identity, leading to charges that he was, in fact, insane. In chapter three, Basson shows us what happens when the physical boundaries of America are stretched to include the non-contiguous and heterogeneous territory of Hawai'i. Focusing on the life and career of Robert Wilcox, a Hawai'ian leader of indigenous Hawai'ian and European American descent, Basson argues that the annexation of Hawai'i "contributed to an increasingly abstract definition of what it meant to be American," where "Americanism, like whiteness, became a possession and form of property with its own attendant rights and responsibilities" (p. 98). Finally, in chapter four, Basson focuses on Lucy Parsons, a late nineteenth-century anarchist of Mexican and American Indian origin. Basson argues that, as with the annexation of Hawai'i, U.S. responses to anarchism increasingly defined the nation in abstract terms, terms dependent upon the "un-American" threat of racially mixed indigenous populations.

This book is important for the case studies alone. All four are interesting and provide significant reminders of the ways in which mixed-race indigenous people forced the United States toward a dawning self-awareness of its own internal incoherence on the questions of race, state, and nation. That said, it remains the case with this book that the whole is rarely greater than the sum of its parts. There is a flatness here, an argument by repetition rather than development. Each case study presents, in slightly different fashion, the truth of Basson's thesis, but that thesis lacks a needed richness. One wishes Basson had mined these case studies more fully for their capacity to surprise—that she had focused more on the ways in which mixed-race indigeneity poses a different kind of threat than, say, the threat of white/black mixture. As it is, this is surely a valuable book, though ultimately less satisfying than one might have hoped.

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EMILY K. ABEL. *Tuberculosis and the Politics of Exclusion: A History of Public Health and Migration to Los Angeles*. (Critical Issues in Health and Medicine.) New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press. 2007. Pp. x, 188. $23.95;

EMILY K. ABEL. *Suffering in the Land of Sunshine: A Los Angeles Illness Narrative*. (Critical Issues in Health and Medicine.) New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press. 2006. Pp. xviii, 176. $24.95.

When my mother recently entered a nursing home to convalesce from a bad fall, she complained about many things, but perhaps nothing outraged her more than the mandatory tuberculosis (TB) test that was required of her. Having grown up "white" in California's Central Valley during the 1930s and 1940s, she understood tuberculosis testing not as common-sense and socially neutral public health measure but as something reserved for Mexicans and other outsiders. To be tested for TB was, in her mind, one more indication of her current powerlessness and threatened social status. She was right.

It is this stigma of TB—its association with racialized and working-class bodies—and the policies that flowed from it that Emily K. Abel recounts in *Tuberculosis and the Politics of Exclusion*. Focusing specifically on the city of Los Angeles, Abel shows us how the cultivation of a regional mythology of health in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was accompanied by the persistent denigration of those who were sick, "the transformation of sufferers into menaces" (p. 21). She refutes the claim made in many histories of public health that the insights of germ theory forged cross-race and cross-class alliances. While that may have occurred in certain times and places, in this case the recognition that TB could be spread from person to person only furthered efforts to denigrate, segregate, and even deport poor and non-white sufferers. As in previous studies by Nayan Shah, *Contagious Divides: Epidemics and Race in San Francisco's Chinatown* (2001), and Natalia Molina, *Fit to Be Citizens? Public Health and Race in Los Angeles, 1879–1939* (2006), Abel shows us how the institution of public health in its so-called golden era endorsed and deepened racial and class divisions in California. Unlike those other authors, however, Abel gives equal attention to issues of class as well as race in shaping disease discourse.

California was not unique in the way that it treated TB sufferers, but it was undoubtedly extreme. The state

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had more TB patients than any other in the country because, in the era before antibiotics, it was a magnet for the afflicted whose best hope for recovery was believed to lie in a temperate climate. Moreover, the peak of the TB epidemic coincided with a rapid increase in Mexican immigration to California, which gave the disease a particular racial valence in the Golden State. Because Abel's focus remains centered on Los Angeles, we do not get a sense of how the social politics of TB might or might not have played out differently in other regions. Yet notwithstanding the regional focus, we get an excellent portrait of the contradictions and exclusions inherent in early twentieth-century "public" health.

Much of Abel's research is based in the papers of California public health officials. Among her key sources are the writings of Edythe Tate-Thompson, who held the position of director of California's Bureau of Tuberculosis from its founding in 1915 until her retirement in the early 1940s. Tate-Thompson's writings reveal just how instrumental public health officials were in constructing and furthering stereotypes, such as the disease-ridden "tramp" and the "burdensome Mexican family," as well as the extent to which they laid blame for poor people's illness not on their social circumstances and the inadequacy of care but on the patients themselves. Tate-Thompson went so far as to draw on her expertise to advocate for immigration restriction. Moreover, she endorsed differential standards of care and even the rationing of treatment along racial and class lines. As Abel so neatly puts it, Tate-Thompson's "major objective was to repel sick migrants, not care for them" (p. 113).

Accompanying Abel's study of public health and TB in Los Angeles is her biographical account of Charles Dwight Willard, *Suffering in the Land of Sunshine: A Los Angeles Illness Narrative*. Willard is well known to historians of the Western United States as one of southern California's most prominent citizens and pre-eminent boosters. He moved from Chicago to Los Angeles in 1886 where he would become a reporter for the city's major newspapers, the secretary of the Chamber of Commerce, a leading member of Los Angeles's Progressive political community, and the founder of the well-known publication *Land of Sunshine*. What has not been widely known about Willard is that he suffered from TB nearly all of his adult life.

Surprisingly, it is Abel's detailed and engrossing portrait of this suffering middle-class WASP in turn-of-the-century Los Angeles that most clearly reveals the ways in which public health practice and discourse actively constructed racial and class difference. For Willard, TB continually threatened the very identity that he expressed and promoted in his writing and public life. Associated with indigence, racial otherness, and feminization, TB was anathema to the middle-class white man Willard knew himself to be. In an era in which the strength of the nation was thought to flow from the virility of its white men, the emaciated tuberculosis sufferer was an affront to white masculinity. In public life Willard sought to hide his condition, and when he could not, he often described his illness as neurasthenia—a less dreaded and demeaning affliction. Meanwhile his letters and diary capture not only his experience of illness but the sense that his own identity was on the verge of being overwhelmed by it. While on the surface Willard embodied middle-class manhood and boosterish optimism, in private he found himself dependent on others (mostly women), financially insecure, and frequently depressed at his prospects. Despite the fact that illness dominated his life, Willard consistently denied any identity between himself and working-class TB sufferers. That distancing led him to publicly oppose the expansion of the county hospital because it would be "an invitation to indigent invalids" to relocate to southern California in search of a cure—as Willard himself once had (p. 81). And yet when his own home burned and Willard faced the prospect of trying to find new accommodations, he lamented that a "consumptive is treated like a leper, with every hotel, boarding house and home for rent closed against him" (p. 118).

The essential problem here, which Abel deftly underscores, is the way in which the insights of bacteriology and germ theory were used by doctors and public health officials to individualize disease, making it not only a quality of certain individuals but also making those individuals responsible for their condition. We still live with the legacy of this shift. Within such a discourse, recovery is the only acceptable outcome; and when recovery is unobtainable, it is primarily the patient who is to blame. Disease, disability, and death—despite their naturalness and inevitability—become social stigmas.

In the epilogue to *The Politics of Exclusion*, Abel emphasizes how the framing of disease as an individual issue rather than a collective responsibility has had and still has the effect of heightening hostility toward vulnerable populations while undermining broad social efforts to reduce disease and care for sufferers. In referencing the response to the contemporary TB epidemic, particularly the hysterical emphasis on contagion and quarantine, she makes clear that from her perspective little has changed in the intervening century. While I agree with her larger point—which she has substantiated here—there is also a more complex and convoluted history of medicine and disease that complicates, even if it does not directly challenge, her emphasis on continuity. It is true that as a society we have repeatedly returned to individualistic constructions of disease and to individually focused remedies. But it is also true that there have been moments in which movements for social approaches to health and illness have gained broad backing—both within the institutions of medicine and outside of them. Those moments also need our acknowledgement and their own histories. Perhaps now more than ever.

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SONYA RAMSEY. *Reading, Writing, and Segregation: A Century of Black Women Teachers in Nashville*. (Women in American History.) Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press. 2008. Pp. xiv, 182. $35.00.

Teachers are no longer perceived as simple purveyors of knowledge. Thanks to recent historical studies, teachers are now understood as individuals who serve multiple roles including community service in churches, homes, U.S. Department of Agriculture projects, and civil rights activism. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, teachers became agents of cultural change and continuity as they taught academic subjects. Sonya Ramsey's book adds to this growing literature by contextualizing African American teachers within a southern city and noting their changing roles and opportunities. Black women teachers, the majority of Nashville's educators, pushed for equalization of schools at the same time that they worked for respect as professional women.

Ramsey condenses black teachers' experiences in the first chapter by describing the development of education for blacks from 1867 through the 1930s. With an African American demographic that constituted over one-third of Nashville's population, blacks successfully reserved black-only teaching positions in some schools and acquired several schools for black children, including Pearl High School in 1897. In itself, this was a notable achievement. Atlanta, for example, lacked a public high school for blacks until 1924.

Nashville also became one of the centers of higher education for blacks with the establishment of Fisk University, funded by the American Missionary Association, and Tennessee Agricultural and Industrial State Normal School for Negroes. At these institutions, black, predominantly female teachers learned their profession and provided the South with skilled educators. These African American women used their attire, manners, and education to insist upon professional recognition from white teachers who persistently denied their accomplishments. Unfortunately, the brevity of this chapter forces Ramsey to neglect the vital role that the Julius Rosenwald Fund or New Deal programs like the National Youth Administration played in the development of black schools and teachers' professional development.

Most of Ramsey's book focuses on changes during and after World War II. In 1942, black teacher Harold Thomas volunteered for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People's (NAACP) lawsuit that argued for equal pay for black and white teachers. In this case, the plaintiffs won, and Thomas retained his teaching job. Efforts from the NAACP to equalize and then desegregate schools during World War II encouraged teachers to structure curricula around themes of justice, democracy, and equality. Once the U.S. Supreme Court issued its ruling in *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954), Nashville's black teachers assumed that schools would soon be integrated. In fact, this would take another twenty years.

African American educators in Nashville, like their counterparts across the South, worried about the loss of their independence in their schools and the impact upon their ability to connect with black students if desegregation occurred. Nashville's improved black schools in the 1950s and 1960s enhanced educational opportunities for black students as well as the professional stature of their instructors. Although many teachers had doubts about integrated schools, most supported the NAACP's case and worked for integration, which was not accomplished until 1971. Here, Ramsey offers a nuanced account of black teachers' perspectives on integration. Some clearly appreciated new facilities and materials, while others noted the lack of attention that black students received in integrated schools.

By themselves, these events demonstrate some distinct characteristics of Nashville. The election of James Napier, a black city council member in the late nineteenth century; the black educators in the Middle Tennessee Colored Teachers' Association; the establishment of Pearl High School; and the ability of Harold Thomas to participate in a salary equalization case without being fired all set Nashville's educational system for blacks apart from the evolution of other African American school systems in the urban South. Yet Ramsey neglects to explore in greater detail why these possibilities occurred in Nashville as opposed to Atlanta or other southern cities. Nashville's distinctions present an opportunity to explore why the "Solid South" was not as solid as some historians may assume. At an earlier stage than in other southern cities, Nashville's African American population initiated demands and often succeeded in getting them met. Ramsey presents some fascinating insights into Nashville's black educational system and its black women teachers while also opening a path for historians to reassess how African American education differed within the urban South and developed in distinct ways.

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CHARLES HERSCH. *Subversive Sounds: Race and the Birth of Jazz in New Orleans*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2007. Pp. x, 289. $35.00.

When Creole pianist Jelly Roll Morton played "The Stars and Stripes Forever" in the New Orleans jazz style of his youth, he defied—in his music and his person—the efforts of early twentieth-century purity campaigners to reduce the American experience to binary categories of black and white, high and low, moral and immoral. In his study of the music's origins, political scientist Charles Hersch casts jazz as a transgressive music that resisted the imposition of racial segregation, cultural hierarchy, and sexual restraint, crossing and blurring the boundaries of social convention and good taste in the Crescent City. In the process, he argues, Morton and other pioneers of jazz not only transformed

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American music, they subtly altered the racial identities of its performers and listeners alike.

Hersch captures a place in transition, New Orleans in the quarter century after 1890, and unpacks all of its rich detail—the venues, the events, the sounds, and the people. He outlines how cornetist Buddy Bolden and other African American musicians gave birth to "ratty" music, an embryonic form of jazz that syncopated like the popular ragtime style of the day while improvising on the gutbucket blues and Caribbean quadrilles demanded by working-class and underclass patrons in dangerous nightspots like the Pig Ankle and Funky Butt Hall. As the music of the "good time people," early jazz endangered temperance, chastity, and the individualistic work ethic, but above all, by threatening to attract pleasure seekers of all races, it challenged the formal imposition of segregation in the South's most fluid metropolis. For Jim Crow and jazz grew up together, and each crucially shaped the other in New Orleans. The loss of status experienced by mixed-ancestry Creole musicians encouraged them to play increasingly with and for African Americans and to fuse Bolden's innovations onto more familiar European musical structures. Concomitantly, the evolving music's growing popularity encouraged its spread to a variety of public spaces, such as pleasure parks, funeral marches, and parades, thereby allowing musicians and listeners of all races to revel together.

The broad contours of this narrative will be familiar to readers of classic jazz histories such as Marshall Stearns's *The Story of Jazz* (1956) and more recent surveys including Ted Gioia's *The History of Jazz* (1997). Hersch extends the existing scholarship by conceptualizing how the malleability of racial identity facilitated the music's creation and spread. Viewing race as a social construct rather than an impervious essence, he argues that early jazz musicians in search of employment learned to perform a variety of racially coded personas and musical styles to meet the expectations of different audiences. Creole, African American, Sicilian, and Jewish musicians all traversed racial and class boundaries and, along the way, accumulated and circulated new ways of playing and being. Hersch is quick to distinguish this process of incorporation from traditional understandings of assimilation. He eschews the melting pot metaphor for a dialogic approach to hybridization in which performers continually signified upon the dominant musical culture, using African American practices such as improvisation, polyphony, syncopation, and blues inflection that had been nurtured in the sanctified church. In this way, each tradition continually met and modified the other. Louis Armstrong sustained jazz music's influence beyond New Orleans by "blackening" Tin Pan Alley standards with vocal and trumpet growls and smears, softening his assertive virtuosity with an ingratiating charm. Unlike fellow travelers such as Morton, whose street-smart independence constrained his commercial potential, or Original Dixieland Jazz Band cornetist Nick La Rocca, a deluded champion of the music's white origins, Armstrong won broad acceptance for an impure, carnivalesque American heritage by cultivating and then confounding the public's expectations. As a consequence, Hersch speculates, New Orleans jazz operated as "a vehicle for the stretching of identities, opening individuals to the world of the Other" (p. 209).

Hersch draws fruitfully upon scores of musician interviews, newspaper editorials, and vintage—though not contemporary—recordings (jazz was not captured on disc until 1917). This exhaustive research informs his tightly orchestrated analysis of musical performances and deft portraits of individual musicians, which stand out amid the richly textured descriptions of New Orleans life. Hersch's book draws attention to the difficulties inherent in writing about the African American roots and leadership of jazz, while acknowledging the music's composite character and the reciprocal relationships between performers of different identities. Despite considering the contexts in which white musicians slipped across racial lines, Hersch struggles to portray them as active agents in the music's formation. Only La Rocca receives extended consideration, albeit as a popularizer rather than a progenitor of New Orleans music, and his story serves as a warning against what Ingrid Monson has termed the "white resentment narrative" in jazz history. While some historians of early jazz may quibble with this emphasis, Hersch's engaged, nuanced, and sensitive scholarship is both smart and accessible.

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APRIL F. MASTEN. *Art Work: Women Artists and Democracy in Mid-Nineteenth-Century New York*. (The Arts and Intellectual Life in Modern America.) Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 2008. Pp. 318. $59.95.

April F. Masten's book contributes to a debate in women's history, social history, and art history. She joins Kirsten Swinth (*Painting Professionals: Women Artists and the Development of Modern American Art, 1870–1930* [2001]) in demonstrating that women artists in the nineteenth-century United States not only existed but competed with men in near equal numbers. It is the discourse of art history, in privileging both the fine arts and artists whose styles departed from traditional academic expectations, that erased their memory. However, where Swinth (citing the U.S. Census) finds the number of women artists peaking in 1890, Masten sees their heyday occurring earlier, thanks to their identification with labor. This is where she also departs from Laura R. Prieto (*At Home in the Studio: The Professionalization of Women Artists in America* [2001]), who argues that female artists drew on middle-class gender ideology to construct a separatist professional identity. The apparent contradiction in great part derives from Masten's broad definition of art, to include fields such as engraving, illustrating, coloring photographs, framing, and so on.

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This book's title emphasizes that a nineteenth-century conception of art as skilled labor was necessary to women's participation. Masten's first chapter outlines the belief of adherents of "liberal republicanism" that for the republic to flourish, so too must the independent artisan. English critic John Ruskin's anti-hierarchical theory of "The Unity of Art" appealed to this audience, because it did not "distinguish between fine and applied art, between imagination and execution, or between male and female artists" (p. 2). To that end, institutions were founded that democratically offered art education to women and mechanics, who were both seen as threatened by impoverishment under industrial capitalism. Most of the figures credited for propagating "The Unity of Art" (and for welcoming women's participation) were men, and key advocates included Horace Greeley, editor of the *New York Daily Tribune*, and Peter Cooper, a patron of the New York School of Design for Women, which was later incorporated into Cooper Union. In a century when artists and collectors competed to establish cultural authority, Masten is right to identify reformers critical of industrial society as crucial to bringing new artists and buyers into the market; see also Wendy Jean Katz, *Regionalism and Reform: Art and Class Formation in Antebellum Cincinnati* (2002).

Masten states that because biographies reinforce a mythology of the artist as separate from the market, she considers professional women artists in New York City as a group (p. 7). Her chapters follow the trajectory of a generation of artists' careers over the course of the century. She reviews women's motives for entering the field: economic necessity, natural ability, and the desire to improve society. Next is the experience of studying art at Cooper Union, emphasizing that this mode of education—akin to a craft apprenticeship—was crucial to their achieving parity with, rather than undermining, male wages. That practical training led to jobs with commercial enterprises tied to the printing trades, the subject of the following chapter on the Civil War era. For clues to their social experience, she draws effectively on collections of women's letters, particularly those from the Ladies Art Association, founded in 1867 as a mutual aid organization.

Masten asks why women who turned to secondary fields like illustration were more successful than those who wanted to paint or sculpt. Rather than discrimination, she argues that aesthetic hierarchies were fluid—engravers received recognition from critics and peers—and that women with industrial training benefited from contacts with men in publishing. This background did not make them less inventive as designers, Masten notes, highlighting how Cooper Union graduates brought styles akin to the pre-Raphaelites to illustrations—often of women and children—that testify to their skill and expression of individuality.

She concludes with the growth of the ideal of the autonomy of art, which she links to the consolidation of the middle class. Gilded Age doctrines of art for art's sake separated the hallmark of artistic skill—the ability to design—from art done for commercial purposes, establishing a class barrier to professional identity as an artist. Treating art as work (associating design with pay rather than with exhibition) now aligned women with unskilled labor, not professional artists. Masten is convincing here that nineteenth-century women artists saw themselves as part of the mainstream of American art and that it was their very professional identity as skilled laborers that later led to anonymity in a culture that separated art from utilitarian functions. As importantly, this book rectifies a neglected area of labor history; too often the arts (one observer counted sixty different types of art work at mid century [p. 152]) are not analyzed as labor or indeed seen as subject to economic analysis, in effect reinforcing the class biases still extant about what is and is not art and what is and is not work.

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KRISTIN SCHWAIN. *Signs of Grace: Religion and American Art in the Gilded Age*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 2008. Pp. xi, 172. $29.95.

In this book, Kristin Schwain studies late nineteenth-century American artists' fascination with religious subjects. Schwain's work forms part of a revival of scholarship on American religion that focuses upon visual and material culture. She successfully challenges the concept that religion occupies a conservative, nostalgic, retrograde perspective within modernity. Schwain argues that it is precisely through their turn to religious themes that American artists (and art critics) forged a new, modern way of seeing, one in which art prompted personal contemplation and emotional transcendence.

Schwain explores the connections between religion and art in the Gilded Age through case studies of one photographer (F. Holland Day) and three painters (Thomas Eakins, Henry Ossawa Tanner, and Abbott Handerson Thayer). Drawing deeply from archival research, she traces not only artistic but intellectual influences upon these men. For example, Ralph Waldo Emerson's writings on God and nature deeply influenced Thayer's own philosophy of divine presence in the material world. Eakins's 1880 *Crucifixion* and his subsequent portraits of eminent Catholics reflected an intellectual engagement with religion. Eakins critiqued religious belief and practice, especially when these evoked metaphysical "mysteries." Yet he found great power in Catholicism's visual splendor. In comparison, Thayer was not drawn to religious rituals and practices but rather to the more abstract "relationship between the material and transcendent" (p. 108). His idealized female figures, such as the *Virgin Enthroned* (1891), served as "Protestant Madonnas" despite their lack of any specific pictorial reference to the mother of Christ.

Thus the adoption of religious themes did not reflect ecclesiastical sway within art circles. Skeptics such as Eakins, Thayer, and Day did not produce religious art for devotional purposes but to engage worldly themes of humanity, morality, and authority. Even a believer

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like Tanner, who belonged to the African Methodist Episcopal Church, stressed not theological understanding but actual human experience of the divine (as in *Annunciation*, 1898). He developed his own "visual theology" (p. 49) that emphasized the individual's active response to God's presence. And like Eakins, Tanner found religious subjects and realism entirely compatible. As Tanner turned from depiction of contemporary African Americans (such as the grandfather and boy in prayer in *The Thankful Poor*, 1894) to ecumenical Biblical subjects, he strove for historical and ethnographic accuracy.

As Schwain explains, individual experience became a key component of American Christianity in this period. This meant religious themes resounded deeply and personally in American culture. It did not excuse religious art from controversy, however. Day staged *tableaux vivants* of Christ's crucifixion and resurrection in order to create a photographic series. Critics questioned Day's aesthetic, pictorial interest in the subject, and whether any model could completely represent the sacred figure of Christ. (In this case, Day himself was the model.) Larger debates swirled over whether photography should be documentary or aesthetic, and even whether art (and religion) should cultivate communal or individual responses. Throughout the individual studies, Schwain explores such theories of perception and spectatorship and how these filtered the production and reception of religious subjects in Gilded Age American art.

This slim, subtly argued volume accords some notable issues less consideration than they merit. Schwain boldly claims this body of Gilded Age art as modern, but she gives evidence of how it looked backwards as well as forwards. Thayer shares much with his forerunners John Ruskin and William Morris (p. 128); furthermore, his "Madonnas" of ideal womanhood were conservative in the face of the New Woman. Some earlier American art—neoclassicism in sculpture and the ideal of "the sublime" in landscape paintings—aimed to have an individual (and moral) effect on the viewer, just like Schwain's Gilded Age examples. Yes, academic art privileged narrativity, moralism, and didacticism; but these did not preclude transcendent emotion, as testified the many weeping viewers of Hiram Powers's sculpture *The Greek Slave* in the 1840s and 1850s. Historians will want more social context, including details about how religious practice changed in the United States at this same time, and some discussion of the increasing access to art study in Europe that would have exposed Americans to the strong tradition of religious art there. Most disappointingly, no conclusion brings the diverse case studies together or explains the selection of these four particular representatives.

Still, this is a refreshing and thought-provoking study of a topic that has been marginalized for too long. Schwain's book deserves a broad readership for its keen core insight: that religious sensibility has a close affinity to the modernist way of seeing. This is because both religious and modernist perceptions regard the image not as literal representation but as "means to contemplation" (p. 103). Schwain contends that art's "intimate relationship to religious belief and practice" (p. 131) persisted even after the shift to abstraction in the twentieth century. One hopes that other scholars will follow this thread and re-evaluate American religious art across time periods and media.

LAURA R. PRIETO
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MICHAEL AYERS TROTTI. *The Body in the Reservoir: Murder and Sensationalism in the South*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2008. Pp. ix, 301. Cloth $59.95, paper $24.95.

Michael Ayers Trotti's book charts shifting cultural responses to homicide, particularly in representations in print culture, in Richmond, Virginia, from the eighteenth through the early twentieth centuries. In order to analyze the rise of crime sensations over the course of the nineteenth century, Trotti focuses on several well-publicized homicide cases: Thomas J. Cluverius, accused of murdering Fannie Lillian Madison in 1885; Jeter Phillips, accused of murdering Mary Pitts Phillips in 1867; Solomon Marable, Mary Abernathy, Pokey Barnes, and Mary Barnes, accused of murdering Lucy Pollard in 1895; and Henry Clay Beattie, Jr., accused of murdering Louise Beattie in 1911. Trotti effectively interprets the emergence of crime sensationalism in the Richmond press, finding the genre absent in the eighteenth century, and relatively slow to emerge in the nineteenth century. However, by 1885, Richmond's print culture, which was strongly influenced by national trends in popular journalism, devoted obsessive attention to the Cluverius case, which it depicted in melodramatic terms. Trotti is attentive to gender and region, noting that Richmond journalists, guided by principles of southern chivalry, were more discreet in their portrayal of Cluverius's female victim, Lillian Madison, than northern newspapers tended to be in their depiction of female crime victims.

Trotti perceptively delineates the reshaping of crime sensations in the early twentieth century, using the 1911 Beattie case to trace a journalistic shift away from moralistic depictions of crime to coverage influenced by principles of journalistic objectivity, sociology, naturalism, and realism. A chapter on alterations in the illustrations printed by newspapers in their coverage of murder cases persuasively conveys the shift from the moral realism of engravings to the photographic realism of half-tone images. Trotti also highlights the significance of race in crime sensations in Virginia. In a chapter focusing on John R. Mitchell, Jr., the editor of the *Richmond Planet*, Trotti argues that the African American press, confronting the reality of the injustice perpetrated by a white-dominated criminal justice system in the late nineteenth century, created narratives that stressed the innocence of accused criminals, inverting the white press's emphasis on the presumed guilt of sensational criminals. Trotti asserts, however, that

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Mitchell and other black journalists in the South moved away from overt protest of an unjust criminal justice system to a more moderate emphasis on racial uplift and a more distanced reporting of crime after the onset of Jim Crow in the early twentieth century.

Trotti is at his best when examining the changes in Virginia's print culture from the eighteenth through the early twentieth centuries. Through copious research in Richmond's pamphlets, newspapers, court records, personal correspondence, and diaries, Trotti sensitively depicts the rise of modern crime sensations and their relationship to contexts of gender, race, and region. The book is accessibly and often compellingly written and will appeal to academic and popular audiences. A few aspects of the book are less effective. A chapter on the expanding press coverage of executions, the shift from public to private legal executions (which occurred slowly and awkwardly in Virginia compared to northern states), and the prevalence of lynching in the South (the practice was less prevalent in Virginia) would benefit from a more coherent theory of cultural and legal change. At times the reader would also benefit from greater context concerning the history of Richmond and the particularity of Virginia as a southern locale. The analysis is well grounded in the primary and secondary literature, but at times the notes veer toward verbosity. Regardless of these minor flaws, this book will be required reading for students of the history of southern journalism, crime, and American print culture.

MICHAEL J. PFEIFER
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ANTHONY W. LEE. *A Shoemaker's Story: Being Chiefly about French Canadian Immigrants, Enterprising Photographers, Rascal Yankees, and Chinese Cobblers in a Nineteenth-Century Factory Town*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 2008. Pp. 303. $45.00.

Using four different perspectives to explore the significance of a singular photograph, Anthony W. Lee unravels the complexity of modern industrialization in the United States after the Civil War. His storytelling, which is akin to that of Akira Kurosawa in *Rashomon* (1950), gives the readers layer upon layer of explication, with each group or individual's perspective adding further detail to his narrative. Ultimately, Lee shows how photographs, which helped make the ramifications of industrialism visible as well as being a result of it, need to be seen as contested terrain among a variety of historical actors.

Lee's analysis begins with the photographing of seventy-five Chinese immigrants outside Calvin T. Sampson's shoe factory in North Adams, Massachusetts, in 1870. The image is a stereoview, two images that were placed side-by-side and when viewed through a stereoscope appeared to be three-dimensional. Stereoviews were not for personal consumption but were made for commercial use. Presumably, the unknown photographer felt that the arrival of Chinese in western Massachusetts was something of interest for the American public. Lee decodes the appearance of these men in this photograph, who "are mostly poker-faced and appear before the lens with neither anger nor malevolence but, seemingly, seriousness and solemnity" (p. 7). But why? Lee's skill as an art historian comes through as he explains the possible reasons for their expressions, ranging from their experiences riding on the train from California to Massachusetts to the conventions of early photographic portraiture.

This book, however, does more than explore what the sitters for this photograph were thinking at that particular time. Lee wants to demonstrate what this photograph meant more broadly. He first looks at Sampson's motivations for having the photograph taken in the first place. Although Sampson had perceived himself as a mixture of a self-made man and a New England aristocrat, he was transformed by the arrival of Chinese workers into what was commonly viewed as a benevolent patriarch. Sampson turned to photography to document this event and later had each Chinese immigrant have his individual portrait taken. The photographers who were hired to take the individual portraits of the Chinese were William P. Hurd and Henry D. Ward, the only photographers in town. Both men worked hard to keep North Adams' residents interested in photography by producing portraits and landscapes, especially images of the local scenery and the Hoosac Tunnel. Selling photographs was not a simple endeavor for Hurd and Ward; they needed to develop the consumerist ethic in North Adams, keep abreast of the newest technologies and techniques, and fight off competition. Ultimately, their business venture failed after a few years and the two men went their separate ways.

Lee also looks at the ways in which French Canadians and Chinese—the two groups most affected by Sampson's decision to bring in scabs—responded to photography. In the face of harsh working conditions, French Canadians joined the Order of the Knights of St. Crispin and went on strike. Sampson, however, would not negotiate. To keep themselves employed, the Crispins established a cooperative shoe factory and had individual portraits taken along with a group photograph outside of the factory. The intent of their photographs, however, is different. Lee argues that these images were in contestation to the ones paid by Sampson. Instead, they celebrated the artisanal past of shoemaking and defied their employer's lack of sympathy for his previous workers. Finally, Chinese immigrants turned to the camera with their own agenda. Although they had their pictures taken for Sampson, they did it on their own terms. Lee explains how Chinese immigrants borrowed from Ming and Qing dynastic portraiture, especially paintings generated for funerals and ancestor worship. They brought objects (such as fans and books), wore their best clothes (only a few wore Western dress), and sat with their legs splayed apart. These pictures were then sent to loved ones back home or given to friends in the local area. This exchanging of photographs led to

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what Lee describes as a "transnational culture" with "images freely crossing borders," so much that "studio practices that were developed locally got disseminated widely, creating in studios across the globe an expansive attentiveness to the subtlest innovations in portraiture" (pp. 235–236).

Although some historians might be put off by Lee's narrative style, it is a useful and informative method to access the complexity of American industrialization and especially to bring the voices of those who are often silent in the past to the forefront. Furthermore, for historians who are looking for model scholarship that uses photographs as more than illustrations, this book is a welcome and much-needed resource.

KRYSTYN R. MOON
University of Mary Washington

ROBERT W. FRIZZELL. *Independent Immigrants: A Settlement of Hanoverian Germans in Western Missouri*. Columbia: University of Missouri Press. 2007. Pp. xii, 202. $34.95.

In many ways, Robert W. Frizzell's account of the German-speaking immigrants who settled in western Missouri is a typical piece of migration history. He dutifully traces the immigrants' origins (predominantly in the state of Hanover), their reasons for leaving home (principally economic), their work to establish a new community in western Missouri, their relations with one another and their non-German neighbors, and their long and uneven integration into American society over the last half of the nineteenth century. Frizzell does all of these things well, relying on extensive research in the German archives, U.S. census and land records, and genealogical sources. Although the telling is straightforward and almost routine, there are enough intriguing twists to the story to make Frizzell's account a worthwhile addition to the literature on German-speaking migrants to the United States.

The earliest Hanoverian immigrants to settle in the community that would eventually become Concordia, Missouri, arrived in America in 1837 and moved to Missouri in 1838. German-speaking settlers continued to arrive in the 1840s and 1850s, and by the time of the Civil War this western Missouri community had a population of around one thousand people. Although the German settlers did not, with one or two exceptions, own slaves, they found themselves surrounded by many Anglo neighbors who did, and the Germans benefited indirectly from the slave economy of the South. Along with their Anglo neighbors, the German settlers prospered from growing a staple crop—hemp, the fibers of which were used to bind together the cotton bales that supported the southern economy. Despite these ties to the southern economy, the Germans of western Missouri supported the northern cause during the Civil War. As a result their communities suffered considerably at the hands of guerillas sympathetic to the South. Although the war left the German migrants estranged from their neighbors, the German farmers quickly recovered after the war and established a stable German American community that maintained a strong sense of ethnic identity long into the twentieth century.

Frizzell's research has much to recommend it. This book has a number of excellent maps and detailed tables that help explain the social and economic structure of the German communities. Frizzell also does a fine job describing the religious history of the community. But perhaps the most important contribution of the book is its description of a German community suddenly caught up in the violence of the Civil War. As luck would have it, the Germans in western Missouri found themselves settled in one of the largest centers of slavery outside the plantation South. Unlike their neighbors, the Germans voted overwhelmingly for Abraham Lincoln, and, when the war broke out, the German men flocked to the Union side. Quickly their settlements became embroiled in the guerilla warfare that enveloped Missouri. Frizzell provides gruesome descriptions of bushwacker raids on the Germans, relying on letters written by the settlers who survived the attacks. The Germans' ethnic identity marked them out as enemies of the South. As one bushwacker wrote, "we cant stand the dutch and the negros both." After the war ended, the community continued to be divided from its Anglo neighbors, especially on matters of politics and the course of Reconstruction. As Frizzell demonstrates, the German settlers' experiences during the Civil War and its aftermath reinforced the community's ethnic identity, an identity that retains much of its strength even today.

Although Frizell's account of the war's effect on the community is illuminating, the lack of German voices in the narrative can be frustrating. Other than in the letters that describe one of the wartime raids, the voices of the German settlers are simply missing from Frizzell's account. Without these voices, Frizzell's narrative lacks depth and nuance. Instead he must constantly insert a "perhaps" or a "maybe" before statements that speculate on how the Germans viewed their neighbors and their world. Surely there are other German letters that have survived or a few comments in the nineteenth-century German newspapers that might hint at how these people understood themselves and the world that they inhabited.

Despite the lack of immigrant voices, Frizzell provides an interesting and detailed account of how an immigrant group came to leave its home in Hanover and struggled to establish a community in the United States. By relating the story of how this community survived and eventually flourished, centered as it was in a slave-owning region whose outlook and values were not its own, Frizzell provides a valuable addition to the history of nineteenth-century migration to the United States.

PHILIP OTTERNESS
Warren Wilson College

KATJA WÜSTENBECKER. *Deutsch-Amerikaner im Ersten Weltkrieg: US-Politik und nationale Identitäten im Mittleren Westen*. (Transatlantische Historische Studien,

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number 29.) Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag. 2007. Pp. 428. €56,00.

Katja Wüstenbecker's substantial study provides a detailed account of the challenges faced by the large number of American citizens of German descent in four states of the Midwest: Missouri, Illinois, Wisconsin, and Ohio. Her carefully and extensively researched book explores the experiences of this heterogeneous segment of American society as well as their treatment in the media, by federal and state authorities, and by their fellow citizens who increasingly saw in the German immigrants and their descendants a potentially subversive factor on the home front. This book traces the developments affecting both naturalized citizens of German descent as well as the so-called enemy aliens who did not yet have American citizenship. It begins with the outbreak of the Great War and also surveys the stages in the deterioration of their situation in four major cities—Chicago, St. Louis, Cincinnati, and Milwaukee—where they made up between twenty and over forty percent of the population. The majority of these German Americans had argued for American neutrality and an arms embargo until the U.S. declaration of war in 1917.

In addition to surveying federal measures to mobilize the nation for the war against the "Huns," against whom distrust had been raised by ill-considered plots of German diplomats to disrupt American supplies of war material to the Entente, Wüstenbecker illustrates the grave regional and local consequences of the 1917 Espionage Act. It was intended to suppress potential dissent and sabotage. This book documents the dilemmas of many German Americans who suffered from ensuing waves of anti-German hysteria, had their loyalty questioned, were denounced as spies, and were compelled to demonstrate their Americanization by dissociating themselves from their ethnic heritage. The traumas of individuals and functionaries of numerous associations of German immigrants are mirrored in diaries and private letters written in German. Wüstenbecker is thus able to deepen our understanding of the precarious situation of millions of hyphenated Americans in those years. She partly exonerates controversial figures such as George Creel, whose private correspondence reveals the discomfort the chair of the influential Committee on Public Information felt at the excesses resulting from the crude propaganda campaign conducted against the "Huns." However, she also points out the inexplicable silence of politicians such as President Woodrow Wilson at the news of the first German American victim of a lynching mob, Robert Prager, in southern Illinois in 1918.

This book carefully documents the consequences of nativist pressures exerted by members of mushrooming patriotic associations, some of whom illegally appropriated judicial and police powers to themselves, calling for example, for the closing of the formerly lively German theaters and the banning of German music and musicians. It discusses the ruinous administrative measures taken against the vigorous German-language press and relates the pressures to replace German language in religious services. It also provides statistical evidence for the largely effective agitation to prohibit instruction in German in high schools and colleges. The author shows how this campaign dramatically accelerated the tendency of German immigrants to acculturate, which led to cultural loss (regretted, for instance, by the late Kurt Vonnegut, whose parents refrained from acknowledging their German heritage). Wüstenbecker documents the renaming of streets, especially in Chicago (with its conflicted ethnic composition) and in Cincinnati. She also lists the large number of convictions with severe penalties against those people who allegedly violated the Espionage Act or evaded the draft and notes that Mennonite conscientious objectors often were particularly mistreated. She thus provides abundant evidence for the numerous infringements of civil liberties in those years.

Further evidence might have been furnished for such alarming trends involving the erosion of academic freedom, such as the fate of the Jewish German intellectual Ludwig Lewisohn, who was forced out of the German Department at Ohio State University for his alleged pro-Germanness. She also might have devoted attention to the rapid elimination of the formerly popular stock stage character of the German American, whose departure was signalled by the "conversion" of an originally disloyal American citizen of German descent in Samuel Shipman and Aaron Hofman's play *Friendly Enemies* in 1918. Wüstenbecker refrains from looking beyond the years of the Great War and thus ignores the striking predominance in the interwar years of American foreign correspondents from the Midwest who wrote from Central Europe for newspapers such as the *Chicago Daily News* or the *Chicago Tribune*. The reluctance of the American public to give credence to alarming reports about the evils of the Nazi tyranny in Central Europe may also be causally linked to an aversion to the excesses of the xenophobic agitation against hyphenated Americans of German extraction in the Great War and in its immediate aftermath.

Wüstenbecker's well-documented study provides a persuasive picture of a society in crisis. One of the book's great strengths is its rich documentation, which inevitably raises the question of how democracies should deal with their alleged enemies. For this and other merits, Wüstenbecker's book can be wholeheartedly recommended.

Waldemar Zacharasiewicz
University of Vienna

Josephine Fowler. *Japanese and Chinese Immigrant Activists: Organizing in American and International Communist Movements, 1919–1933*. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press. 2007. Pp. xiv, 272. $26.95.

The involvement of Chinese and Japanese immigrant activists in the communist movement in the United States during the early twentieth century has largely been neglected in the historiography of Asian America

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and the international communist movement. When they do mention these events, scholars tend to examine them in the context of the homelands of the immigrant activists rather than treating them as part of U.S. history. Given this historiographical vacuum, Josephine Fowler's work may be considered the earliest book-length scholarly text that supplies readers with much-needed information on the radical activities of Chinese and Japanese expatriates in the United States.

Fowler uses an impressive global perspective to examine Asian immigrants' participation in the communist movement. The activities of the Chinese and Japanese leftists in the United States were often the result of multilateral and transnational relationships: relationships between the Soviet Union and East Asian countries, those between Moscow and Asian immigrant activists in America, and those between the Asian émigrés and their homelands. These transnational connections entailed frequent exchanges of personnel and ideas. Although the multilateral relationships were supposed to be mutual and reciprocal, the revolutionary initiative often came from the Soviet Union, the red capital. Based on V. I. Lenin's theory that communist revolutions could succeed in capitalist countries only when the people in the colonies rose to overthrow Western imperialism, the Communist International (Comintern) assumed the task of training communist and nationalist cadres from China, Japan, and other countries. These cadres, after receiving a Marxist-Leninist education in the Soviet Union, would return to their homelands or to the United States to lead the revolutionary movements there. Communications between the Asian immigrants in the United States and their motherlands occupy a conspicuous position in the book. Socialism among the Japanese expatriates, as Fowler tells us, actually was rooted in the labor and socialist movements in their home country at the turn of the twentieth century. Returning immigrants also carried ideas about the labor movement back to Japan. While it was for the sake of improving their livelihood at home that the Chinese migrated to North America, the urgent desire to rid China of imperialist influences was the principal impetus for Chinese activists in the United States.

This global perspective does not lead Fowler to downplay the activities of Chinese and Japanese leftists in the United States, however. Indeed, her discussion of the immigrant leftists' organizing efforts in America is both detailed and informative. The majority of the activists were visiting students from China and Japan. Facing almost impossible odds, these militants sought to bring Chinese and Japanese sailors, restaurant workers, and farm hands into the revolutionary cause, although their ultimate goal was always to instigate and support revolutions in their home countries. Despite the single-mindedness of the militants, several instances of proletarian internationalism overrode the leftists' national interests, as Fowler aptly describes. For example, both the American Communist Party (CPUSA) and the Japanese immigrant communists assisted the Chinese leftists with their fight for the abolition of unequal treaties that Western countries had imposed on China. In telling these stories, Fowler successfully drives home the point that the "Chinese and Japanese radicals' experiences were integral, not simply peripheral, to the narratives of Asian American Studies and the U.S. Left" (p. 204). But, as Fowler explains, for all their efforts to organize the immigrant masses, the leftists' success was rather limited. In explaining why the activists were usually unsuccessful, Fowler underscores the effects of racial discrimination against Asians. The hostility of the Immigration Service, which often deported or threatened to deport radical immigrants, made it risky for leftists to organize immigrant workers. Perhaps to the surprise of those who genuinely believe that communists by definition were champions of proletarian internationalism and working-class unity, Fowler tells us that, despite their support for Chinese and Japanese comrades, leaders of the CPUSA never disavowed racial prejudice and orientalist chauvinism toward East Asians. Even the high-echelon Soviet and Comintern cadres often viewed the Chinese and Japanese through orientalist and chauvinist lenses. More fundamentally, a huge gap always existed between the activists and the immigrant masses, which was perhaps an even more important reason for the leftists' lack of achievement. It is a shame that Fowler does not go further to explore the political, economic, and cultural reasons for the failure of the immigrant masses to respond to the messages of the radicals—except when it came to anti-imperialism and unemployment relief. Nonetheless, this book is a significant revision of traditional historiography that failed to include the experience of Asian immigrant communists in the story of the development of the Left in the United States.

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LEWIS L. GOULD. *Four Hats in the Ring: The 1912 Election and the Birth of Modern American Politics*. (American Presidential Elections.) Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. 2008. Pp. xvii, 235. $29.95.

. Lewis L. Gould's perceptive month-by-month recounting of the primary and general election campaigns puts the invention of primaries in historical context and provides vivid biographical sketches of Woodrow Wilson and his closest competitor for the Democratic nomination, Champ Clark.

Chapter four provides a detailed explanation of Wilson's journey from New Jersey and Princeton University politics to a hard-fought victory at the Democratic Party nominating convention. Gould disagrees with scholars who see William Jennings Bryan's last minute gesture of support as the major factor in turning the tide for Wilson after the fourteenth convention ballot. Instead, Gould plausibly argues that Wilson's deal making, not Bryan, gained the winning convention votes. Gould also explains how the dearth of public opinion and exit polls and the presence of movies, radio, and

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audio recordings made 1912 different from later elections.

Long ago, in the time of George Edwin Mowry, the political history of the Progressive era focused on men making policy. Later scholars extended the chronology and intellectual boundaries of the field to include urban and state reform in the 1890s, consumerism, advertising, eugenics, race, and the role of the women's reform network in pushing for welfare state reforms. Manhood, imperialism, muscular Christianity, prohibition, moral reform, the white slave panic, and other cultural factors have helped scholars reinterpret the era. Although a Mowry-like emphasis on voting statistics, policies, and laws remains of value, any study of 1912 must deal with the expanded scholarly agenda that has charted the passions and panics of the reformers who called themselves progressive.

Gould asserts early on that "A major substantive goal of this book is to restore the tariff issue to its central place in the 1912 contest" (p. x). Thus, Gould's interpretation echoes his fine earlier study *Reform and Regulation: American Politics from Roosevelt to Wilson* (1996). As Gould insists, Wilson's rhetorical claim that the high tariff was the source of inequality and high prices must have had some effect on the voters. But without polls or other concrete evidence, Gould's argument for the centrality of the tariff is unconvincing.

After offering a fairly traditional definition of progressive reform in chapter one, Gould claims that William Howard Taft's and Theodore Roosevelt's "policy positions were not so far apart that cooperation was impossible" (p. 53). True, under Taft more anti-trust suits were prosecuted, and he and Roosevelt agreed in principle about conservation. However, if Taft's failure to support most of Roosevelt's 1912 welfare state proposals does not make the two candidates politically different, I am not sure what would. Whereas Taft appointed anti-labor Supreme Court justices, Roosevelt by 1910 spoke up for labor's right to organize and gain an eight-hour workday. Taft opposed a national woman suffrage amendment, which by June 1912 Roosevelt had endorsed. Roosevelt, not Taft, listened to Jane Addams and Florence Kelley on the minimum wage that some states adopted.

Gould, fortunately, makes some response to the new scholarship by including several paragraphs about the role of women in the 1912 campaigns. He also pays attention to newer perspectives on the role race played in defining party differences and explains the relative strength of Socialist Party candidate Eugene V. Debs in the four-way race, thus drawing the book farther away from the Mowry mentality.

Inevitably his book will be compared with the livelier narrative by James Chace, *1912: Wilson, Roosevelt, Taft & Debs—The Election that Changed the Country* (2004). Specialists in political history will no doubt find in Gould's book a more useful source of reliable facts about the voting patterns in 1912, historic rates of voter turnout, and the means Wilson used to avoid committing himself on what exactly the New Freedom meant. Gould's portrayal of the general election campaign as a moment when "Roosevelt's race represented a significant broadening of the national agenda" needs further explanation, but it remains a valid invitation for further study of the deeper meanings of 1912 (p. 168).

Many historians now believe that 1912 was the key election that brought the United States into international conversations about what government could do to protect its citizens from risks such as unemployment, poverty, and ill health. Labor issues, monopolies, women's role, and the proper government response to problems created by industrialization received a more thorough airing in 1912 than in any previous election. Historians of the era will no doubt need to look beyond the formulations of the Mowry era to apply the new scholarship in cultural and social history to the understanding of elections, and Gould's book will be a helpful tool in that ongoing enterprise.

KATHLEEN DALTON
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ERNEST FREEBERG. *Democracy's Prisoner: Eugene V. Debs, the Great War, and the Right to Dissent*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 2008. Pp. 380. $29.95.

On two occasions during his lifetime of social activism the American leftist Eugene V. Debs battled the American legal system, participated in dramatic courtroom proceedings, and ended up behind bars. The first battle grew out of his leadership of the American Railway Union during the Pullman strike and boycott of 1894, which halted rail service in more than half of the country. When the Supreme Court rejected Debs's appeal, he served a six-month sentence in the McHenry County Jail in Woodstock, Illinois. Debs's second legal battle followed a blistering antiwar speech he gave at a Socialist Party picnic in Canton, Ohio, in 1918. A conviction for violation of the 1917 Espionage Act followed, and, after another unsuccessful appeal to the Supreme Court, Debs served over four and one-half years in federal prisons in West Virginia and Georgia.

In this book, Ernest Freeberg focuses on the second trial and imprisonment. His relatively straightforward narrative predictably revolves around Debs, but Freeberg also assigns and develops interesting secondary roles for Debs's long-time paramour Mabel Curry, socialist journalist David Karsner, energetic anarchist Lucy Robins, and, somewhat surprisingly, Woodrow Wilson's infamous Attorney General Alexander Mitchell Palmer. Freeberg brings the pursuits and era of his major characters to life with carefully chosen details. Upon his release from the Atlanta Penitentiary, Debs did in fact turn over the $5 he received to start a new life to the Sacco and Vanzetti defense fund. And General Leonard Wood put down Seattle's general strike, ran for the Republican presidential nomination, and promised in his campaign to hunt down and kill America's leftists like rattlesnakes!

Freeberg's most provocative argument involves the way Debs's trial and especially his imprisonment

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spurred both a movement demanding amnesty for antiwar and leftist prisoners and a more pronounced sensitivity to First Amendment protections and civil liberties in general. Debs himself was not much of a civil libertarian and never developed a sophisticated theory about freedom of expression, but the era's political counter-culture latched onto Debs's imprisonment as an illustration of a government gone astray. According to Freeberg, "Over time, his example would prove to be more persuasive than any legal argument, forcing many Americans to reconsider their government's war on dissent" (p. 173).

In the course of pursuing his argument, Freeberg for the most part avoids the temptation to defang a radical: that is, to fold Debs himself into bourgeois reform. This tendency is evident in some works about John Brown, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, W. E. B. Du Bois, and Martin Luther King, Jr. Especially in light of his central argument, Freeberg could easily have slipped into portraying Debs as merely a generic progressive.

Debs was in fact a radical, and his era perceived him as such. His criticisms of the "Great War" were decidedly class-bound. Bankers and capitalists in his opinion were in the driver's seat, but it was workers who died in large numbers on the battlefields. As for the legal system, Debs thought it served the "master class," and he never for a second expected the system to find him innocent or, more generally, to respect dissent. Government and business leaders understood that Debs was a radical who stood on the left even within socialist circles and who enthusiastically hailed the achievements of the Russian Bolsheviks. When the federal government transported him from Terre Haute to Cleveland for trial and then to prisons in Moundsville and Atlanta, the routes were secret and circuitous for fear of attacks and rescue attempts. Over 3,000 strikes occurred in the year of Debs's trial, and Debs registered on most as a genuinely dangerous leader of labor in its struggle to topple capital.

How many shared Debs's beliefs, and did the socialist movement he led have even the tiniest chance of success? Freeberg does not attempt to answer those questions, but he does capture Debs's principled posture during his trial and imprisonment and also his tawdry victimization by the federal government. The image of an emaciated Debs in prison denim symbolized government excesses in the name of national security and underscored the way freedom of speech could be ripped away. Debs's plight, according to Freeberg, "had an unintended consequence, provoking a national debate about the meaning of the First Amendment at a crucial time in the country's history" (p. 319).

Freeberg's study merits special attention during periods of war, including of course the recent past and disconcerting present. It has become a bit of a platitude to say rights are fragile in wartime. But Freeberg reminds us at the end of his nicely crafted and thoughtful work that rights are not fixed and eternal entities but rather open-ended and contested constructs through which we might reflect on "the relative value of individual liberty and public order, and the freedoms and responsibilities of democratic citizenship" (p. 327).

DAVID RAY PAPKE
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MARKKU RUOTSILA. *The Origins of Christian Anti-Internationalism: Conservative Evangelicals and the League of Nations*. (Religion and Politics Series.) Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press. 2008. Pp. x, 246. Cloth $49.95, paper $29.95.

Markku Ruotsila ambitiously weighs in on multiple historiographical questions in this study of Christian anti-internationalism. He specifically sets out to illuminate the overlooked religious dimension of the well-studied debate over United States participation in the League of Nations, but in doing so he analyzes the broader implications of that discussion for Christian influence on U.S. foreign policy before the late twentieth century. Alongside historians like Andrew J. Rotter and Seth Jacobs, he argues for the addition of religion as a category of analysis in diplomatic history: "[T]he guiding principle of this study is that we should take seriously a person's faith and regard it as an important, independent determinant of opinion and of the action that results—in all areas of life, including foreign policy formation" (p. 6). This book should interest religious, political, and diplomatic historians in addition to scholars of international relations.

Ruotsila begins by acknowledging the role of the Social Gospel in advancing modern, institutionalized internationalism. Social Gospel modernists embraced immanentist beliefs that stressed the presence of the divine within human society. This led to their support of a "brotherhood of all people," something the League of Nations embodied for advocates of this philosophy. They joined with other advocates of international organizations, including political liberals and labor and socialist activists, to advance the League while infusing it with religious optimism.

Conservative Protestants who opposed the League were a fairly diverse group, and their antagonism, as Ruotsila superbly demonstrates, came from both uniquely theological traditions and from more general conservative Protestant sources. Dispensational premillennialists associated the League with the world government and the Antichrist of their eschatological paradigm. The World Christian Fundamentals Association strongly opposed the League for these reasons; some of the group's founders even launched a speaking tour that coincided with President Woodrow Wilson's famous excursion on the international organization's behalf. Calvinist critics also weighed in on the debate. Some questioned the legitimacy of the secular League in carrying out the work of Christian moral reformers. Others, especially those in the Southern Baptist Convention, believed that the League threatened individualism.

Lutheran opposition was motivated in part by ethnic loyalties, but it also had theological dimensions. The

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Missouri, Iowa, and Wisconsin synods feared that the League confused the worldly kingdom and the kingdom of God. Other Lutherans perceived the League's goals as works-based, which went against the tenet of justification by faith. Antagonism even arose within the Methodist Episcopal and the Episcopal Churches, the two denominations that most passionately advocated for the League of Nations. For many of these conservative groups, the debate provided a way to try to dampen the Social Gospel influence within their church bodies.

Despite the different theological foundations that spurred on Christian anti-internationalism, Ruotsila also contends that these conservatives shared certain objections. Several argued that only Christian efforts aimed at changing the hearts of people around the world could lead to global peace. Calvinists, Lutherans, and other Protestants averse to the League also agreed on what they believed to be the danger of an organization that included non-Christians and Catholics. Politicians, whatever their motives for doing so, borrowed these Protestant arguments to make their own cases. To his credit, Ruotsila never claims that Christian anti-internationalist arguments were the foundation of political opposition to the League, but by demonstrating that the debate incorporated religious rhetoric, he shows that Christianity helped shape U.S. foreign policy in the early twentieth century, even if it did so indirectly.

The book's weakest chapter comes at the end, where Ruotsila attempts to demonstrate that evangelicals' anti-internationalism remained virtually unchanged through World War II, the Cold War, and the post-Cold War period (p. 185). Although he does cite a few examples of the continuity of certain themes (especially regarding evangelical criticism of the United Nations), the chapter's fifteen pages do not fully address the complexities of conservative evangelicals' attitudes toward U.S. foreign policy after World War II. Ruotsila does acknowledge the intense Christian nationalism that sprang up during the Cold War, but he claims that evangelical anti-internationalism stood alongside support for the United States' world role because Christian conservatives believed the latter was unilateral (p. 191). Still, he does not offer evidence of anti-internationalist Protestant responses to U.S. leadership in the Korean War or in NATO, to cite just a few examples. Furthermore, anticommunist evangelicals warned against communist internationalism, perceiving communism as such a dangerous threat that aggressive action by the U.S. around the world (whether multilateral or unilateral) was considered necessary.

These extrapolations concerning Christian anti-internationalism after World War II should not take away from the excellent contribution of Ruotsila's book to the scholarship on the fight over U.S. participation in the League of Nations. He not only demonstrates that the Protestant critique of the League influenced that debate but also analyzes the various, complex sources from which Christian anti-internationalism came.

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MICHAEL LIENESCH. *In the Beginning: Fundamentalism, the Scopes Trial, and the Antievolution Movement*. (H. Eugene and Lillian Youngs Lehman Series.) Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2007. Pp. x, 338. $34.95.

Antievolution, as a cultural and political movement, has flourished in the United States more influentially than in any other country. Michael Lienesch, in a valuable study, explains how its leaders put their views into action and sustained the movement through successes and defeats from the early twentieth century into the twenty-first. He provides a thorough account, and even readers familiar with other studies such as Norman Furniss's *The Fundamentalist Controversy* (1954), George Marsden's *Fundamentalism and American Culture: The Shaping of Twentieth Century Evangelicalism, 1870–1925* (1980), and Ronald Numbers's *The Creationists* (1992) will learn much from this book.

Charles Darwin's *On the Origin of Species* produced immediate controversy upon its publication in 1859. Antievolution, however, began to take form as a movement in the United States, Lienesch believes, with the appearance of *The Fundamentals* between 1910 and 1915. The first *Fundamentals* contributors generally tried to confront liberal Christianity with a richer biblical scholarship of their own. Dyson Hague, for example, urged a move beyond "old-fashioned views" held only by "the ignorant, the prejudiced, and the illiterate." Thus also, the early movement had advocates prepared to reconcile Christianity and evolution, holding to a theistic interpretation distinguished from Darwin's naturalism. Also, Lienesch finds, in its early years, the movement had its largest representation among metropolitan northerners.

Gradually this situation changed. Antievolutionism became more emphatically populist and anti-intellectual. A signpost of the transition appeared in 1923 when William Bell Riley established the Antievolution League in his home state of Minnesota. Quickly other state organizations formed, designed to oppose teaching of evolution in public schools. Then the Anti-Evolution League of America gave the locals a national organization. Also, militant, aggressive partisans like J. Frank Norris moved against college and university faculty. He and others now judged any kind of evolutionary ideas heretical. At a show trial he staged at his Baptist church in Fort Worth, Norris had students at Southern Methodist University read from the lecture notes they had taken from liberal professors. Three thousand people attended. Populist rhetoric also became standard. Antievolutionists championed the unlearned wisdom and simple faith of the masses of Americans against the educated elite, "the smooth-tongued, learned and polished professor," as Philip Mauro put it. Antievolution-

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ist opinion now often identified science in general as the enemy of religion. Voices of accommodation like E. Y. Mullins were driven from the ranks. And beginning in the 1920s we see the first efforts to associate evolution with the social and cultural ills of the age. John Roach Straton, in a Carnegie Hall debate, described evolution as a major cause of social decay, as exemplified by "the degradation of the modern dance [and] the sensualism of the modern theater." By this time the movement was moving to its henceforth dominantly southern and rural bases.

Antievolution was also going political, and Lienesch provides some of his most instructive material in tracing this long history. The recourse to state legislatures to prevent the teaching of evolution in schools prepared the way for the famous *Scopes v. State* trial of 1925. In the aftermath of the event and the death of William Jennings Bryan, more than twenty bills were introduced in various states. Movement activists put pressure on school boards to monitor or change textbooks. Although Lienesch shows that these efforts came to a halt when the Great Depression struck, he carries the history through 2005 and the federal court ruling in the Dover, Pennsylvania case. An important point emerges: although antievolutionists lost repeatedly in the courts, their efforts have had a chilling effect on the teaching of evolution in America's public schools.

Lienesch considers it a major feature of his study that he has had recourse to sociological theory in writing it. Specifically, as he explains in the introduction, he draws on studies of social mobilization that first appeared in the 1970s. Consequently the book has chapter titles like "Identity," "Framing," and "Staging." Almost always the chapters begin with citations of the appropriate sociological literature. Lienesch believes these sources critically enhance our understanding of antievolution as a movement, but often they lead him into rather commonplace observations. Thus, citing the appropriate sociology, he writes, "In addition to motivating their members, movements must remove the barriers that prevent them from participating" (p. 53). And "[t]hus it is important for activists to agree at the start about targets and basic strategies" (p. 68). Furthermore, in applying the "synthetic paradigms" supplied by the sociological literature, Lienesch imposes a normative and inflexible teleology onto the historical events he describes. It leads to statements like "In the post-[Scopes]-trial period, antievolutionism followed the predictable pattern." The antievolution movement seems always to conform to the theoretical trajectory.

Lienesch has produced this excellent study from prodigious research in archives, denominational records, official publications of state legislatures, and the lively cartoons, posters, and other illustrations he includes in the book. His work is an informative, important contribution to scholarship. It just doesn't need all the sociological scaffolding.

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Daniel Patrick Thurs. *Science Talk: Changing Notions of Science in American Popular Culture*. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press. 2007. Pp. x, 237. $44.95.

Daniel Patrick Thurs's book has a good topic: the general public's understanding of science. In this interesting and well-documented work, he offers much of interest and illumination. Thurs starts with a paradox, well expressed by popular science writer and new atheist Richard Dawkins, that "the United States is by far the world's leading scientific nation while *simultaneously* housing the most scientifically illiterate populace outside the Third World" (*The Best American Science and Nature Writing 2003*). I am not sure that this is entirely fair—years of living in both England and Canada suggest to me that there may be competition for this prize—but it is certainly true that in the United States today we have a society that is completely dependent on sophisticated science and technology and that most of the population have but the vaguest idea of what makes anything tick. More than this, as Thurs points out, we have a population that denies and dislikes intensely many major aspects of modern science, particularly those that conflict with a literalistic reading of the Old Testament.

To show how science has been regarded by the public, Thurs takes us through a historical tour, covering a number of topics: phrenology, evolution (in the half century after Charles Darwin's *On the Origin* of *Species* [1859]), relativity, UFOs, and intelligent design (the neo-Creationist claim that the organic world is in respects so irreducibly complex that it calls for the supposition of a designing intelligence). This is not an archival-research-based book, but the author has read very widely in the popular literature of the day and shows considerable skill in reducing to order a vast amount of information.

The chapter on evolution gives us a sense of the strengths of Thurs's book, and to an extent its weaknesses also. The author covers the reactions to evolution by many people, from regular folk like housewives to science popularizers to theologians and on to professional scientists. He shows how the very notion of what it is to be a science was deeply involved in these discussions. It was not like, say, mathematics, where everyone could reach for a generally accepted standard and those who refuse to accept are simply wrong. As I read Thurs, what he sees is a move for evolution from the status of something that was a mere pseudo-science—although this was a criticism often made right through the period he discusses—to something more of the status of a popular science that could at least be understood as pointing in the right direction.

The weakness is that Thurs's discussion of popular perception takes place in isolation. The historian's gaze ought to be lifted to look at the function of science in society, as well as the reasons for distrusting science. The second half of the nineteenth century in America was the time when great industrialists like Andrew Carnegie built their factories, railroad kings threw lines

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across the continent, and farmers provided the grain to be shipped to the ports and on to Europe. What about the technology in a steel mill? What about the efficiency of a steam locomotive? What about the challenges of agriculture and growing crops in often-hostile climates? What was going on in science and technology and did this influence the general perception of science? Were regular people excited by science or did they resent it as something changing their lives in ways that they did not much like? And conversely, what about the religious issues of the day? What about the defeated South and the turn to evangelical literalism, which persuaded so many that God afflicts most those whom he loves the most? My sense is that in order to understand social perception, you really need to lift your eyes up from the popular magazines of the day and look at society itself. The intelligent design controversy, for example, clearly is bound up with broader social and cultural issues. This is clearly a first book, but it is a good first book. Thurs is to be congratulated on giving insight into an important problem.

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SUSAN K. CAHN. *Sexual Reckonings: Southern Girls in a Troubling Age*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 2007. Pp. 375. $29.95.

In this monograph, Susan K. Cahn seeks to unite southern history with the history of female adolescence in the twentieth century. Earlier generations of historians might have found such a coupling unpromising, but Cahn makes a strong case for considering teenage girls, both as symbols and as actors, to have been an important force in the transformation of the South between 1920 and 1960.

Cahn thus shifts away from the traditional focus on adolescence as a white, middle-class phenomenon in a North that stands for the entire nation and redirects her investigation toward black and white girls coming of age in a region with insistently distinctive political and cultural patterns. In particular, race permeated southern discourse about girls. Campaigns for white supremacy at the turn of the century had relied heavily on the symbol of white female purity; racial and social hierarchy depended on white men's ability to defend this chastity from the putative black male rapist. However, Cahn argues, girls over the next half-century were to prove that sexual purity was at best an unstable foundation for this social structure.

The first phase of the southern "girl problem" came in the 1920s, as the boll weevil pushed and factory jobs pulled southern youths to the cities. Employment and city living offered "mill girls" a certain amount of independence—including sexual independence—and a growing culture of cheap amusements made this freedom particularly enticing. "Flappers" could be northern or southern, black or white. At the same time, concerned black and white authorities began to develop a network of institutions to channel some of the sexual impulses that emancipation allowed. Promiscuity, unmarried pregnancy, and simple misbehavior could land white girls, especially, in a reformatory and, for several decades, put them at risk for involuntary sterilization. Carrie Buck, of the famous *Buck v. Bell* case of 1927, was one of the many white teenagers entangled in this system. Ironically, black girls initially fared better, as authorities "expected" them to be more promiscuous, and so were more inclined to commit them to vocational schools, where they could learn the menial skills appropriate to their place in the economy. By midcentury, though, fears that black women were becoming welfare burdens led officials to subject disproportionate numbers of them to the medical treatment that the Carrie Bucks of the region had already received.

Adult authorities tended to see sexual impulses as the root of teenaged girls' behavior (and misbehavior), but Cahn explores with great sensitivity the ways in which these girls participated in what she calls a more complex "economy of desire" in which sexual longing interacted with clothing, romantic dreams, class aspirations, and numerous other factors for girls of both races to use in forging their individual identities. The "economy" differed for girls by race, class, and geography, but it also united them as a group apart from adults.

During World War II and the following decade, black girls and white girls became full participants in a national youth culture. Although the physical spaces of adolescence were usually segregated by race, teenage entertainment—especially rock and roll music—freely mixed black and white sources. The "mongrelization" of teen culture, along with its franker acceptance of teenage female sexual assertiveness, again alarmed parents and local authorities, but Cahn notes that psychologists at midcentury had begun to diagnose sexual delinquency as more of a normal stage for teenage girls. Besides, the postwar bobby-soxers and their boyfriends were no longer paying much attention to adult strictures; the youth culture tended to replace adult authority with peer approval, and this change loosened the reins on sexual experimentation. By the 1950s, Cahn argues, teenage girls had shattered the southern myth of white female sexual purity. Even during the crises of desegregation, the image of endangered innocence no longer served reliably to mobilize white reaction.

Cahn relies in part on public statements and newspaper articles, but she also employs institutional records, letters and diaries, sociological interviews, and artifacts of popular culture, such as pop music, jazz dancing, and high-school yearbooks. These resources allow her subjects' voices to ring through the din of public condemnation.

Kahn's approach flirts with two central dangers: one is the threat of the all-encompassing explanation, as when she suggests that all the major changes in southern history during this period turned on the central pivot of female adolescent sexuality; the second is the threat of teleology, or the temptation to stuff the complexity of this period into the corset of the long civil rights movement. Happily, Cahn rebuffs these suitors,

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and gives us an important work for historians of the South, of adolescence, and of gender.

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MARY E. TRIECE. *On the Picket Line: Strategies of Working-Class Women during the Depression*. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press. 2007. Pp. viii, 179. Cloth $60.00, paper $25.00.

That women have long participated in working-class organization and militant forms of collective action is by now well beyond debate. Whether on the picket line or in the union hall, in neighborhood demonstrations or organized marches, women negotiated the boundaries of gender, class, and ethnicity in ways that gave voice to their needs and desires as wives, mothers, girls, and "ladies of labor." It comes as something of a surprise then to read Mary E. Triece's claim that studies of the labor movement in the 1930s "overlook the specific contributions of women," or that the text under review "fills the gap in U.S. labor and women's studies" by giving voice to poor, unemployed, and African American women (pp. 2–3). What Triece's study more accurately recovers, especially for labor historians, is the importance of speech acts and the kinds of rhetorical strategies employed by organizers in the never-ending battle over meaning as well as those used by wage-earning women in the ceaseless struggle to improve their lives.

As the title suggests, this book focuses mostly on organized workers and on those dedicated to organizing them, specifically women active in the American Communist Party during the years of the Great Depression. Examining letters written by women to the editor of the *Working Women*, a Communist Party periodical, as well as the published writings and speeches of party luminaries such as Ella Reeve Bloor and Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, Triece divides her study into four chapters, each meant to highlight the role of specific rhetorical acts in promoting social change in general, and female activism in particular. Introducing readers to concepts such as "incongruity," "impious association," "transcendence," and "justificatory rhetoric," Triece sets out to map the kinds of verbal strategies that Communist Party women used to explain either their own experiences as housewives, mothers, and wage earners, or as organizers appealing to them. She also traces their attempts to justify women's participation in the labor force against an increasingly constricted ideology of domesticity and masculinity.

In an early chapter we learn, for example, that women used a "perspective by incongruity" as a way to encourage new interpretations of both the world and one's place in it. Such a strategy, Triece explains, upends typical or familiar linguistic associations by replacing them with incongruous meanings. Citing one woman who referred to a "Hoover prosperity of starvation and unemployment," Triece writes that "in contrast to the typical notion of prosperity as fullness and abundance, she encourages a new interpretation of prosperity that linked it to scarcity and despair, thereby implying an abundance of scarcity" (p. 35). With such snippets, the author builds her book describing occasions of irony, dissociation, and metaphor that "aroused in readers or listeners contrary perspectives on various respected institutions, such as home and motherhood[m1]."

Such conclusions, however, must be taken on faith, for Triece provides us with little in the way of proof. Did women join the Communist Party or write a letter in response to such talk or were they already members predisposed to using the party's rhetorical line? Triece tells us only that laboring women followed two routes into political awareness and action. One was critique, provided that the "reality gap" opened up through specific rhetorical strategies (p. 5). The other consisted of "extra-discursive" tactics such as walkouts, strikes, riots, and other forms of direct action (p. 109). Not unlike E. P. Thompson's famous "jostle of experience," Triece's notion of an "extra-discursive reality" is meant to "acknowledge that not everything can be reduced to language and that, furthermore, language is not material in the same way that machinery and food are material" (p. 6). Words went one way; protest another.

From this perspective, rhetoric is stripped of its constitutive power. Working-class women come into view as subjects brought into being and unity through their "paradoxical" position as women who needed to work and as females ideologically bound to the home. The emancipatory aims of women's words enter the story unchallenged while social power is itself rendered hierarchically, never producing its subject but only privileging or oppressing it. "Rhetoric" is thus for Triece a weapon wielded against agreed-upon oppressors by pre-discursive subjects looking to justify political activism as well as women's rightful place in the paid labor force. Words march lockstep towards solidarity and a shared sense of justice rather than as subjectifying discourses through which working-class identity and the female political subject take shape.

For feminists who take differences among women to be axiomatic, Triece's laboring women are also curiously similar even as they self-identify as African American, farm wife, or factory worker. So too are they remarkably united in their understanding of who and what constitutes the enemy as well as in their animosity to "True Womanhood," a term Triece problematically reboots to explain gender asymmetries in the 1930s. But is language such a straight shooter or so uninvolved in the formative power of those very things—home, family, gender asymmetry, and racism—against which Communist Party activists fought? Consider the rhetorical efforts of "Mother" Bloor: "You have watched drought scorch the land. You have watched the speculator and banker rob your husband and your family of what they have earned through the sweat of their brow." Triece uses this excerpt to show how Bloor "connected with her audience" of farm women and linked the political sphere to the home place (pp. 48–50). But if Bloor saw class struggle as "a family affair," she ex-

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presses here a notion of womanhood oddly positioned on the edges of both. Wives watched as others sweated.

The clear and sharp distinctions that Triece makes between words and acts, rhetoric and identity, work, in other words, to undermine her goals and narrow the kinds of insights women's words might otherwise reveal. Women's position in the workplace might have been, as Triece claims, "paradoxical," but so too were the operations of working-class politics and the emancipatory rhetoric used to define its interests and name its oppressors. Like the laboring women they hoped to emancipate, women of the Communist Party were also and always vehicles as well as targets of power.

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DANIEL J. OPLER. *For All White-Collar Workers: The Possibilities of Radicalism in New York City's Department Store Unions, 1934–1953*. Columbus: Ohio State University Press. 2007. Pp. ix, 270. $49.95, CD $9.95.

The historians' debate over the role played by communists in the American labor movement during the 1930s and 1940s has been viciously contested. Few arguments of this kind are so heavily freighted with ideological bile. Communists are customarily portrayed either as selfless idealists victimized by anti-Red hysteria or cynical opportunists whose devotion to the working class tacked in lockstep to shifts in the Soviet party line. The question of the degree of political and intellectual autonomy enjoyed by union leaders with communist affiliations in the nascent Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO) has exercised a generation of labor historians. Daniel J. Opler's balanced and perceptive study of the struggle to organize New York City's department store workers suggests that this question may at last be beside the point.

Only communists, operating under the auspices of the Trade Union Unity League, considered New York's predominantly-female cohort of department store employees ripe organizational soil, and in a series of dramatic strikes against discount retailers Klein's and Ohrbach's in 1934 and 1935, they gained a foothold for their local unions. Affiliation with the CIO soon followed, and by 1938 the 40,000-strong United Retail and Wholesale Employees Association (URWEA) had negotiated contracts with "uptown" retail giants Macy's, Gimbel's, and Bloomingdale's. An ideological rift soon developed between the leaders of the locals, many of whom had communist ties (although relatively few of their rank-and-file did), and the liberal anticommunist national union hierarchy. Between the Hitler-Stalin Pact of 1939 and the 1941 Nazi invasion of the USSR, the locals' officers unsuccessfully pressed "peace" resolutions at URWEA conventions, and once the United States entered the war on the side of the Soviets, adhered to labor's "no-strike" policy so zealously that they even opposed URWEA job actions sanctioned by the War Labor Board.

Little doubt exists that the leaders of New York City's department store locals were in thrall to Moscow. Opler shows, however, that this did not significantly affect the daily activities of the UWREA. National president Samuel Wolchok and the communists worked to keep their political differences from disrupting the union's core mission of organizing and bargaining for retail workers. As a result, the national union was the CIO's seventh largest by 1942, and had won a 40-hour week for its members, a signal achievement in an industry notorious for its arbitrary work schedules. It was not until 1947 and the passage of the Taft-Hartley Act that the issue of communism threatened the existence of the union. The Act's requirement that labor officials swear they were not Communist Party members led to the forced disaffiliation of the New York locals from the national union and the CIO in 1948. The now-independent locals were easy pickings for department store owners intent on regaining the upper hand on the shop floors. Even a rightward political shift—many of the locals embraced anticommunism and were readmitted to the CIO in the early 1950s—could not save them. Their defeat in the disastrous Hearn's strike of 1953, in Opler's words, "ended . . . any possibility of a powerful retail worker's union in America" (p. 176).

Opler resists the temptation to attribute the decline of the New York department store locals solely to the excesses of postwar anticommunism or, conversely, to the ideological rigidity of their leaders. He instead cites a number of factors having little or nothing to do with communism. After the war, department stores began to move to suburban areas, where they could hire part-time workers less likely to join unions. The shift to "self-service" stores also reduced the demand for employees. Both of these developments enabled store managers to reestablish control of their workplaces. In addition, the working-class consciousness that had been prevalent among white-collar store personnel during the 1930s had dissipated by the postwar years; Opler shows how moves to middle-class housing enclaves such as New York's Stuyvesant Town and Parkchester blunted expressions of labor solidarity. The impermanence of a transformative retail worker unionism, then, had less to do with the behavior of communists *as* communists than with the growth of a hostile labor environment in the years following World War II.

Opler's work helps move us beyond the issues, now all too well ventilated, of whether an "independent" radicalism was possible in the United States during the New Deal years, and whether communists in the American labor movement were martyrs or dupes. He shows that the fate of the department store unions hinged on what occurred in stores, homes, and the streets, not on the Hitler-Stalin Pact or the Moscow show trials. By keeping his ear to the ground, Opler has steered the debate over twentieth-century American labor radicalism in a welcome direction.

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ROWENA OLEGARIO. *A Culture of Credit: Embedding Trust and Transparency in American Business.* (Harvard Studies in Business History, number 50.) Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 2006. Pp. viii, 274. $39.95.

Rowena Olegario explores the evolution of the modern credit-reporting firm, from its genesis in the 1830s as a "radical" (and "uniquely" American) model for solving the problems of information asymmetry and economic instability in a young nation marked by competition, expansion, volatility, and a mobile population. Tracing a protracted struggle throughout the nineteenth century, as mercantile agencies attempted to justify their existence to a skeptical public and to establish their legal rights to full information about debtors, Olegario finds a significant shift in the post-Civil War era, when credit reporting agencies began to establish their legitimacy as permanent parts of the United States' commercial infrastructure and business culture. By 1920, the pioneering efforts of R. G. Dun and J. M. Bradstreet (merged in 1933), and the other credit-reporting professionals they nurtured, convinced the wider world that they had the ability to change uncertainty into calculated risk. They also transformed information into a commodity.

Olegario argues that the ongoing battle to introduce transparency into American financial transactions reveals a great deal about American business culture between 1830 and 1920, particularly the stubborn belief that character traits, rather than financial statements or other quantitative data, best measured risk and a person's ability and willingness to honor his or her debts. Olegario contends that Americans associated a proper "business character" with perceptions about appropriate levels of honesty, sobriety, thrift, energy, maturity, and marital status. Moreover, this book suggests that, despite the development of increasingly sophisticated tools and models for assessing business risk, Americans continue to employ the same sorts of moralizing orthodoxies about business character and liquidity that guided their nineteenth-century predecessors.

The book incorporates a rich array of sources, from Dun and Bradstreet circulars and a sampling of the some 2,000 credit-reporting ledgers housed at Harvard Business School's Baker Library, to the archives of the National Association of Credit Management, various attorneys' papers, published credit-reporting manuals, and business journals. Many case studies center on Springfield, Illinois (the book's most important sample city), but Olegario ranges widely across the nation, following credit reporters and debtors on their trail south and west from the north and east.

This book enhances our understanding of American credit reporting in significant ways, particularly Olegario's insistence upon placing the institution's development within its larger Atlantic-world setting. Her careful analysis reveals that although British trade assumptions and practices crossed the Atlantic during the eighteenth century, they changed rapidly as more and more Americans found themselves pulled into the infant nation's credit-based economy. Attempting to reconcile the need for better information against the nation's geographical scope and people on the move, pioneering entrepreneurs, such as Lewis Tappan, transformed the British-style model from its for-membership service among trade associations and into a for-profit industry that better reflected the nineteenth century's hypercompetition and the fluidity of the American environment.

Whether surfacing in arguments between local franchisees and representatives from New York City headquarters, or in conflicts arising between those seeking payment and information versus a recalcitrant, mobile trading population resenting and resisting incursions into their personal and financial affairs, Olegario's emphasis on the contested nature of credit-reporting adds another important layer to the industry's history. In this narrative, it took a catastrophic economic depression to end the stand-off, to diminish (if only temporarily) the nation's tolerance for risk-taking and speculation, and to accept calls for greater oversight. Thus, the 1896 founding of the National Credit Men, as well as other movements toward professionalization, rationality, and efficiency, exemplify the larger nation's shift from unbridled competition to more business cooperation. Supporting scholarship associated with Robert Wiebe's seminal *The Search for Order, 1877–1920* (1967), the National Association of Credit Management also paved the way for a consensus over what constituted a more "objective" (and hence more reliable) indicator of creditworthiness, with payment records and ledgers ultimately triumphing over character, capital, and the past experience of debtors.

Despite its many strengths, this book falls short when Olegario discounts the centrality of social capital and standing, as well as race, religion, and gender in determining access to capital and credit in the United States, and in identifying who would and would not play a role in solidifying the institution's position in the American economy. In a chapter devoted to Jewish merchants, for example, Olegario contends that "American creditors did not rely too heavily on membership in specific religious groups as a sign of trustworthiness" (p. 114). Unfortunately, her own findings suggest the opposite, and a cursory examination of Dun and other credit reports reveals plentiful evidence that the credit-reporting "formula" confirmed culturally constructed social markers about trustworthiness, sobriety, competence, and other "character" traits. Moreover, as Pamela Walker Laird has amply demonstrated in her recent *Pull: Networking and Success since Benjamin Franklin* (2006), such markers always gave some people strategic advantages over others, including who would emerge as worthy of both credit from and work with a credit-reporting firm. And such disparities matter to any discussion about America's culture of credit.

JOCELYN WILLS
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JASON CHAMBERS. *Madison Avenue and the Color Line: African Americans in the Advertising Industry*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 2008. Pp. 322. $39.95.

In the introduction to his book, Jason Chambers tells of a white advertising producer who, in the early 1990s, fought her client to make sure that a television commercial for a Cleveland grocery store chain included African American shoppers. The story illustrates Chambers's argument that the history of African Americans in the advertising industry is one of constant "active, systematic discrimination" (p. 2). The client's insistence that the black actors stay in the background and not be seen touching any food reflects continuing overt racism. That the producer risked the account to include them at all, Chambers tells us, reflects decades of effort by African American advertising, media, and marketing professionals to "make the black consumer market visible" (p. 2). Chambers has written a comprehensive history of how African Americans broke into the advertising business. However, he moves beyond conventional institutional history to put these peoples' stories into the broader context of African Americans' social, political, and economic struggles in the twentieth century.

The text under review adds to a growing body of scholarship that locates African Americans in business history and the history of consumer culture. Robert Weems's *Desegregating the Dollar: African American Consumerism in the Twentieth Century* (1998) traced the growth of this phenomenon during the previous hundred years, linking both African American consumerism and marketing to black social and political activism. Works such as Marilyn Kern-Foxworth's *Aunt Jemima, Uncle Ben, and Rastus: Blacks in Advertising, Yesterday, Today, and Tomorrow* (1994) have examined racial stereotypes in advertising. Building on this, Chambers focuses on those who fought to change the industry by getting African Americans hired in white firms, by persuading companies to advertise in black publications, by founding African American agencies, and by working to change depictions of African Americans in advertising. Chambers also looks to scholars like Juliet Walker, whose *History of Black Business in America: Capitalism, Race, Entrepreneurship* (1998) demonstrated that persistent racial discrimination was the main deterrent to sustained success for African American businesses and highlighted the importance of black businesses that catered particularly to African Americans in the context of segregation. More specifically, Chambers uses Merah Stuart's 1940 concept of the "economic detour" to argue that while African American advertising professionals might have gained some opportunities in the industry by promoting their special knowledge of the African American market, this often reinforced segregation within the advertising industry and limited black access to white clients and general-market accounts.

Chambers's first chapter examines African American media entrepreneurs and marketing experts' efforts to get advertising revenue for black newspapers, magazines, and radio in the first half of the twentieth century. People like Claude Barnett, founder of the Associated Negro Press, and John Johnson, publisher of *Ebony, Jet*, and other post-World War II magazines, pioneered appeals to white advertisers that portrayed African American consumers as urban, prosperous, brand conscious, and loyal to brands whose producers targeted them in black publications. Subsequent chapters analyze the entry of the first black advertising executives into white firms and the development of more respectful and realistic advertising in the context of postwar liberalism and civil rights activism. Chambers effectively shows how it was the efforts of these "Jackie Robinsons" of the advertising industry, along with persistent agitation from civil rights groups, that led to fewer racial stereotypes in advertisements overall and more black models in advertisements for mainstream products (at least in African American publications.) Perhaps his most impressive chapter takes the advertising industry in New York as a case study to trace how affirmative action actually worked (and did not work) to integrate white-collar professions in the late 1960s and early 1970s.

Chambers's application of an "economic detour" thesis to African Americans in the advertising industry is particularly apt during the 1970s. Tracing the fortunes of several black-owned advertising firms in this period, Chambers points out that the focus on black pride and the appeal of urban African American culture across racial lines gave these firms an "in" with white businesses wanting to reach black consumers and hoping to adopt a youthful, "hip" image in the wider market. Nevertheless, with few exceptions, success in this area did not lead to more general-market accounts for black advertising firms, and blacks hired at white firms often found that they were expected mostly to work on "ethnic" accounts. Chambers attributes the failure of many of these companies by the mid-1970s, as well as the waning of affirmative action programs in white firms, to the recession of the 1970s and a general decline in liberal racial justice priorities in the industry. Still, the repercussions of white backlash as well as rising conservatism in American society in general during the era are underexamined in this study. Nevertheless, Chambers's book is a welcome and important addition to the fields of African American history, business history, and the history of consumer culture and advertising.

SUSANNAH WALKER
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DONALD A. RITCHIE. *Electing FDR: The New Deal Campaign of 1932*. (American Presidential Elections.) Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. 2007. Pp. x, 274. $29.95.

While few would deny that the election of 1932 was one of the most consequential in recent American history, Donald A. Ritchie describes it as one of the most contingent. Pitting an adroit politician riding the crest of

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voters' rage at Republican rule against an incumbent tone-deaf to the demands of the electorate, the contest and its outcome have conventionally been regarded as altogether predictable. But in this new book, Ritchie illustrates how Roosevelt's victory emerged as only one of many possible results and an event that contemporaries rightly gauged as no foregone conclusion. He concludes that the 1932 election incubated the style of the Roosevelt approach and set the agendas, at least in terms of domestic policy, for almost every presidential campaign to follow.

Ritchie's account suggests that an improbable series of events, largely beyond Roosevelt's control, handed him the nomination but that he won thanks to his own adroit political maneuvering, the political ineptitude of Herbert Hoover, and a depressed economy that unexpectedly failed to recover. Among the many nomination obstacles: the Democrats' two-thirds rule; the political alliance between House Speaker and Democratic presidential candidate John Nance Garner and publisher William Randolph Hearst; Catholic supporters of former New York Governor Al Smith; and the consensus of such newspapermen as Walter Lippmann and Oswald Garrison Villard that FDR was an unqualified lightweight. Roosevelt edged out the other contenders largely because the alternative choices (as with former Treasury Secretary William G. McAdoo and Smith) destroyed one another's chances or squandered their own opportunities. This last factor characterized the candidacy of former Secretary of War Newton D. Baker, the candidate most widely supported by the stop-Roosevelt forces and most feared by Hoover.

Ritchie argues that voters could scarcely have predicted the ideological content of a "new deal" from the ensuing campaign but that Roosevelt speeches clearly forecast its experimental style. We learn that FDR and Hoover seemed to borrow liberally from each other's speeches, each promising tax increases and spending cuts. But Roosevelt openly displayed his faith in a "do-something" style of governance and his confidence in humane liberal government, otherwise limiting his policy speeches to generalizations tailored to specific audiences. Assigning multiple speechwriters to his team, FDR welcomed the resulting cacophony of voices as one that would appeal to all factions of the party and keep his options open. The campaign, like the future administration, would situate pragmatism at its center, rendering the campaign at once educational and formative of the New Deal.

Arguments about the election's unpredictability hinge on the possibility that events might not have occurred as they did. What if Douglas MacArthur had not mishandled the Bonus March? What if Hoover had exhibited a touch (or more) of political sensitivity? What if the Democratic convention had not disposed of the Prohibition platform early with a strong "repeal" plank that disposed of a nettlesome issue for the "damp" FDR? What if Mayor Jimmy Walker had not resigned, saving Roosevelt from an inconvenient fight against the New York City machine? Still, it is hard to see how it is "misleading," in Ritchie's words, to see "inevitability" in the election results of 1932 (p. ix). Indeed, if FDR and Hoover agreed on little else, it was that the election's outcome was preordained by depression-related events. Although Ritchie is correct to remind us that the election's results could not have been predicted at the outset of the campaign, the traditional scholarly verdict that nearly anyone could have defeated Hoover following the Bonus March seems validated as much by Ritchie's fine account as by older studies.

No mere focus on an election, Ritchie's study encompasses the impact of the 1932 campaign—and by extension the New Deal—on six decades of party positions on the major issues. While the Roosevelt victory and philosophical approach increasingly forced Republicans to ratify the New Deal while governing, political campaigns from FDR through John Kerry's 2004 bid belied this shift. Every election seemed to re-run the 1932 campaign as if each pitted a Roosevelt against a Hoover. Ironically, Hoover himself contributed to this development by living a long post-presidential life in the spotlight and never changing his positions, thus reminding voters every four years of why they had voted Democratic in 1932. Ritchie seems correct in this analysis. When John McCain in the election of 2008 spoke of the strength of the "fundamentals of the economy," pundits attacked him for repeating Hoover's blunders, even though, as Ritchie pointed out, fewer than seven percent of voters four years earlier could link Hoover to the Depression. Graced with a crisp but elegant style and fine, dramatic quotations, Ritchie's account will not revolutionize scholarship on the election of 1932 but should serve as a model for those seeking to create a wider popular readership for professional history.

RICHARD A. REIMAN
South Georgia College

SAMUEL P. HAYS. *Wars in the Woods: The Rise of Ecological Forestry in America*. Pittsburgh, Pa.: University of Pittsburgh Press. 2006. Pp. xv, 277. Cloth $60.00, paper $27.95.

Samuel P. Hays is among the pioneers of the field of forest and environmental history. His *Conservation and the Gospel of Efficiency: The Progressive Conservation Movement, 1890–1920* (1959) includes a classic account of the rise of "scientific" forestry and conservation in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. That book tells the story of people like Teddy Roosevelt, Gifford Pinchot (first chief of the U.S. Forest Service), and their allies—individuals who decried the rapid depletion of the nation's forests by lumbermen who utilized a "cut out and get out" methodology. Progressive reformers were concerned that the country would experience a "timber famine" and sought to bring a scientific and technological approach to resource management.

These utilitarian conservationists moved to establish national forests as timber reserves and persuaded some industry leaders to alter their methods—through implementing planting; fire, insect, and animal control;

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and silvicultural research—and move toward "sustainable" forestry (in other words, harvesting timber from constantly regenerating forests). Roosevelt and Pinchot inspired the U.S. Forest Service to demonstrate these practices in the national forests. Pinchot also established the Yale Forestry School, one of the nation's first, which trained foresters and provided a model for similar schools that began to spring up around the country. Training in these schools emphasized commodity production, and they turned out newly minted foresters who went forth to staff the U.S. Forest Service, state forestry agencies, and private forest product companies. Working with the denuded lands of the early twentieth century, they rebuilt the forests so that, by the 1950s, there were more trees in many areas than there had been at the time of European discovery.

But the restored forests were not replicas of the ancient forests they replaced. Mixed-age and mixed-species forests were supplanted by even-age, single-species stands, and while selective cutting was sometimes utilized, so were clear-cutting and replanting. There was little concern for wildlife, except game vertebrate species, and not much attention paid to stream sedimentation or water and air quality. Foresters typically defined their ultimate standard of professional ethical responsibility as carrying out "landowner objectives."

In the 1960s and 1970s, a few foresters, concerned citizens, and scientists began to question the ecological quality of the nation's public forests. Hays was an active participant in this process, especially in Pennsylvania, and in his current book he chronicles the rise of "ecological" forestry with a particular emphasis on the role of activist organizations in trying to change the management philosophies of the U.S. Forest Service and state forestry agencies. Hays argues forcefully that forest products companies and commodity-oriented foresters represented by the Society of American Foresters unduly influence public forest management. He believes that the perspectives and science of people trained in other fields—biology, botany, ecological science, and hydrology, for example—are either ignored or trivialized by the public agencies. Ecological forest values, such as promoting the biological diversity of forest wildlife, non-commodity trees, a wide variety of forest plants, clean, large-scale watersheds, and aesthetics, are largely neglected. Non-foresters employed by the U.S. Forest Service are sometimes punished for their views. These trends, Hays argues, have intensified under the administration of President George W. Bush.

Hays cites numerous publications, reports, correspondence, and other documents from various organizations, citizen groups, government agencies, and individuals, most of which are either available on the web or in the University of Pittsburgh archives. However, the author writes more from the perspective of an activist than that of a historian. He routinely praises the work and values of those with whom he agrees and denigrates their opponents. He fails to note that some forestry schools and their training are changing, and that commodity foresters did such a good job of growing timber that fears of a "timber famine" have subsided. Companies that once owned and managed vast forests have recently been divesting their lands at a remarkable rate, with much of the acreage now controlled by investment trusts that have a wide variety of economic and management objectives. Hays does not address the fact that the nation's demand for wood remains high, and that if the producers cannot harvest timber here, they will turn elsewhere. Reacting to environmental pressures and market conditions, manufacturers have begun to look toward Siberia, China, Bolivia, and other areas to meet their continuing wood supply needs. A restored "old growth" forest with true biological diversity in the United States will probably mean increased pressure on the rain forests and third-world countries. This is an ongoing process that historians will revisit in the coming years. The book under review, although not a balanced treatment, will serve as a valuable source .

James E. Fickle
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Neil M. Maher. *Nature's New Deal: The Civilian Conservation Corps and the Roots of the American Environmental Movement*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2008. Pp. x, 316. $35.00.

If you spend time outdoors, chances are you spend it with the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC). From Appalachian Trail switchbacks to contour plowing in Kansas, the CCC reshaped America's open spaces during the Great Depression and beyond. Neil M. Maher's book joins a growing number of works reconsidering the origins of modern environmentalism by looking to the New Deal and is among the strongest of this cohort. Blending careful research with an ability to synthesize seemingly disparate topics, from electoral politics to gender roles and landscape architecture, Maher offers a rich and complex history of how Americans became green.

Launched in 1933, the CCC concentrated first on replanting forests and safeguarding farmlands. Franklin D. Roosevelt, the agency's founder, was a committed conservationist who practiced scientific forestry at his Hyde Park estate. But as a polio sufferer, he also believed in the curative powers of working and playing in nature, another Progressive-era inheritance. These two strands combined in the Corps' mission: to reclaim both the nation's resources and the wellbeing of its unemployed young men. For Roosevelt, conservation was more than altruism; he used the Corps to thwart New Deal opposition in rural regions where it ran highest. By the mid-1930s, as more Americans vacationed close to home, the CCC turned to promote tourism. Workers built trails, bridges, roads, and lodges that enticed visitors into the outdoors.

Just as Corps laborers reclaimed the land for profit and play, the landscapes they made remade them in turn. Maher is at his finest when he gives voice to the "Cs" themselves, explaining how the CCC transformed sickly and poor young men into physically strong and

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skilled workers. It was a vehicle for Americanization and upward mobility for many working class and immigrant young men, who later remembered their time outdoors fondly. But the Corps was not truly democratic. Women were excluded. African Americans and Native Americans were segregated. Organized labor opposed the CCC at first, fearing it would undercut union power. Corps workers also faced hostility from residents living next door to the camps, but antagonism evaporated when locals harnessed them to promote regional economies.

Maher skillfully compares two projects to illustrate this dynamism: restoring farmland in Coon Valley, Wisconsin, and constructing recreation facilities in the Great Smoky Mountains of Tennessee. These locales are especially apt: Aldo Leopold worked with Coon Valley planners, and Robert Marshall advised construction in the Great Smokies. At first, both were ardent supporters, but they soon became strident critics. Leopold attacked infrastructure and reclamation work as ecologically harmful, while Marshall condemned extending automobile access to public lands nationwide. Both men helped found the Wilderness Society, an organization opposed to making nature too modern and recreation too convenient.

Despite such enmity, the spirit of the Corps endured after its termination in 1942. Former members joined federal and state conservation agencies, or created their own grass-roots political organizations. Numerous local and state governments launched work programs modeled on the Corps, employing inmates, young men and women, or the underemployed. According to Maher, the CCC extended conservation past its narrow Progressive-era base to lay the foundation for modern environmentalism, but this claim, despite his persuasive writing and strong evidence, is not as firmly established. To be sure, the Corps' demographic size and physical ubiquity exposed many enrollees to conservation. Yet absent specific evidence quantifying how many CCC members joined environmental groups, or what visible roles they played politically, Maher offers more correlation than causation. The New Deal matters but not necessarily as a direct precursor to environmentalism. Rather, its legacy may lie in reminding contemporary environmentalists that Americans once found innovative and popular ways to manage resources and strengthen community and economy simultaneously.

Such criticisms aside, this is an ambitious and imaginative book that opens new terrain for historians to explore. By rethinking the trajectory of conservation, Maher compels us to reconsider the history of modern environmentalism as well. In so doing, he challenges us to embrace an environmental ethic that once had room for both wilderness and hard labor together.

MATTHEW KLINGLE
Bowdoin College

JOSEPH B. ENTIN. *Sensational Modernism: Experimental Fiction and Photography in Thirties America*. (Cultural Studies of the United States.) Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2007. Pp. xi, 325. Cloth $59.95, paper $22.50.

Influenced by Warren Susman's pivotal 1970 essay "The Thirties," American cultural historians of the 1930s have overemphasized that decade's fundamental conservatism and tended to underestimate radical challenges to it, according to Joseph B. Entin's book. Entin proposes a countertradition of self-consciously modernist literary texts and photographs centered on issues of class, ethnicity, race, and, to a lesser extent, gender that contests this historiographical paradigm. While Entin exaggerates both the paradigm's predominance and the degree to which cultural historians have neglected 1930s dissent, his study does identify a heretofore unacknowledged radical "cultural form" (p. 19) that employed the sensationalism favored by contemporary popular media—in tabloid newspapers, pulp stories, and mass entertainments—to foreground the injustices perpetrated on abused and disfigured working-class bodies. Such modernist sensationalism was distinguished from the popular variety by its formal sophistication, which utilized avant-garde expressive techniques to induce "cognitive disorientation" in its bourgeois audience and thus discomfit that social formation's self-satisfied "sense of moral authority and cultural control" (p. 3) vouchsafed to it by naturalistic or sentimental representations of working-class subjects.

Literary practitioners of sensational modernism receive considerably more attention in Entin's book than photographers, and it includes detailed, acute discussions of five central texts in which disfigured working-class bodies are central tropes: William Carlos Williams's short stories in *Life along the Passaic River* (1938); Tillie Olsen's *Yonnondio: From the Thirties* (1974); William Faulkner's *As I Lay Dying* (1930); Pietro di Donato's *Christ in Concrete* (1939); and Richard Wright's *Native Son* (1940). These extended analyses are supplemented by about a dozen briefer studies of 1930s texts, mostly of additional works by Entin's central authors or other instances of sensational modernism such as Henry Roth's *Call It Sleep* (1934) and Nathanael West's *Miss Lonelyhearts* (1933), but also for contrast two examples of a politically retrograde modernism that withdraws agency from working-class subjects, John Steinbeck's *Grapes of Wrath* (1939) and James Agee's contribution to *Let Us Now Praise Famous Men* (1941). While I do not entirely agree with Entin's judgment of Agee, it must be said that in his discussions of *Famous Men* and other literary texts Entin is rarely if ever tendentious; to put it more positively, one of the most attractive features of his critical method is its suppleness, his acknowledgment that each of these works is composed of contradictory or at least paradoxical elements, formal and ideational, and that "they do not ultimately resolve the thorny problems of engagement and representation that they raise" (p. 33). In this sense, he says, they were honorable failures, and taken together they do constitute the important countertra-

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dition in 1930s writing that Entin claims for them. Indeed, his anatomy of sensational modernism suggests that at least two of the decade's canonical works could also be included in its census, John Dos Passos's *U.S.A.* (1938) and Ernest Hemingway's *To Have and Have Not* (1937).

The book under review is less satisfactory in its analysis of 1930s photography. Its treatment of the Farm Security Administration (FSA) photographic project makes it a straw man representing twentieth-century documentary practice to be knocked over by Entin's favored photographers, Weegee (Arthur Fellig) and Aaron Siskind. The FSA photographers, Entin says, "tended to skate between the poles of scrutiny and sentiment" (p. 46), both condescending modes of social control that "rhetorically contain[ed] potentially strange or threatening figures" (p. 51) and elided signs of subjects' agency. Admittedly it is difficult to generalize about the FSA's archive of some 77,000 pictures, but Entin's formulation is far too totalizing, as his own evidence indicates. Analyzing two portraits of African Americans in Richard Wright's *12 Million Black Voices*, he hails "the subjective strength and integrity" (p. 226) that the photographs impute to their subjects. Unnoted in the text is that both were made by FSA photographer Jack Delano.

This book's relatively brief treatment of Weegee's "tabloid documentary" (p. 52) contends persuasively that he was an "inadvertent, vernacular modern[ist]" (p. 56), but Entin strains to make Siskind not a confirmed modernist, which he surely was, but rather a sensationalist. Siskind photographed Harlem as a member of a Photo League collaborative group dedicated to creating an ethnographic portrait of the community, and Entin's argument that the "disfigured, sensational bodies" (p. 138) in his pictures of an onstage performer at the Apollo Theater and a couple frenetically jitterbugging at the Savoy Ballroom—two of Harlem's most beloved leisure venues—echo blackface minstrelsy is not only far-fetched but seems to deny that African Americans had evolved their own distinctive cultural forms to which the dancers and performer gave expression.

Nevertheless, this text's subtle exposition of an unacknowledged countertradition in 1930s writing makes it a valuable contribution to the decade's cultural history.

JOHN RAEBURN
University of Iowa

DARIA FREZZA. *The Leader and the Crowd: Democracy in American Public Discourse, 1880–1941*. Translated by MARTHA KING. Athens: University of Georgia Press. 2007. Pp. x, 335. $44.95.

Daria Frezza's book is a valuable discussion of transatlantic social science during a pivotal moment in U.S. and world history. Against the backdrop of industrial modernization, urbanization, and fierce debates over race and citizenship, Frezza explores how American social scientists elaborated on and transformed European social theories of individual and group behavior in mass society. She pays particular attention to tensions between theories of the irrational crowd and social imitation, articulated by Europeans such as Gustave Le Bon and Gabriel Tarde, and the formation of a rational, democratic public, which occupied Americans such as Edward Ross, Charles Cooley, Robert Park, and John Dewey during the Gilded Age and Progressive era. Since discussions about rationality were imbued with gendered and racialized language that likened mobs to "women, children, and savages" as she notes throughout the book, women and African Americans were conceptually (and practically) excluded from membership in the public. As the twentieth century unfolded, lynch mobs in the U.S. and the eugenics movement in the transatlantic world challenged the notion of a rational public, leaving American social scientists with an often contradictory task in theorizing the possibility of democratic social life. The book offers a wide survey of social science trends during the period, and is strongest in its discussion of the European origins of American social science. Examining the practice of lynching, the popularity of eugenics in the United States, and collective hysteria during and after World War I, Frezza illustrates the historical limitations confronting American democratic theorists as they reworked European social science for an American context.

Frezza further explores how the rise of consumerism, advertising, and propaganda led to concern over the manipulation of public opinion within the democratic public. When connected to ideas about the social self and theories of group psychology, such concerns challenged the cornerstone of liberal democracy: the rational individual as free political agent. As the 1920s wore on, some theorists even questioned the possibility of democracy itself. A critical part of this story is tension between the leader and the crowd, between experts and the common man. Indeed, as concern about the power of suggestion and theory of social imitation deepened, the role of the leader assumed paramount significance. During the 1920s and 1930s, social scientists examined characteristics and tactics of industrial and political leadership, drawing careful distinctions between democratic and authoritarian leaders. Nazi Germany stands as the epitome of such fears, although American figures like Huey Long and Charles Coughlin also suggested the possibility of extremist leaders in the United States. Still, social theorists worked to differentiate the U.S. tradition and its democratic public from European societies falling prey to dictatorship.

This is an impressive intellectual history. Frezza is familiar with a broad field of social science theory, making it a valuable study of transatlantic social theory during the first part of the twentieth century. At times, though, the book's broad survey, while a strength, is also its weakness. Much of her discussion will be familiar to historians of the social sciences and democratic theory, although she weaves the story together in an original way. The framework of analysis, leadership and crowd psychology, and its intersection with dem-

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ocratic theory is intriguing and important, though at times it fades into the background, leaving this reader wishing for more overt connections and elaboration between framework and examples. Since this is a translation, however, perhaps the threads of Frezza's argument are more prominent in the original Italian. As an intellectual history, this book nicely situates the ideas in their historical context but speaks less about their social impact. Given the book's wide-ranging discussion of social scientists and the central role of pragmatists in that discussion, there are some surprising errors of fact. The most glaring is the reference to William James' research agenda in the 1920s and 1930s, when in fact James died in 1910. This and other minor errors, however, do not detract from the overall value of the argument.

Frezza's book serves as a touchstone for scholars and students of the social sciences and democracy. In her final chapter, she explores how American social scientists and propagandists confronted the challenges of a widening gap between the ideal and reality of American democracy and how they articulated a democratic vision capable of mobilizing Americans for World War II while inequities affected so many at home; in so doing she implicitly begs us to consider how the rhetoric and symbols of democracy continue to function in our lives today and perhaps contribute to collective oversight of the challenges of living out the democratic promise. This is a thoughtful and thought-provoking work that contributes to our understanding of the transformation of American liberal democracy in the early twentieth century, a democratic vision that has shaped domestic and world politics ever since.

LAURA M. WESTHOFF
University of Missouri, St. Louis

DAVID PAUL HANEY. *The Americanization of Social Science: Intellectuals and Public Responsibility in the Postwar United States*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press. 2008. Pp. xii, 283. $39.95.

Although the French social visionary and mathematical polymath Auguste Comte coined the term "sociology" in 1839, as a discipline it was predominantly American right from the beginning. That beginning was around 1890, just when Émile Durkheim set about to build a science of sociology within the French universities. There is every reason to take Durkheim and his school seriously, as well as Max Weber and the German champions of scholarly social science. Still, it took Talcott Parsons and his American colleagues in the 1930s to turn these heterogeneous efforts of French and German writers into "classical sociology." That bold act of appropriation might be called the Europeanization of American sociology, for "sociology" had been familiar in America for more than a generation as the name for a practical, reform-oriented, mostly empirical project of social investigation that owed rather little to European theories.

David Paul Haney's book is, as he clearly states in his preface, about sociology, not the more encompassing "social science" of his title, and primarily from 1945 to the early 1960s. There is indeed something distinctively American about it. The claim to European "high theory" was one important move in the campaign to raise the status of sociology in the United States. This undertaking included a rather successful effort to shift the sociological center from Chicago and the American heartland to the eastern seaboard, especially to Harvard and Columbia. The other great ambition of postwar sociology was to make it a proper science, like physics or chemistry. Sociology in America had always been oriented in large part around numbers and statistics. The new sociology would, in the name of science, draw on statistical tools of sampling and probabilistic inference which were, in their diverse forms, becoming central to economics, psychology, and clinical medicine, but scarcely at all to physics or physiology. The new empirical sociology had at least one thing in common with physical science: it was unlikely to be understood by the unwashed public. It was the same with "European" social theory. This withdrawal from the public sphere was not, for postwar sociologists, a regrettable byproduct of heightened rigor and theoretical sophistication, but something desirable in itself. Haney demonstrates how sociology was remade in a self-conscious effort to insulate the discipline from public discussion of social issues. His arguments, while not startling, are developed intelligently using new as well as familiar sources.

I incline to the view that, as with what they called European social theory, postwar sociologists were not merely following but also reconstructing the model of "hard science" when they announced that its intrinsic technicality isolates it from "society." Since the eighteenth century, science had involved an effort to untwist the tangles of judicial astrology or mining technology or biological reproduction, and in this way to reconcile natural knowledge with a project of public enlightenment. Even allowing that much of science had by the twentieth century become difficult and rather alien for non-specialists, it was a bold move indeed for social scientists to define "science" in terms of its inaccessibility, and then to set off in quest of this grail. Thus Robert Merton, a clever fellow who wrote engagingly when he chose to, foreswore literary grace and wit, to the end that "the hard skeleton of fact, inference, and theoretic conclusion" should not become "overlaid with the soft flesh of stylistic ornamentation" (p. 194).

Perhaps the greatest weakness of Haney's study is his reluctance to address in any detail the work of sociology, including its statistical methods and its theoretical moves. Without this, we cannot always tell what exactly is at issue in the debates that divided the field. Still, much of the book's interest derives from its attention to these debates, and specifically to critiques of sociology by Pitirim Sorokin and then C. Wright Mills. They wanted the discipline to address a larger audience, and complained that it had retreated from the great social challenges in order to apply its special tools to petty

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issues. To this the leaders of the discipline answered that their first task was to achieve internal consensus—or, in Kuhnian language that they came to favor, a paradigm—and afterward they would bring their conclusions to the public. Could they, in the interim, speak only to one another? Postwar government support, with its focus on the advance of disciplines, allowed much more emphasis on communication among insiders than had been possible in the 1930s, when private foundations organized social research to solve pressing problems. Haney suggests, though without exploring this in detail, that postwar sociological writing was not directed exclusively to disciplinary colleagues, but often to other experts, especially in government agencies. The most compelling theme in this interesting book is how sociologists in the early postwar period found new reasons to be cynical about democracy. They bypassed the general public to speak in venues where, they hoped, social rationality might be possible.

THEODORE M. PORTER
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JUDITH WEISENFELD. *Hollywood Be Thy Name: African American Religion in American Film, 1929–1949*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 2007. Pp. xiii, 341. $24.95.

Over the past decade, scholars have increasingly examined the intersection of religion and film. Most have concerned themselves with how religious experience is represented in the cinema. Others have examined grand themes in ostensibly secular movies (like *The Matrix* [1999] and *Star Wars* [1977]) as religious motifs. A few, like John Lyden's *Film as Religion: Myths, Morals, and Rituals* (2003), have even examined movie-going (film consumption) itself as religious experience.

In this theoretically rich volume, Judith Weisenfeld achieves a provocative study of religion and film by pursuing a somewhat different concern with the location of religion in American popular culture. While most studies of African American and U.S. religious history assume the site of religion to be either churches or religious communities narrowly defined, Weisenfeld subtly yet powerfully advances an altogether different approach by examining the technological domain of the film industry and performance as sites where religion is made. The author is ultimately concerned with how movies, as a "technology of race," derive their ability to produce religion from the "power and the privileged gaze of the camera to invest skin color with moral meaning" (p. 4). In this way, American film has functioned as a technological means of making religion.

This book demonstrates how three decades of cinema manufactured religious experience in order to represent religion as a racial characteristic of blacks (e.g., African Americans as a morally pedantic or naïve race) and to portray America proper as a normatively white Christian nation. Readers will be struck, however, by the complexity that defines the volume's every move. Weisenfeld shows how even the most controversial movies, steeped in anti-black stereotypes, were lauded by various black and white reviewers for giving visibility to African Americans and for portraying black religion as sufficiently universal to embody a broadly relevant portrayal of human aspiration, passion, and struggle. Rather than merely critiquing the over-determined representations of racial subjectivity, Weisenfeld keenly theorizes the production and reception of race movies in order to explain why black and white audiences voraciously consumed religion through the silver screen and how they came to be so deeply moved and persuaded by these cinematic encounters. The volume also captures the nuances that differentiated Hollywood from independent filmmakers; the latter were somewhat more willing to represent black identity in relatively progressive terms.

The book's first two chapters examine *Hallelujah* (1929) and *Green Pastures* (1936) to explain how film producers, inspired by the success of Broadway's black-audience or black-cast plays like Nan Bagby Stephens's *Roseanne* (1923) and Ridgley Torrence's *Simon the Cyrenian* (1917), shifted their focus to films that dramatized black religion. In chapters three and four, the author further maps the cultural history of these movies when she analyzes the efforts of filmmakers like the African American Spencer Williams to reconcile the modernity of urban life with the quaint, regressive ethos (read as southern, Protestant, and rural) of "traditional" black religion. At stake was the moral meaning that inhered around "entertainment culture," a worldliness that staunchly challenged institutional black religion as the solely legitimate domain of black entertainment. Especially vexing was the fact that these films flagrantly portrayed the "fast life" of drinking, dancing, gambling, and sexual freewheeling, simultaneously representing the danger of modern living and glorifying the pizzazz and excitement of the city. The final two chapters consider representations of black religion during World War II (Weisenfeld argues that the most "universal" portrayal of black religion, surprisingly, was produced by the U.S. military to propagandize black participation in the war effort) and the moralistic representation of racial boundaries and racial passing. With finesse and nuance, the author unravels the complex, ironic uses of liberal racial ideology at work in films like Alfred L. Werker's *Lost Boundaries* (1949), which refused to cast blacks as interracial black characters due to the overlapping influences of censorship, angst over policing boundaries of race, and the moral stakes of representing truth and honor.

The volume is also attentive to historically contextual themes like southern migration to the urban north, the rise of film censorship, and consternation over federal segregation of the military, all the while keeping a steady eye on the primary subject at hand. The extensive selection of photographs depicting pivotal scenes and broadsides that promoted the movies is outstanding, enabling the reader to experience the visual cues and graphical depictions of race and religion integral to

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this history of visual media. The book's underlying aim of resituating the locus of religious experience, moreover, holds great import for future studies of American religious history. The intriguing narrative will enrich undergraduate courses across fields of study in the humanities, and the volume's sophisticated style of mapping race and religion in popular culture will challenge and rarify graduate seminars while advancing future scholarship on the subject.

SYLVESTER A. JOHNSON
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RONALD SMELSER and EDWARD J. DAVIES II. *The Myth of the Eastern Front: The Nazi-Soviet War in American Popular Culture*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2008. Pp. xii, 327. Cloth $75.00, paper $21.99.

Over the last half century, Ronald Smelser and Edward J. Davies II argue, many Americans have embraced a mythical version of the Nazi-Soviet conflict in the East, a vision in which the Wehrmacht, and even the Waffen SS, are understood as essentially noble and apolitical institutions that fought a "clean" war against the USSR and were led by selfless military geniuses. The authors are understandably disturbed by the popularity of these accounts of the Eastern Front, both because they are wildly inaccurate and because they whitewash German war crimes in which the military and its leadership were active participants.

After the war, the Western Allies initially tried to hold the German military accountable for many of Nazi Germany's war crimes. But this policy changed with the emerging Cold War. The former Wehrmacht officers had impeccable anticommunist credentials and a personal knowledge of the Soviet army at war. U.S. authorities asked Franz Halder, former leader of the German General Staff, to assemble a group of Wehrmacht officers to write accounts of the war in the East. Known informally as the "Halder Group," these officers managed to rehabilitate their reputations while building a decades-long place for themselves in American and West German military planning.

Halder also published pamphlets that blamed the German failures and crimes in the East entirely on Adolf Hitler himself, thus exculpating the Wehrmacht. Other German military memoirists presented similar portraits of their prowess and innocence. A number of German popular histories and novels lauded the bravery of the German military in the East. This material soon found its way in translation to the United States, where it gained a following among both military professionals and amateur military history buffs.

In the United States, popular historians, whom Smelser and Davies label "the gurus," helped spread the mythic view of the Eastern Front through a series of books and websites that even celebrated the Waffen SS. The gurus were, in turn, followed by people Smelser and Davies call "romancers," war gamers and historical re-enactors who enjoy taking on German military roles. Their views of the war in the East have received wider circulation through such institutions as the Military Book Club and the History Channel.

The authors present a discomfiting portrait of American views of the Eastern Front. They are to be commended for exploring sources such as websites and war games that, while not usually studied by historians, are places where Americans encounter and enact World War II memory. But the authors' analysis of their material is not entirely convincing. Smelser and Davies argue that the purpose of the myth of the Eastern Front was "to wipe out the memory of the Soviet Union as our ally during World War II, as well as to integrate our former enemies, the Germans, into the defensive structure of the West, and in doing so revalidate ourselves historically" (p. 81). This explanation works very well for the U.S. military's embrace of the Halder Group. However, the imperatives of geopolitics cannot so easily explain the attraction of the myth of the Eastern Front to a broader U.S. public, especially since the end of the Cold War.

At the heart of their analysis, Davies and Smelser present an extended comparison between neo-Confederate views of the Civil War and mythic views of the Eastern Front (pp. 80–89). This is an excellent analogy. But the authors present only similarities between the two cases. As with any historical analogy, the best comparison would necessarily involve tracking differences as well, two of which, in particular, Davies and Smelser underplay. First, neo-Confederate views of the Civil War usually argue for the essential justice of the Confederate cause as a whole. In contrast, most (though not all) apologists for the behavior of the German military in the East try to distinguish between the ills of Nazism and Hitler himself on the one hand, and the supposedly "clean" efforts of the German military on the other. The second major difference between the two Lost Causes is that one, the Civil War, directly involved the United States. Indeed, neo-Confederate myths helped underwrite the post-Civil War return of white supremacy in the South. For most Americans, the myth of the Eastern Front can serve no such clear instrumental function. A richer explanation of the American embrace of Eastern Front mythology would involve considering it in a broader cultural-historical context than this book provides, including, for example, U.S. views of World War II, Germany, and military conflict in general.

None of this, however, should take away from the book's accomplishment. In carefully tracing the ways in which Americans have misunderstood the war in the East, Smelser and Davies have made a significant addition to the growing literature on the public memory of World War II.

BENJAMIN L. ALPERS
University of Oklahoma

TONY SHAW. *Hollywood's Cold War*. (Culture, Politics, and the Cold War.) Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press. 2007. Pp. x, 342. Cloth $98.00, paper $29.95.

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The dialectic between Hollywood and the Cold War is an extensively chronicled (some might say *too* extensively chronicled) chapter in Cold War historiography. As if running some History Channel software, the images unspool with programmed predictability: newsreels of red-faced congressmen snarling at smart-mouthed screenwriters, clips from red-nightmare melodramas and Mars-attacks allegories, and rueful remembrances and defensive posturing from talking-head eyewitnesses on either side of a vintage but still venomous left-right culture war.

In an ambitious full-on overview, media historian Tony Shaw tracks Hollywood's role in the long twilight struggle from the Bolshevik Revolution in 1917 to the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989: the early scuffles and satires, the wartime whitewashes, the celluloid blackmail payments extorted by the House Committee on Un-American Activities, the revisionist second thoughts in the 1970s, and the second round of second-second thoughts in the 1980s. Drawing on a ready mastery of the secondary research and a diligent sifting of the paper trails in Hollywood and Washington, Shaw argues that the American "strategy was far more sophisticated and expansive than many have supposed" (p. 3). He makes a persuasive case. It is abetted by a levelheaded tone, a crisply informative manner, and an approach more concerned with telling a story than grinding an ax.

Shaw detects four distinct phases in Hollywood's war with Moscow: 1) the period from 1917 to 1945 when the USSR was an "international pariah and communism [an] anathema" to all that was red, white, and blue; 2) the "full-scale war" from the late 1940s to the early 1960s when Moscow and its minions posed a clear and present danger; 3) a prolonged interlude, detonated as early as *Dr. Strangelove: or How I Learned to Stop Worrying and Love the Bomb* (1964), characterized by "growing unease with the spiraling arms race and with Big Brother like activities of America's own security agencies"; and 4) a late season of schizophrenic impulses in the Age of Reagan, when the venerable Cold War face-off was both resurrected and questioned (pp. 303–304). Throughout, Shaw seeks to dethrone the centrality of the HUAC-inspired anticommunist film cycle to expose a broader swathe of big-screen missiles targeting the USSR. "This book is the first attempt to map out Hollywood's treatment of the Cold War throughout the whole conflict," he declares (p. 1). Well before Winston Churchill officially acknowledged the Iron Curtain, Hollywood was already fighting the Cold War.

Given the wide arc of time and the bewildering array of marquee titles, Shaw wisely takes a case study approach, telescoping in on key films as cultural-historical touchstones, some certified classics, others obscure works. Among the analyzed: Ernst Lubitsch's charming comedy of East-West manners, *Ninotchka* (1939); Leo McCarey's lunatic stew of anticommunism, homophobia, and Catholicism, *My Son John* (1952); two suitably Orwellian entries, the didactic feature-length cartoon *Animal Farm* (1954) and the noirish melodrama *1984* (1956); Cecil B. DeMille's biblical blockbuster, *The Ten Commandments* (1956); Stanley Kramer's soporific post-nuke sermon, *On the Beach* (1959); John Wayne's World War II combat film set in Vietnam, *The Green Berets* (1968); Sidney Pollack's conspiratorial *Three Days of the Condor* (1975), John Milius's loony *Red Dawn* (1984); and the half-baked Arnold Schwarzenegger potboiler *Red Heat* (1988), a leading indicator of *glasnost* and *perestroika* in which "Moscow and Washington needed to overlook their rapidly diminishing ideological differences in order to join forces against a new, common enemy—narco-terrorists" (pp. 286–287).

Though an avid chronicler of the government cogs in the studio machine, Shaw evinces a common-sense appreciation of the ways films arise from zeitgeist atmospherics, commercial exigencies, and auteurist vision. In the cases of *My Son John* and *The Green Berets*, the political really was personal. "It was [John] Wayne, a powerful actor, who was the driving force behind the making of *The Green Berets*, not a studio or government," he points out (p. 224). He also recognizes that a good many films not explicitly about Joseph Stalin and the Politburo are really about Stalin and the Politburo. Thus, *The Ten Commandments* "testified to America's capitalist-based creativity and advertised the superiority of democracy's freedom of spirit" (p. 121), with the tyrannical, all-powerful Pharaoh and the pagan Egyptians standing in for you-know-who, a red tide vanquished by the Red Sea. In a fascinating excursion into the pre-production backstories of *Animal Farm* and *1984*, Shaw notes that "even most of the movie's senior production staff, let alone the viewers, were unaware of the political machinations behind the scenes," a point "that highlights the value that Washington attached to clandestine propaganda during the Cold War" (p. 94).

Whatever the gap in missiles and nuclear warheads, the battle between the dream factory and the Soviet Union was an unequal contest. The visceral superiority of Hollywood releases to the Soviet counterattack may be best symbolized by the scene in *Red Dawn* where the invaders requisition the local Bijou to book a screening of Sergei Eisenstein's *Alexander Nevsky* (1938). "On the whole, the American mass media supported its government's anti-communist stance during the Cold War chiefly because their owners and employees shared Washington's ideological worldview," the author concludes. Like Lubitsch, Shaw knows that both sides of the Iron Curtain would rather watch Greta Garbo slink around Paris in a shimmering evening gown than march down Red Square in a frumpy uniform.

THOMAS DOHERTY
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JEFF FREDERICK. *Stand Up for Alabama: Governor George Wallace*. (The Modern South.) Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press. 2007. Pp. xiv, 489. $47.50.

George Wallace is one of the most well-documented figures in modern American politics, and some very talented writers and historians have chronicled his re-

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markable career. Yet unlike previous authors who have focused on Wallace's national impact, Jeff Frederick is interested in Wallace as the kingpin of Alabama politics during the tumultuous two decades that began with Wallace's 1962 election as governor. Frederick adds new information about how far Wallace was willing to go to stoke racist passions in Alabama. More importantly, he amasses damning statistics on how Alabama poverty and backwardness persisted throughout the Wallace era. The tragedy for Frederick is Wallace's profligate use of the unprecedented power that the governor amassed. The book's title contains the central irony: Wallace traveled the country claiming to "stand up for Alabama," yet Fredrick's lament is that too often Wallace was just standing up for himself.

A more sober and responsible leader might have used his power to address the state's numerous and profound problems. Albert Brewer, the inheritor of the governorship after the untimely death of Wallace's first wife and handpicked successor Lurleen, was such a leader. Frederick gives ample space to Brewer's governorship as a doleful example of what might have been had Wallace's egotism not gotten the best of him—or if Brewer had defeated Wallace in 1970, which he nearly did.

Frederick's portrait of Wallace is not entirely damning, however. The author sympathizes with Wallace's personal battles following Arthur Bremer's 1972 assassination attempt and the governor's subsequent physical incapacitation. He also consistently tries to view Wallace through the eyes of the governor's most devoted followers: the working-class white Alabamans who reveled in Wallace's pugnacious jabs at condescending liberals and meddlesome civil rights advocates.

The focus on Wallace as governor adds some important new details about his career. We learn, for example, how thin Wallace's credentials were as an economic progressive, at least during his first term when he was making his national reputation as the great populist defender of the little man. Wallace did little to take on the "Big Mules" in Alabama politics and ignored the state's regressive tax structure. In subsequent terms, Wallace did more to live up to his rhetoric, as when he targeted utility companies as the chief threat to everyday Alabamans. By then, however, the governor's simplistic slogans about fat-cat utility executives failed to capture the complex challenges of a state struggling to transition from a low-wage, low-skill industrial base to a modern Sunbelt economy. Frederick also does well to chart the ebbs and flows of Wallace's popularity inside the state. He shows that on the eve of Bremer's assassination attempt, Wallace's approval ratings were perilously low. The injuries Wallace suffered all but ended his national political career, yet they created enormous sympathy for him inside the state and helped transform him into the beloved if sometimes pitied figure that would win the governorship two more times.

Frederick is perhaps too deferential to previous biographers, particularly Wallace's most distinguished chronicler, Dan Carter. He takes for granted Carter's argument that Wallace was the pioneering figure in modern conservatism. Some recent scholarship on conservatism's origins has challenged the centrality of Wallace's racist populism, and Frederick might have incorporated those arguments to bolster his shift in emphasis to Wallace's significance in state politics.

The book contains four hundred densely packed pages of text, which at first glance seems reasonable for a figure with as long and as storied a career as Wallace. But in truth the book could have been cut by as much as a third with no harm to the argument. Frederick sets out to examine not only why so many Alabamans embraced Wallace but also what impact the governor had on the state. As such, the book reads in long stretches as less a biography of Wallace than a history of state government in the Wallace years. The author gives spirited accounts of otherwise mundane topics such as the politics of the Alabama textbook depository and the impecunious state of the mental health system, but Frederick could have been more judicious with his list of topics and the level of detail. How much do we really need to know about the expansion of state dock facilities under Wallace or about Cornelia Wallace's imperious treatment of the governor's mansion staff?

What the book lacks in succinctness, however, it makes up for with enthusiasm. Frederick obviously relishes the intricacies of Alabama politics, and his gusto can be infectious, even if it comes with a few too many down-home clichés. This book does not displace Carter's as the essential biography on Wallace, although, to be fair, that was not Frederick's goal. He has written a deeply researched and at times engaging history of Alabama politics in the Wallace years, one that no serious student of the state should avoid.

JOSEPH CRESPINO
Emory University

JOHN DARRELL SHERWOOD. *Black Sailor, White Navy: Racial Unrest in the Fleet during the Vietnam War Era*. New York: New York University Press. 2007. Pp. xxiv, 344. $35.00.

John Darrell Sherwood, an official historian with the United States Naval Historical Center, has produced a meticulously researched study of racial conflict in the Navy during the Vietnam War. Based on extensive work with naval records as well as interviews with participants, this book tells the story of race riots on ships and in ports in the early 1970s, set in the context of the Navy's efforts to integrate its ranks. Sherwood's work is a valuable contribution to the growing historiography on racial and ethnic minorities in wartime, part of a broader trend in military history that has designated soldiers, sailors, and marines for serious study alongside generals and admirals.

The book begins with a look at the history of blacks in the Navy. Wartime exigencies in 1812 and 1861 brought blacks into a Navy otherwise hostile to their inclusion. Many of these sailors were cooks and stewards, but some served in positions of authority. With the

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Jim Crow era came even stricter segregation, which generally left African Americans relegated to the mess staff. During World War II, manpower needs forced the Navy to enlist more blacks, but still in low-ranking roles. Thanks to protests from civil rights groups and ordinary black servicemen, Secretary of the Navy James Forrestal denounced segregation in 1945, but he maintained the Navy's commitment to promoting individuals by merit (rather than correcting racial imbalances). Despite Forrestal's views, black membership in the Navy, and in the officer classes especially, remained paltry after the war. In 1948 only 4.3 percent of the enlisted force was African American. Asked for an explanation by President Harry Truman's committee on equality in the military, Vice Admiral William Fechteler responded that blacks were "not a seafaring people" (p. 11).

And so the Navy entered the Vietnam War era as a largely white, segregated institution. The draft reinforced that character, as well-qualified whites who scored well on the Navy's entrance exams enlisted there rather than join the infantry. Poorly educated blacks instead faced the likelihood of being drafted into the Army or Marines, and thus those branches of the military suffered race riots earlier in the war. This situation changed in the 1970s, as President Richard M. Nixon scaled back the draft and built support for the all-volunteer force that would begin in 1973. Now, without the draft looming, educated whites no longer flocked to the Navy, and manpower shortages forced that branch into lowering its entrance standards and taking less well-educated whites, blacks, and Latinos. With the leadership ranks still largely filled by whites, and the menial work still done by poorly educated blacks, racial conflict seemed inevitable.

Admiral Elmo R. "Bud" Zumwalt, Jr., understood that such "institutional racism" might lead to a rash of violence in the Navy as it had in the Army and Marines. Named Chief of Naval Operations (CNO) in July 1970, Zumwalt established a minority affairs infrastructure that promoted the development of "human relations councils" on every ship to manage racial conflict (which, as it turned out, would have unclear and thus negligible authority). He also advocated affirmative action to fix racial imbalances among the ranks.

Unfortunately, these measures could not stave off the troubles brewing in the fleet. Sherwood describes violence involving the crews of the *Kitty Hawk*, the *Hassayampa*, the *Constellation*, and other vessels. Typically these episodes started with small conflicts between blacks and whites that escalated into riots or sit-down strikes. A congressional subcommittee looking into racial unrest in the Navy blamed it on black "agitators" but also condemned Admiral Zumwalt's reforms. Some congressmen and retired naval personnel believed his efforts to prevent racial conflict were permissive, undermining traditional Navy discipline. Although Sherwood makes clear that occasionally black "thugs" provoked violence, in the end it was institutional racism in the Navy, along with the influx of less-educated blacks, that caused most problems. Over the years since Zumwalt's reign as CNO, the Navy has institutionalized some of his reforms and lessened its racial imbalances and racist reputation.

Sherwood's main purpose in this book is to provide a comprehensive account of racial violence in the Vietnam-era Navy, and thus his work is more narrative than analytical in character. As such it is heavy on detail (as well as naval jargon and acronyms), making it a bit of a slow read at times. Also, while Sherwood does an excellent job of situating the attitudes of black sailors within the context of the black power movement, there are other contextual lapses. For instance, his discussion of Zumwalt's views on affirmative action would benefit from a broader look at the advent of that practice during the Nixon administration. Nevertheless, Sherwood's good writing, voluminous research, and perceptive conclusions should make his book the standard treatment of its subject.

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EDWIN A. MARTINI. *Invisible Enemies: The American War on Vietnam, 1975–2000.* (Culture, Politics, and the Cold War.) Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press. 2007. Pp. xii, 280. Cloth $80.00, paper $24.95.

"War is the continuation of politics by other means," said Karl von Clausewitz; "Politics is the continuation of war by other means," says Edwin A. Martini. And so, when the last U.S. troops departed Saigon in the spring of 1973, the United States' war against Vietnam's communist-led national independence movement continued by other means. The front lines of that postwar war were constructed by a U.S. economic policy that isolated Vietnam from trade relations with the West and a cultural campaign to write a narrative of "mutual destruction" into the public memory of the war.

After reminding us in an excellent introduction that the meaning of war is as much a product of the way it is remembered and represented as the period of military combat itself, Martini shows that the building blocks of U.S. postwar economic policy were, in fact, mostly a continuation of wartime prohibitions of trade with Vietnam—authenticating his position that the postwar period really was war by other means. Using transcripts from House of Representatives committee hearings, memoirs of principal actors such as Henry Kissinger and Daniel Patrick Moynihan, and articles from the business press, he reconnects us with the interest groups that weighed-in on economic relations with Vietnam, using their own words to acquaint us with the logic and rhetoric of the time.

Martini's portrayal of business interests' vis-à-vis Vietnam as less than monolithic is a helpful contribution for those of us unfamiliar with that period and dimension of U.S.-Vietnam history. Some oil and telecommunications industries were keen to enter the Vietnamese markets as soon as possible, while others like Caltex, which had lost property or investments

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when the communists came to power, opposed normalization in hopes that their claims could be settled first. Documentation like this of U.S. interests in Vietnam reaching far back into the war years is also useful confirmation that charges made by critics that war was really about U.S. economic expansion were valid and that the reports that some of us heard when we were there during the war—e.g., that U.S. oil companies were working offshore—were probably more than rumors.

The real strength of this book is the way Martini weaves together the economic, political, and cultural threads of the period of the postwar war. The synergy between economic issues and Prisoners of War/Missing in Action (POW/MIA) issues is what drives that history and enlivens Martini's account. Fascinatingly, as he tells it, the question of whether the Hanoi government held some U.S. prisoners after hundreds were returned in the spring of 1973 was not even on the docket until November of that year, when opponents of normalization began to conflate the independent issues of POWs and MIAs in way intended to suggest that some of the U.S. personnel missing in Southeast Asia might still be held as prisoners. Relations with Hanoi should not be restored, they argued, until the communists came clean about the U.S. missing. Supporters of restored relations with Vietnam countered that Hanoi was being honest and that it was unreasonable to expect they would know the circumstances of missing U.S. personnel.

The contrivance of the POW/MIA issue as a way to continue the war was the beginning of a false rebalancing of the military damage incurred by each country during the fighting, leading to a "mutual destruction" narrative holding that Vietnam and the United States suffered equally from the war. The selling of that narrative to the American people was central to the effort by Cold War holdouts to tamp down domestic political support for normalization, an effort entailing the demonizing of the Vietnamese in Hollywood films about POWs and the recasting of the image of Vietnam veterans from that of a generation politicized and empowered by its wartime experience to that of victim-veterans, psychicologically damaged by combat and disparaged by the home front antiwar movement.

This is a well-documented book with value for advanced scholars yet written in a manner accessible to undergraduates. The cultural studies material is especially well developed: Martini's analysis of the role played by the comic book series *'Nam* in constructing the "mutual destruction" narrative is not to be missed. Students in my dependency theory course were struck by the audacity of a trade policy allowing the shipment of canned pork to Vietnam while prohibiting fishing nets—a lesson evocative enough of Biblical imagery to make it stick.

Jerry Lembcke
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Risa L. Goluboff. *The Lost Promise of Civil Rights*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 2007. Pp. viii, 376. $35.00.

What is the lost promise of civil rights? According to Risa L. Goluboff's provocatively titled book, civil rights litigation by the Civil Rights Section of the United States Department of Justice (CRS) and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) during the 1940s promised to dismantle the nation's racial caste system by addressing the material inequalities between whites and blacks. However, after World War II the NAACP and the Department of Justice shifted strategies and focused on eliminating state-imposed racial segregation in the public schools. Their ultimate success in *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954) canonized a "*Brown*-inspired, race-based understanding of civil rights which has served to mask alternatives that black working-class clients and their lawyers once proposed" (p. 270). *Brown*'s emphasis on psychological stigma flowing from state-imposed school segregation divorced the seventy-five-year-old caste system from its economic roots, from its material inequalities, from the farm workers who complained about their immobility and the industrial workers who complained about their inability to make a living.

Goluboff paints a detailed and compelling picture of the exploitation of black workers, with emphasis on the 1940s. She describes the two institutions responsible for much of the litigation attacking that exploitation, the NAACP and the CRS. Each institution operated under constraints. The NAACP depended upon foundation grants and membership dues to fund its litigation efforts and so had to be responsive to grantors and its predominantly middle-class membership. The CRS was a law enforcement agency that could bring criminal prosecutions under the limited civil rights legislation that had survived post-Reconstruction retrenchment, and could also file briefs as a friend of the court. The CRS concentrated its efforts on the agricultural South, where white employers used private economic and physical force and state laws to maintain a racial/economic caste system. The NAACP, which had given black workers low priority before World War II, became active in challenging discrimination against black industrial workers.

Goluboff painstakingly describes the complaints and appalling conditions of black workers, drawing extensively on CRS and NAACP archives. She places these in the context of statutes and case law, effectively sketching, for example, the CRS's success in expanding the purview of the Thirteenth Amendment's ban on involuntary servitude. During this period the "CRS helped foster a definition of civil rights that included rather than excluded labor freedom and economic rights alongside racial equality" (p. 172). During the same period the NAACP was successful in its challenge to the exclusion of blacks from the boilermakers union, in arguing for the constitutionality of the New York fair employment law, and in challenging racial discrimination by railway unions.

These World War II cases gave hope that the state action requirement could be broken down, that the right to work found in the due process clause might be

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extended, that the Thirteenth Amendment might provide strong protection, and that black workers' economic prospects might be improved. However, the strategy for eliminating school segregation created a "new cultural icon" (p. 240), disregarding these victories and shifting to a therapeutic approach that accepted the state action doctrine and rejected the due process strategy.

Goluboff has written a rich and thought-provoking book that sheds light on the kinds of strategic decisions public interest lawyers must make. It does not, however, convince the reader that the history reflects a lost promise of civil rights. The author makes no effort to demonstrate that the strategies she espouses would have led to greater protection of the economic rights of African Americans. The book makes occasional sweeping but unsupported statements. It implies that the CRS and its successor, the Civil Rights Division (CRD), abandoned involuntary servitude and police brutality cases after *Brown*. In fact, the CRS and CRD continued to prosecute involuntary servitude and police brutality cases. Goluboff claims that the Congress placed enforcement of fair employment in the CRD because "it had become the place where laws against employment discrimination would rest in under enforced peace" (p. 259). Her citation of Hugh Davis Graham's *The Civil Rights Era: Origins and Development of National Policy, 1960–1972* (1990) does not support this claim. Moreover, Congress later gave enforcement power to the Equal Employment Opportunities Commission.

Goluboff's understandable focus on the 1940s provides a valuable portrait of the plight of African American workers and of the strategies that two organizations employed to attack the racial/economic caste system. Like any history, we cannot fairly expect this book to analyze the present time, during which the decisions the book describes continue to affect the law and the rights of African Americans. This is a book about a road not taken. We know where the road taken has thus far led us. As is so often the case, we cannot know where the road not taken would have led or whether it would have led us to a better place.

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Donald T. Critchlow. *The Conservative Ascendancy: How the GOP Right Made Political History*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 2007. Pp. 359. $27.95.

In 1950 critic Lionel Trilling argued that, in America, "liberalism is not only the dominant but even the sole intellectual tradition. For it is the plain fact that nowadays there are no conservative or reactionary ideas in general circulation." In the ensuing half century, writes Donald T. Critchlow, conservatives struggled to transform ideology into political power, and to capture the Republican Party from their liberal brethren. Nevertheless, even as "the GOP Right appeared headed for defeat and even political obscurity" (p. 1) and "tottered on complete defeat" (p. 4), conservatives managed to remake vast swaths of America in fundamental ways. In the past fifteen years historians have shed new light on postwar conservatism. Critchlow refines earlier works by arguing that scholars often viewed conservatism through Whiggish lenses; the 1964 Republican nomination of Senator Barry M. Goldwater begat Ronald Reagan's 1980 triumph, a narrative that effectively obscured "the fragile state of the Right [that] was evident at any number of turning points in which the course of American political history might have been different" (p. 285).

Tracing the path of postwar conservative ideology, much of which was advanced by European émigrés and Americans alike, Critchlow explains how different citizens' groups, local politicians, and public intellectuals helped convert ideology to powerful political applications. For many Americans, local and national organizations like the John Birch Society put ideas into action, making them feel connected to a wider movement. Conservatives "drafted" a reluctant Goldwater, but his unwillingness to be a politician—i.e., to campaign and to compromise—hurt the cause by not building bridges to the rest of the party. In the end, Goldwater's decision not to sugarcoat his ideological platform (and that he ran against Lyndon B. Johnson instead of John F. Kennedy) meant, as Goldwater recalled in his memoirs, "We'd lose the election but win the party."

The 1970s were a turning point for conservatives, writes Critchlow. Despite winning the presidency twice, conservatives had never trusted Nixon. At the same time, however, Americans' ongoing frustration with the counterculture, Supreme Court decisions like *Roe v. Wade* (1973), efforts to revive school prayer, and a burgeoning rights revolution among homosexuals, welfare rights recipients, and women all helped galvanize evangelical Protestants. New factions sprung up, including the New Right, which focused on national defense and social issues, and the neoconservatives, many of whom were former Democrats fed up with their party's willingness to kowtow to groups they perceived as radicals.

By the mid-1980s, Reagan could tell an audience that Republicans were "not defenders of the status quo but creators of the future" (p. 184). Critchlow, however, argues that the revolution was thwarted by Democrats, in part because conservatives could not overturn elements of the New Deal and the Great Society. Although George W. Bush's election "marked the triumph of the conservative ascendancy," the revolution had its limits, and the "liberal welfare state endured, a lasting legacy of New Deal liberalism" (p. 286).

Critchlow is particularly good when describing the inner workings of a loose network of individuals who made up the nascent conservative movement. While Critchlow's book is largely synthetic, sections on Clarence Manion, a Chicago-based radio commentator, and Phyllis Schlafly, who helped defeat the Equal Rights Amendment, rely on archival material and thus tell a wonderfully rich story. Critchlow does not ignore what goes on at the state level, detailing how the changing partisan composition of Congress affected conservative

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legislation. He also devotes a transitional chapter to the role of conservative think tanks, which played an important role in bridging the gap between theory and politics.

However, Critchlow's assertion that the Right nearly expired multiple times is overstated. Were conservatives really ready to pack it in and give up on the GOP? Much of the evidence, in fact, suggests otherwise; beginning in the second half of the 1960s, Republicans—and the Right—exploited Democratic mistakes far more effectively than the other way around. In 1964 the country threw its support behind Johnson and his liberal agenda; four years later the votes taken together for Nixon and George Wallace nearly matched the earlier liberal landslide. The confluence of race, rights, and taxes—expertly detailed by Thomas Byrne Edsall in *Chain Reaction: The Impact of Race, Rights, and Taxes on American Politics* (1992)—explains much of conservatism's success after the 1970s and suggests why conservatism was never in danger of vanishing. So even in 1976, when only twenty-four percent of voters were registered as Republicans and "the GOP seemed to be facing extinction" (p. 157), Americans' visceral reaction against demands by groups to receive formal recognition, rebellion against taxes that seemed to be spiraling out of control, and the silent majority's willingness to vote along racial lines ensured that conservatism was far from dead.

An operational definition of conservatism must take into account Americans' ability to sustain oppositional ideologies without eliciting unsettling cognitive dissonance. Thus, the reluctance of the electorate to abolish what it considered basic governmental services while giving two terms to Richard Nixon, two to Reagan, one to George H. W. Bush, and two to George W. Bush—and nearly defeating Jimmy Carter in 1976—shows that a conservatism that managed to incorporate and sustain certain liberal elements is alive and well, which may be the most important argument this book makes.

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GARETH DAVIES. *See Government Grow: Education Politics from Johnson to Reagan*. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. 2007. Pp. xii, 387. $39.95.

Gareth Davies has written a superb overview of federal education politics during the twenty-five years after the early 1960s. The first third of the book traces the origins and development of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA) of 1965. Using a series of case studies, the next section deals with federal involvement in southern school desegregation, the emergence of bilingual education, the origins of special education, and the role of the courts in the politics of school finance. The book concludes with chapters on the Carter administration's establishment of the U.S. Department of Education and the challenges to education reforms during the Reagan administration.

Davies, author of an earlier prize-winning book on liberal views of federal welfare policies in the Johnson and Nixon administrations, now tackles the issue of the federal government and education. Rather than focusing on the changing ideas of policymakers about the federal role in education or the implementation of those programs, Davies explores the post-1960s federal initiatives and the subsequent institutional changes that sustained them even during a supposedly conservative era. Many liberals feared that the Nixon administration might try to undo ESEA's federal aid to K-12 education. Yet the ESEA was readily reauthorized in 1974 and education spending grew despite the Nixon administration's efforts to curb increases. Unelected political actors such as federal district judges, career civil servants, and interest group lobbyists also played key roles in expanding and embedding overall federal involvement in education during the 1970s. And while President Ronald Reagan tried to dismantle the recently created U.S. Department of Education in the early 1980s, moderate congressional Republicans joined with Democrats to defeat that attempt.

The book is based upon extensive archival research as well as interviews with more than three dozen former policy participants. Davies challenges existing interpretations in several areas such as Nixon's role in southern school desegregation and the development of bilingual education programs. The analysis is thoughtfully done with careful attention to providing a balanced, but critical perspective. Although many complex issues are addressed, Davies has written a readable and fascinating account that will appeal to scholars in many different fields.

Naturally, as with any broad overview, there are additional issues that might have been addressed. For example, in the chapter on the ESEA's passage, Davies appropriately covers topics such as debates over private school assistance and the Title I funding formula. Perhaps he also might have discussed the unsuccessful House GOP substitute education bill, which targeted $300 million for preschool education for children ages three to seven but left responsibility for educating older school-age children to the states and local communities.

Similarly, more might have been said about the changing relationship between the federal government and the states. In the mid-1960s state education agencies still were relatively small and ineffective. Under Title V of the ESEA, however, federal funds were allocated to states, allowing them to increase substantially their state education agency staffs. Subsequent federal initiatives such as America 2000, Goals 2000, and No Child Left Behind relied heavily on states to implement programs such as the ESEA and gave governors and state education agencies considerable latitude in administering federal education programs (often at the expense of local community control). With about ninety percent of the substantial increases in overall K-12 education funding coming from states and local communities rather than federal sources during

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these years, federal-state education relations warrant further attention.

One might also consider the federal role in education research and program evaluation, which received special attention under Title IV of the ESEA and the creation of the National Institute for Education during the Nixon administration. Given the limited success of federal programs in helping disadvantaged students over the years, the lack of scientifically sound and practically useful research and program development is unfortunate. For example, the Johnson administration initiated the large-scale Follow Through Program, which was to assist children in making the transition from Head Start into the regular public schools. Follow Through initially was envisioned as a major service program but quickly transformed into a poorly designed education research initiative lasting for a quarter of a century and costing over 1.5 billion dollars (in constant 1982–1984 dollars). Yet the results from this massive but now forgotten federal research undertaking provided little guidance for those seeking to improve American schools.

Overall, Davies has produced a fine book that will be a model for other scholars and undoubtedly will stimulate additional research. While there are other useful monographs about past federal education policies, this book provides one of the best overviews because of its broad coverage, in-depth research, and insightful interpretations.

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SUSAN LEVINE. *School Lunch Politics: The Surprising History of America's Favorite Welfare Program*. (Politics and Society in Twentieth-Century America.) Princeton: Princeton University Press. 2008. Pp. x, 241. $29.95.

In this well-researched, informative book Susan Levine examines school lunch programs against the backdrop of American politics, ideologies, and the larger history of welfare development and reform. Describing the National School Lunch Program (NSLP) as "one of the nation's most popular social welfare programs," Levine sees school lunch as "a crucial mirror into the variety of interests that continually vie for power and authority in American public life" (p. 2).

This book covers almost a century of school lunch in the United States. In the early twentieth century, home economics reformers created local programs as a way to feed school children from all backgrounds "proper" nutritious meals based on the scientific principles of the "New Nutrition," including the recently discovered vitamins, but also with an eye toward assimilating immigrant populations through food. At mid-century powerful southern Senator Richard Russell played a key role in formalizing the program, though a main priority was to provide a politically acceptable outlet for surplus agriculture commodities. Russell's insistence on limited federal oversight resulted, not surprisingly, in inequitable distributions of resources, largely by race. The NSLP, dependent upon state and local governments to finance a large part of the cost, was not universally available, and only a miniscule number of students received free lunches. Revised guidelines in the 1960s and 1970s increased the number of children eligible for free or reduced-price lunches and promised federal funds to pay for them. Officials, however, lacked the political will to compel local jurisdictions to change the entrenched manner of distributing school lunch resources.

Levine provides remarkable details regarding this fraught side of school lunch: needy children forced to work for their lunches; racial and class prejudice dictating "worthiness" to receive free lunch; the humiliation some endured, such as standing in separate lines or receiving different food. One school administrator, philosophically opposed to the program, declared there would be no free lunch at all, allowing one to muse over the historical origins of the old adage. Mandates during the Nixon era pushed the perennially underfunded program further into fiscal crisis. Levine reveals that as early as the 1970s school lunch programs began partnering with private food service corporations as a way to stretch dollars and attract more paying customers into school cafeterias. She locates the infamous 1982 Reagan ketchup debacle, where officials attempted to declare ketchup a vegetable in order to cut costs, in this broader context of privatization. Free lunch thus emerged as a symbol of the promises and excesses of government welfare, becoming a shorthand of sorts. Today policy makers, journalists, and non-profit organizations employ the percentage of low-income students receiving free lunch per school to advance their agendas.

Levine highlights a handful of central tensions, all of which reveal how health and nutrition for children fell secondary to other interests. First, that the NSLP was designed largely as an outlet to dispose of surplus agricultural products in addition to feeding school children meant that these two goals often were in conflict with each other. Second, school lunch policy was shaped by the tug-of-war between the states and the federal government for control over the program. Third, that to save the chronically underfunded school lunch programs, schools had little choice but to turn to private food service organizations, particularly after 1970s legislation mandated that low-income children were entitled to receive free lunches. The mandate had the unintended consequence of bestowing the "stigma" of welfare onto school lunch. As sizeable numbers of paying students left the school cafeterias, school lunch programs were thrown into further financial dire straits. The solution both liberals and conservatives supported? Fast food in the cafeteria.

In conclusion, this book is an admirable history of the political landscape of school lunch, setting the stage for future scholarship on this rich and intriguing topic. While Levine gives us tantalizing glimpses of the culture and meaning of school food itself—"the khaki-colored chop suey," "glutinous creamed chipped beef" (p. 182), "chicken breast with gravy biscuits and honey but-

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ter, celery and carrot sticks, a piece of orange, and an oatmeal and raisin cookie with milk" circa 1950s (p. 164)—there is ample room for further discussion of the meal on that school lunch tray: how it tasted, smelled, looked, what students ate (and did not), the folklore and material practices occurring every day in school cafeterias across the country. What did the "proper" and "nutritious" lunches that the early reformers deemed so important for all children consist of? How did the excessive amounts of olives, split peas, eggs, and other surplus commodities flooding school kitchens fit into children's lunch options? Material and cultural explorations aside, Levine's book is a fine study of the history of school lunch vis-à-vis welfare programs and politics.

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Joan Hoff. *A Faustian Foreign Policy from Woodrow Wilson to George W. Bush: Dreams of Perfectibility*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2008. Pp. v, 308. $24.99.

In this text Joan Hoff shares her understanding of the major ideological patterns that have given continuity to American foreign policy. Borrowing from the new book by Walter Hixson, *The Myth of American Diplomacy: National Identity and U.S. Foreign Policy* (2008), she argues that all communities are founded on myths. She agrees with Hixson that U.S. national mythology has caused presidents to pursue an aggressive foreign policy that is increasingly self-destructive. Her book is an incisive history of American foreign policy and an important addition to the rapidly developing body of scholarship on the U.S. empire. It should be compared to *A Pact with the Devil: Washington's Bid for World Supremacy and the Betrayal of the American Promise* (2007) by Tony Smith; *Exceptional State: Contemporary U.S. Culture and the New Imperialism* (2007), edited by Ashley Dawson and Malini Johar Schueller; and *Habits of Empire: A History of American Expansion* (2008) by Walter Nugent. As is the case with these books, Hoff's text is an eloquent plea to replace our destructive foundational myth of exceptionalism with a more constructive myth that emphasizes interdependence.

At one point Hoff cites a 2003 poll indicating that about half of American churchgoers at that time believed the United States to be God's chosen nation. She observes that most Americans and their presidents are committed to the belief that the United States transcends time. Supposedly it is perpetually innocent, perpetually invulnerable, perpetually prosperous. Hoff contends that all presidents from Woodrow Wilson on engaged in a Faustian foreign policy because they were willing to use unethical means to preserve this illusion of innocence. They did not feel any guilt when they used evil means to preserve what was, for them, the good end of national virtue.

Because American leaders by 1900 believed that the nation's expanding national economy demanded overseas markets and raw materials, they began to advocate in favor of a policy that Hoff calls independent internationalism. They argued that Americans could interrelate with the rest of the world, but only on their terms. President George W. Bush, according to Hoff, has continued this self-destructive policy. Hoff suggests that our presidents have held the false beliefs that capitalism and democracy are interrelated and that all nations inevitably will come to share the American forms of these ideals. Accordingly, President Bush must ignore how the principles of dictatorship and capitalism are being blended in China and Russia.

Hoff also criticizes the belief of American presidents that free trade will create prosperity by pointing to the ways that globalization has created poverty in many parts of the world. Furthermore, she is critical of the belief that the United States will be the only superpower in the world for eternity. Here she points to the relative decline of the American economy in comparison to the increasing prosperity of the European Union, India, Russia, Brazil, and China. She remarks that the costs of empire are a cause of the rising national debt, which only intensifies relative economic decline. Since the major European nations were also committed to independent internationalism in 1939, it would be useful here to compare how they, in contrast to the U.S., have moved toward an interdependent internationalism.

Hoff maintains that it was a national tragedy when U.S. leaders chose not to rethink their policy of independent internationalism at the end of the Cold War or to enter into a meaningful alliance with other democratic nations. She hopes that the next president and his administration will consider this alternative. She also wishes that the use of Faustian means such as torture will finally yield to an understanding that Americans cannot sustain an ethical democracy by resorting to unethical means.

While Hoff's book is full of hope, it also has its fair share of tragedy. The willingness of the presidents since Wilson to preach liberty and practice power is, for her, an explicit tragedy. But she paints a picture of a current American electorate still deeply committed to the myth of exceptionalism. How can Americans hope for the replacement of the hypocritical policy of independent internationalism if voters want a president who symbolizes a supposed national innocence? This is the implicit tragedy that haunts Hoff's book.

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CARIBBEAN AND LATIN AMERICA

Reinaldo Funes Monzote. *From Rainforest to Cane Field in Cuba: An Environmental History since 1492*. Translated by Alex Martin. (Envisioning Cuba.) Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2008. Pp. xv, 357. Cloth $65.00, paper $24.95.

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Reinaldo Funes Monzote has given us a very fine book that provides a comprehensive environmental history of the occupation of Cuba since 1492 and its transformation from a mostly forested island to one dominated by sugar cane. The book has no ideological axes to grind, sticking to the facts of how the island was transformed and the competing social forces that sought to gain access to its forests. The book's key argument is that, for much of Cuba's early history, the Spanish Navy held the upper hand in the struggle as the port of Havana served as an important shipbuilding area. This priority of the Spanish crown and the Royal Navy held firm for years but was gradually eroded, shaping the social and economic history of Cuba in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

The book begins with a fine overview of the ecology of Cuba and its omnipresent forests. The island's excellent soils and potential for agricultural development are discussed—even though the development of sugar was restricted to an area near Havana. Although the author does not spend a great deal of time on it, he alludes to the greater diversification of agriculture in this period, something that was to be lost in the nineteenth century with the ascent of sugar. This rich soil and its potential set up from the start the competition between sugar plantation owners and the Navy over the forests. The forests were so vast that it was hard to imagine what set of economic priorities could have possibly led to the island being stripped of its forests in less than a century and a half. The deforestation came from the simultaneous arrival of the sugar industry and the industrial revolution, which accelerated the process beyond anything seen before. The gap left by the collapse of the sugar industry in Haiti opened up the world markets for Cuba, which was well positioned to take advantage of it.

The process of deforestation truly took off in the nineteenth century. Chapter two discusses the growth of the sugar industry and how it overshadowed the shipbuilding priorities of the eighteenth century. The narrative details sugar production's expansion, providing quantitative evidence for the growth of sugar. Chapter three describes sugar's take off with emphasis on the exemption from all sales taxes and tithes for ten years for sugar, tobacco, coffee, and indigo. The trend toward granting privileges to sugar and plantation interests accelerated in the rest of the nineteenth century. Key in this period was the 1815 edict from the Spanish king that gave private property owners the perpetual right to fell their trees with complete freedom. This edict transformed the island, as the private owners' interests became dominant in land use and forest exploitation. Chapter four documents how their freedom was used. Production increased from 45,396 metric tons of sugar in 1815 to 750,062 metric tons in 1875. Another major factor that transformed the Cuban landscape was the entry of railroads in the second half of the 1830s, facilitating the expansion of sugar into the eastern part of the island. This also facilitated the export of wood along the areas of the railroad and helped finance the expansion of sugar. The exportation of Cuban wood reached a height of 1.3 million cubic feet of wood in the fifteen years between 1825 and 1840. In the last third of the nineteenth century one sees the concentration and centralization of the sugar industry. Thus emerged the *central*, or large, highly industrialized sugar mill needing vast areas of sugar cane to function. Whereas the average *ingenio* had little more than forty caballerias (one caballeria=13.4 hectares or 33.55 acres) of sugar cane, the new *central* required about one hundred caballerias of cane fields. In the older areas this meant greater land concentration; in the new areas to the east like Camaguey and Oriente it meant vast latifundia from the start.

Chapter six documents the arrival of large-scale capital from North America between 1898 and 1926. The U.S. provided favorable entry for Cuban sugar; the outbreak of World War I led to a reduction in the production of beet sugar, a space that Cuba was able to occupy rapidly. This led to "the dance of the millions," as it was called, as wealth flowed into the economy. In 1924 Cuba became the site of the greatest influx of U.S. capital in the world relative to land area and population. As an example, Camaguey in 1928 had twenty-nine *centrales* encompassing 10,399 square kilometers, constituting 51.7% of the total area, much of it owned by U.S. companies.

The book concludes with a recapitulation of the argument that the forces that led away from conservation of forests for the Navy toward privatization fed abuse of those forests by the sugar industry. This book documents the many voices raised to oppose this destruction, and the tragedy that resulted from not listening to those concerned with the long-term value of forests.

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ROSANNE MARION ADDERLEY. *"New Negroes from Africa": Slave Trade Abolition and Free African Settlement in the Nineteenth-Century Caribbean*. (Blacks in the Diaspora.) Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 2006. Pp. xiv, 337. Cloth $65.00, paper $24.95.

In 1845, a young British naval officer, Lieutenant Francis Meynell, produced the only surviving image of conditions on a slave ship: his famous watercolor of the enslaved human cargo aboard the Portuguese/Brazilian vessel *Albaroz*. The painting had been made on the sloop *Albatross*, operating as part of the Royal Navy anti-slave trade patrol that had been established after the 1807 Act for the Abolition of the Slave Trade. The Abolition Act sought to end the importation of enslaved Africans into the British West Indies, and the naval patrols, alongside diplomatic efforts, sought to curtail the Atlantic trade as a whole. These actions also created a new class of transatlantic immigrants, the "liberated Africans" (also known as "African recaptives" by the British authorities) rescued by the British navy from slave ships operating illegally. Meynell's

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watercolor, which provides the cover for Rosanne Marion Adderley's book, depicts some of these "liberated Africans," and it is the fate of those taken to the West Indies that is her focus. At the same time, Meynell's depiction powerfully exemplifies the fact that much of this history is based on the records and accounts of external—mainly British—observers.

More than 100,000 Africans were liberated from slave ships by the Royal Navy, most of whom were taken to the British African colony of Sierra Leone, but more than 40,000 ended up in the British West Indies. Adderley focuses on two very different colonies, the Bahamas and Trinidad, which together accounted for just over a third of the total brought to the region. These provide a study in contrast: Trinidad was a large plantation colony with a high demand for labor, while the Bahamas was a less populated island group, more peripheral to the plantation system. The patterns of arrival for "liberated Africans" to each colony were very different. More than a third of those sent to the Bahamas arrived before 1833, when slavery was abolished in the British Empire, and almost all 6,000 before 1841, whereas large plantation colonies such as Trinidad dominated the post-emancipation period; most of its 8,000 Africans arrived later, from 1840 to the early 1860s. Similarities were also apparent, however; Adderley argues that "liberated Africans" established and inhabited cultural worlds distinct from existing Afro-Creole populations wherever they settled. She demonstrates this in chapters on the development and expression of African ethnic identities, gender and family formation, formal and informal religious and supernatural practices, and ideas of home and exile. Throughout the book, she combines general observations with detailed case studies to examine the specific patterns of creolization that were evident among the "liberated Africans."

Although the "liberated Africans" who came to the British West Indies were a small population relative to those who had arrived on slave ships or who remained following the cessation of the British slave trade, Adderley makes a persuasive case for their unique importance. This is not necessarily because of their impact on their host societies, but because they led heavily documented lives. The British authorities monitored their situation carefully, concerned that the settlement of this group might be seen as a new form of enforced labor and hence attract criticism from suspicious foreign nations and abolitionists at home. The British officials on the ground viewed the settlement of the "liberated Africans" with a spirit of social engineering, and they became a test case for Christian civilization, as well as a cause of anxiety because of fears that they would (re-)introduce "Africanisms" to the creolized populations. Adderley makes good use of the rich sources that such scrutiny and surveillance produced. For example, she probes the records of the Anglo-Spanish Mixed Commission at Havana, Cuba, where many were taken before their resettlement across the region, to provide a detailed insight into the demographic characteristics and possible ethnic composition of 10,000 "liberated Africans." To such sources she adds the accounts of contemporary travelers, for whom the "liberated Africans" and their descendants were a source of curiosity, and interviews conducted by the author and other researchers in the early-to-mid-1990s.

As she acknowledges on several occasions, one of the central issues facing Adderley is her reliance on external observations in order to write the social and cultural history of "liberated Africans." On the whole, she asserts that white ethnocentrism did not obscure detailed accounts of these lives. Yet one thing that is missing from the book is a sense of how such British perceptions of Africa and Africans changed through this period. An acknowledgement of white prejudice is insufficient, and the book might have usefully engaged with histories of the idea of race in order to consider the shifting patterns of racial discourse in the mid-Victorian period. How did the hardening of racial attitudes following the apparent "failure" of emancipation affect observers' accounts? Nevertheless, this is an excellent book that not only brings attention to a neglected population but argues convincingly for its significance to historical scholars' understanding of Africans in the Caribbean.

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Alan Durston. *Pastoral Quechua: The History of Christian Translation in Colonial Peru, 1550–1650.* (History, Languages, and Cultures of the Spanish and Portuguese Worlds.) Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press. 2007. Pp. xiii, 395. $42.00.

This is a major first book based on extensive research in various archives, including difficult to access church collections in Peru and Spain. Alan Durston's initial chapters set the stage, providing a succinct rendering of the theoretical/methodological underpinnings of the analysis and reviewing the process of conversion in the Peruvian Andes, including its administration by church and state functionaries. This background is wide-ranging, as Durston outlines pre- and post-Tridentine policies regarding how flexible the church should be in its efforts to implement an "orthodox" Christianity and the impact of European humanism, especially the study of language and the rising acceptance of vernacular religious works. He finds the model for what happened in the Andes in the 1492 grammar of Antonio de Nebrija and the religious literature used to convert Muslims following the reconquest of the Kingdom of Granada. He then shifts to the thorny question of the nature and extension of pre-conquest Quechua in a land of many distinct languages and dialects, and the subsequent appropriation of one of its modified forms as a standardized colonial missionary or pastoral Quechua by the Spanish church.

The book is divided in two parts; in the first the author takes a largely diachronic approach, whereas the second is synchronic. In the first chapter of part one, covering the 1550s and 1560s, Durston explores a pe-

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riod that he sees as characterized by diversity and experimentation, which is followed in the next chapter by reform and standardization during the 1570s and 1580s. Key to conversion in the native countryside were the mandates of the First Lima Council and directives of Jerónimo de Loayza, Lima's first archbishop. The well-known dictionary and grammar and associated texts (1560) of the Dominican friar Domingo de Santo Tomás provided the first published and available texts for conversion efforts.

Durston's early chapters are more derivative than subsequent ones, but beginning with chapter three he opens fresh territory. The 1570s and 1580s witnessed the institutionalization of a process for indoctrination. This became possible as a result of stability under the administration of Viceroy Francisco de Toledo (1569–1581), the destruction of the neo-Inca polity, and the resettlement of dispersed hamlets in the native countryside into European-style villages, each with its church and resident *doctrinero*. The introduction of the Inquisition and the foundation of Quechua schools designed for training *doctrineros* were also important. During this period the Jesuits became dominant in the process of translation, rejecting the accommodative tendencies of the initial evangelization in the 1550s and 1560s.

In chapter four Durston explores the nature and extension of Standard Colonial Quechua, as well as what he calls the "politics of vernacular competence": that is, how the church forced linguistic competence on its clergy. Chapter five concerns what Durston characterizes as the "heyday of pastoral Quechua, the 1590s-1640s." Key to this story is the legacy of two lengthy religious texts in Quechua composed by Franciscan Luis Jerónimo de Oré and the ritual of Juan Pérez Bocanegra, as well as published dictionaries and grammars such as those of Diego González Holguín and Diego de Torres Rubio. Durston ends his study in the 1640s with a series of new texts. After 1650 interest in the production of texts for use in the Indian *doctrinas* waned.

In part two Durston provides a series of related chapters involving linguistic analysis. One purpose is to tease out the nature and impact of local dialects for the development of standard pastoral Quechua. But he also closely examines the use of Christian versus native words for religious equivalencies for important doctrinal terms, an issue that was always on the mind of translators seeking to avoid merging alien concepts. In the subsequent chapter he examines the availability and the nature of texts, hymns, songs, genres, plays, and poetics in pastoral Quechua. In the next chapter, Durston looks at the ways in which the concepts of God, Christ, and Mary entered into religious practice in the Andes, as seen through the texts, especially those provided by the Third Council, Oré, González Holguín, and Pérez Bocanegra. In the last chapter Durston examines what he calls performance and contextualization. The religious texts were composed precisely for the priest or a local native to perform in religious ceremonies, and again Oré and Pérez Bocanegra receive ample attention.

At times, especially in the book's second part, the author presupposes a solid historical understanding of the subject as well as competency in the terminology and methodology of linguistics. Yet the volume is worth the effort of even the non-specialist. Few have the skills to reach this level of analysis; to duplicate what Durston has done one must have a grasp of theology, the nature of Spanish imperial expansion, ethnohistory, and linguistics as well as knowledge of Spanish (including paleography), Latin, and regional dialects of Quechua. Durston has made a major contribution to Andean studies with this well-written and carefully researched analysis.

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LOLITA GUTIÉRREZ BROCKINGTON. *Blacks, Indians, and Spaniards in the Eastern Andes: Reclaiming the Forgotten in Colonial Mizque, 1550–1782*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 2006. Pp. xiv, 342. $45.00.

Lolita Gutiérrez Brockington's book presents a well-researched social history of the province of Mizque, a northeastern borderland of colonial Charcas. In present-day Bolivia, Mizque brings to mind the *yungas* of tropical climate and vegetation whose population is markedly of African and mixed descent. This study documents how that mixed population developed historically through the different phases and sectors of Mizque's agrarian economy. The archival foundations for this monograph come primarily from Bolivia's National Archive and Library in Sucre (known as La Plata when it was the colonial seat of the Audiencia de Charcas) and the municipal archive for Cochabamba, the administrative center to which Mizque directly reported, especially after the establishment of the intendancies in 1782. The author relied heavily on notarial records for wills, property disputes, and inheritances, and on the agrarian censuses (*padrones de chácaras*) for population figures on laborers and their families, both slave and free.

Part three, "The Human Face of Mizque," weaves together vignettes of persons and families spun out of this variegated documentary record. Gutiérrez Brockington's research shows that *yanacona*—as rendered in the censuses of Mizque—was an elastic term, referring to dependent workers but not necessarily restricted to Indians. Sugar estates and vineyards employed both indigenous and mulatto laborers under the rubric of *yanacona*, but these classes of workers were listed in separate censuses in order to distinguish their status and obligations for tribute payment. Furthermore, racially tinged social labels like *mulato, pardo, negro*, and *zambo* had overlapping connotations in reference to origins, social status, and the thorny issues of slavery and manumission.

Gutiérrez Brockington sifts through the documentary evidence about resident laborers and family groupings to argue convincingly that mixed marriages across indigenous and African lines gave rise to ambiguously

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placed and interrelated ethnic categories. Her discussion of the social fabric of Mizque returns time and again to the themes of migration, flight, and longstanding patterns of movement across different ecological zones that so characterize the Andean *altiplano* and its lowland frontiers. Yet the population movements that are reflected in the censuses are not timeless but rather specifically historical, linked to the colonial economy and its demands for labor to bring in tropical harvests, herd livestock, gather coca, and provide public service for construction.

In the introduction, and in repeated references throughout the book, the author pays tribute to the historical and anthropological legacy of the late Thierry Saignes, whose pioneering scholarship pointedly admonished researchers to direct their attention to the eastern hinterland of the Andes. Her subtitle purports to recover the "forgotten" history and peoples of Mizque, in truth an understudied province of Bolivia's colonial past. For this reason it is surprising that Gutiérrez Brockington dismisses the term "frontier," placing it in quotation marks when she uses it as if to avoid connotations of periphery. Nevertheless, this reader finds that the author missed an opportunity to engage more fully the dynamic meanings of frontiers and borderlands as zones of multiple encounters, ecological transitions, and cultural commingling. Furthermore, direct engagement with recent historical and anthropological scholarship on other "forgotten" provinces in Moxos (in the department of Beni) and Santa Cruz would have placed the stories of Mizque's *encomenderos*, landowners, missionaries, and slaveholders in a more comprehensive geographical and social perspective.

Similarly, the author's use of the phrase "moral economy" in reference to the rigors of coca harvesting carried out by indigenous *yanaconas* and *camayos* under conditions of forced labor raises theoretical considerations that could have been further explored. Gutiérrez Brockington refers to the contradictory practices arising from market demand and the crown's protective legislation intended to stem "abuses" of native workers (p. 189) yet only obliquely discusses moral economy in terms of the complicated webs of conflicting interests among *encomenderos*, *curacas*, indigenous commoners, African slaves, and their descendants. In summary, this book offers a rich tapestry of empirical evidence concerning the families and lineages of elites and commoners who peopled Mizque. It constitutes an illustrative example of regional history and provides an opportunity to reflect on the possibilities for interpretation of the data in social history.

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EUROPE: ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL

CATHARINE EDWARDS. *Death in Ancient Rome*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 2007. Pp. xii, 287. $35.00.

The terse title of Catharine Edwards's book requires elaboration. Readers will find little or nothing here concerning the mechanics of funerary ritual, cults of the dead, popular conceptions of death and the afterlife, the numerous extant epigraphic commemorations, or material evidence for mortuary practice. Although full notes and bibliography provide guidance for these topics, Edwards's study is emphatically centered on literary texts, and therefore on elite attitudes. Consistently guiding her analysis is the range of significance that the educated Roman attached to dying as performance, and the ways in which this performance speaks to the living. The texts that Edwards analyzes are particularly invested in demonstrating death as a fundamentally active event, "a privileged moment which has the capacity to reveal the true character of the dying subject" (p. 5).

The book offers an extended meditation, through Roman eyes, on Epicurus's injunction: "Rehearse death." As Seneca glosses the phrase, "he bids us rehearse our freedom; the man who has learned how to die has unlearned how to be a slave" (*Letters* 26.8). Edwards locates the defining historical moment for interpreting death as both personal and political statement in the suicide of Cato the Younger in 46 B.C., and this act constitutes the book's refrain since it "may be seen as precipitating the Roman obsession with aristocratic death—or at least taking it to a new level of intensity" (p. 3). In choosing suicide rather than life under the dictatorship of Julius Caesar, Cato not only avoids a slavish fate but strips Caesar of the satisfaction of granting clemency to his defeated enemy.

Since Romans equated Cato's death with that of the free Roman Republic, Edwards's attention focuses on the republic's aftermath, the early Roman Empire (with particular attention to Seneca and Tacitus), as a newly disempowered aristocracy works to reassess virtue, the relationship of the self to the state, and notions of gender. Accordingly, descriptions of Cato's death become increasingly elaborated upon in school exercises and literary texts, not only enhancing the gruesome details of his double suicide and the nobility of his dying words but deliberating how his death may inspire the contemporary member of the elite. Indeed, this book's particularly interesting fourth chapter examines how literary sources (especially Tacitus) tend to conflate the variety of ways in which the elite face unnatural death. As the author points out, no single Latin word corresponds to the English "suicide." As a result, voluntary death, initiated by rumors of prosecution or after a conviction, becomes indistinguishable from an imperial order of execution, since each act becomes a political and moral comment on the current emperor's reign (pp. 121–125). At the same time, the virtuous act accrues to the reputation of the victim.

Eight chapters follow an introduction. Rather than proceeding chronologically, each chapter elaborates on

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the elite experience of death by situating it in specific contexts. Attitudes toward the death of the military commander and the gladiator occupy the first two chapters. Unlike the Greeks, the Roman elite seems not to have privileged those dying in war in their public memorials; generals emphasized achieving glory through victory. Edwards shows how civil war complicates the situation, where the most honorable death available is, paradoxically, the open suicide that prevents one from harming a fellow citizen. Her emphasis on these suicides as spectacle provides the connection with the next chapter, which discusses how elite texts locate pleasure not in the arena's bloodshed but in the ability of the defeated fighter to teach the spectator death with dignity. Blocking even the most glorious of deaths, however, is always fear, and chapter three discusses the philosophical prescriptions (particularly of Lucretius and Seneca) for coping with this fear. This chapter fascinatingly traces the development of the concept *virtus* from designating "manly courage" to describing the fortitude that the philosopher must adopt when confronting adversity, a stance that comes to valorize as the ultimate political act the willingness to die bravely. Subsequent chapters return to the theme of death as both spectacle and an expression of individuality as it relates to the philosopher (chapter five), the banquet (chapter six), and textual depictions of suicides and executions of women, which contest the normally masculine province of *virtus* (chapter seven). A final chapter traces "continuities and differences" in the early Christian inheritance of spectacular death; while offering only speculative conclusions, the chapter does provide a convenient summation of the book's main themes.

Edwards writes with the clarity and elegance of an assured essayist, and in keeping with the genre rhetorical questions share equal space with reasoned arguments (even chapter titles can take the form of questions), and the review of well-known phenomena alternates with original insights. Nevertheless, this book provides an expansive view of the unique way that the elite of the early Roman Empire faced the prospect of death.

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KATHERINE L. FRENCH. *The Good Women of the Parish: Gender and Religion after the Black Death*. (The Middle Ages Series.) Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 2008. Pp. x, 337. $69.95.

Although this book will disappoint readers expecting substantial insights into the first century after the Black Death, Katherine L. French does provide readers with a potentially challenging view of the novelty and nature of lay participation in the religion of the parish from the mid-fifteenth century. Her book also offers a contribution to the debate about the modes of response to the Reformation. Some of the chapters have previously appeared in article form (on hocktide rituals, maidens' lights, and wives' stores, and on the devotional gifts of clothing) but their presentation here in a slightly revised and updated form is to be welcomed. French's interpretation, which was less developed in her thesis on the diocese of Bath and Wells, can now be appraised as a whole.

Recent decades have seen historians discarding the idea of lay dissatisfaction with a corrupt and inadequate parish Catholicism inherited from historians either hoodwinked by Protestant polemic or wedded to the idea of a dynamic, grass-roots Reformation. The new orthodoxy, assisted by the works of Glenn Burgess and Gervase Rosser, and perhaps now best known in Eamon Duffy's substantial synthesis *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England, 1400–1580* (1992), emphasizes the flourishing of lay devotions and the vibrancy of pre-Reformation parish religion, even if supporters differ in how much of this can be described as displaying "traditional" continuity. Recent commentaries on this view have focused on questioning the validity of the parish as a unit of piety (e.g., Robert Lutton, *Lollardy and Orthodox Religion in Pre-Reformation England: Reconstructing Piety* [2006] emphasizing family pieties, and the various angles explored in Lutton and Elisabeth Salter, eds., *Pieties in Transition: Religious Practices and Experiences, c. 1400–1640* [2007]). However, what all these studies (including Lutton's categorization of parsimonious and generous styles of piety) have in common is the belief that the primary concern in devotional participation is one of religious identification and devotional preference.

French's study sets out to turn these assumptions on their head. The gift of a gown, beads, or cloth to an altar or image made the church "homey" rather than sanctifying the domestic article by association. Maidens and wives gilds were units of "socialization" allowing young women to be supervised by their elders in fundraising initiatives and financial management. Membership in maidens' and young men's groups also offered sanctioned courtship opportunities within the bounds of respectability. Similarly, membership in gilds, and the assumption of gild or parish office, involved a fine-grained relationship with economic status and social mobility. Even expenditure for a wife's burial depended on the husband assessing his future earnings in order to determine whether or not to spend a few pence on candles.

A first response to this might be a strong suspicion that such prioritization relates more to the world of twenty-first-century women's groups and the desacralization of religious space and objects than it does to the late medieval parish. A second response might be that, if the assertions are tenable, they suggest the need for a considerable re-interpretation of how parishioners made their accommodation with the official Reformation. Here Ethan H. Shagan's delineation of processes of largely secularized collaboration would seem the closest match, but the notion of compromising collaboration risks dissolution if the pre-Reformation association of many of these objects with their domestic or-

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igin was so indelible (*Popular Politics and the English Reformation* [2002]).

By its nature, the evidence for such assertions is tenuous. The story of a bleeding host miracle might be needed to convince the fictional housewife who baked the wafers that her culinary efforts had been transformed, but we should not infer from this that housewives did not easily believe in the sacralization of their domestic efforts within the church, any more than we would deduce that most parishioners rejected transubstantiation. The economic and status conclusions inevitably depend on frail family linkages, although the material from Sutterton (Lincolnshire) and Horley (Surrey) offers perhaps the most robust evidence that we can expect. It is therefore a pity that French's approach to the Sutterton evidence, which covers a longer timescale than the preceding gender analysis of it, operates under a misguided sense of a need to correct the sex ratio. While it is true that churchwardens' accountancy had its defects (they could not always add up), large-scale erroneous duplication of entries seems unlikely, particularly given the custom of public audit. Moreover, if the sex ratio in a non-continuous series of accounts is wrong, the answer might lie as much within French's theme of the personal selection of "parariturals."

Finally, what are we to make of the "good women" of French's title? Most similar treatments of female parish piety do not feel the need to affix such an epithet, but French's interpretation is structured by a strong sense of the stark opposition between respectability and the vices to which women were prone in sermons and popular literature. As a consequence, participation in such activities appears almost constitutive of "goodness" and respectability, without which a young girl would go to the bad and would throw away the chance to gain a better husband. This is arguably too severe in overlooking the spectrum of reputation, and the extent to which individuals socialized, and were socialized, within the structures of household and community. The Reformation may have "accomplished an alteration in the manifestation of gender relations in the parish," as French contends, and wives and maidens gilds (where they existed) did gradually disappear. However, particularly within French's social interpretation, the idea that women's role in parish life was no longer as "collective, visible and active" depends, more than French appears to realize, on foregrounding fundraising and on downplaying the socializing role of women as mothers, gossips, and guardians of moral reputation.

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EUROPE: EARLY MODERN AND MODERN

Philip Benedict. *Graphic History: The* Wars, Massacres and Troubles *of Tortorel and Perrissin*. (Travaux d'Humanisme et Renaissance, number 431.) Geneva: Librairie Droz. 2007. Pp. xvi, 421. $122.85.

The tumultuous events of the sixteenth-century wars, atrocities, and religious controversies created a mass of vivid and sometimes horrifying images. As events were lived and experienced in one part of Europe, so the new medium of print allowed them to be evoked and recreated for an audience spread through the continent. In this great mass of what might loosely be termed news publishing, the visual reporting of current events at first played only a modest role. Yet by the second half of the sixteenth century readers could avail themselves of a wider range of maps, diagrams, and illustrations of recent battles, sieges, and executions. Most were sold as single-sheet broadsheets; none were as ambitious as the striking portfolio of images created as a pictorial record of the Huguenot struggle in France, the *Wars, Massacres and Troubles* of Jean Tortorel and Jacques Perrissin.

This strikingly original undertaking was groundbreaking in a number of respects. As Philip Benedict points out, it was the first extended print series offering a pictorial account of recent events, where images do not simply illustrate a story but carry the burden of telling it. Furthermore it was produced in a part of the European publishing world that had not played a leading role in developing current affairs prints (until this point largely confined to Italy and Germany). So this was an ambitious project; it was also expensive and complex. The original contractors were two Flemish merchants recently exiled to Geneva, one of whom soon died. The project was continued by his widow, the surviving partner, and the two artists contracted to execute the pictures, at which point it was also decided to switch media. The illustrations were no longer to be rendered as woodcuts but etched in copper plate. In fact, the work on woodblocks continued, and the finished collection makes use of both. The program of scenes to be included also evolved as work went forward. Eventually a series of forty was fixed, but with rumors of a competing series offered by the Cologne entrepreneur Frans Hogenberg, a shorter series of thirty also seems to have been placed on the market. The work was completed remarkably quickly, and a first version of the forty-plate series was for sale at the Frankfurt Fair of autumn 1570. Benedict has examined virtually every full or partial set now surviving, and this enables him to document a remarkable fluidity in the composition of the series. Many of the illustrations were executed several times, some both as etching and woodcut, and with the inscriptions and liminary materials in different languages for different audiences: Latin, Italian, French, or German.

But who were these readers? Various strands of evidence suggest that the publisher had different markets in mind. Although for the most part eschewing the inflammatory language of much printed polemic of the age, the depiction of the execution of the assassin of the duke of Guise was far more partisan in tone. This may,

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Benedict suggests, "have been the first run of an alternative, never completed version of the series aimed at committed, Protestant buyers." The prints may also have been sold singly, as well as in a complete album, but Benedict believes that most were sold as sets. This is critical to understanding contemporary reception and influence, because a complete set of the *Quarante Tableaux* would have been a very expensive book, well out of the range of most buyers of cheap news pamphlets. Where contemporary marks of ownership are recorded, most of those who owned a copy were people of wealth and prominence. This being the case, the immediate influence of these prints (as opposed to their ubiquity as illustrations in modern studies of the French Wars of Religion) may have been largely indirect, as the images were appropriated and recycled in other media, as for instance in the poetry and historical writing of Théodore-Agrippa d'Aubigné.

This is a meticulous, wide-ranging, and richly rewarding book. For the first time the *Quarante Tableaux* are persuasively placed in a historical context, not least in the context of the somewhat halting development of French news prints. To this end Benedict has assembled and documented all surviving examples of French single-sheet news prints of the era. Two absorbing chapters consider the visual and literary sources that lay behind the design of the illustrations. The production of the print series was also closely attuned to other events in Geneva's busy print community. When they got wind of the plan for a compilation of tracts describing the events of the recent wars, the editors of the *Quarante Tableaux* added additional scenes to keep their series up to date.

Compliments should also be paid to the publisher, Droz. A study of this sort requires both generous illustration and sensitive presentation and design. The publishers thus deserve the warmest praise for their commitment to a project of some presentational complexity, which concludes with a fold-out reproduction of every scene, with each event fully described and documented. It is a distinguished feature of an exquisite and superbly enlightening book.

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Bruce T. Moran. *Andreas Libavius and the Transformation of Alchemy: Separating Chemical Cultures with Polemical Fire*. Sagamore Beach, Mass.: Science History Publications. 2007. Pp. vi, 344. $49.95.

Andreas Libavius (ca. 1550–1616), the German Lutheran pedagogue and the author of one of the first alchemical textbooks, the *Alchemia* (1597), was full of spleen. He raged against Paracelsians, Rosicrucians, the Paris Faculty of Medicine, and medical quacks. In many lengthy tomes, he castigated those he considered the enemies of Aristotelian authority and traditional dialectical learning. Nevertheless, Libavius was willing to integrate the experimental practices of artisans, aspects of Lullian philosophy, and certain kinds of occult notions into his defense of alchemy. Libavius aimed to secure a place for alchemy among the traditional arts and sciences, not only establishing the status of the discipline but also incorporating it into the university curriculum. For Libavius, the proper kind of disputation, based on ancient learning, would produce a moral individual. But like many humanists before him, his polemics often became vitriolic as he castigated many of his fellow alchemists and students of nature.

Bruce T. Moran, in a veritable prosopography of sixteenth and early seventeenth-century alchemy, joins an increasing number of scholars who are reinvigorating the study of alchemy, now commonly referred to by its early modern name, *Chymia* or chymistry. In earlier narratives of the Scientific Revolution, alchemy was usually ignored or seen as antithetical to "real" science. Even when it became clear that many heroes of the Revolution practiced alchemy, most historians were apologetic about the alchemical studies of Robert Boyle and Isaac Newton. In the last ten years, however, William Newman and Lawrence Principe, among others, have vindicated the place of alchemy in the new science, particularly in the development of matter theory. Moran's comprehensive study makes clear the complex nature of *chymia*, and its relation to both the past and future of natural philosophy.

Libavius was first and foremost an Aristotelian, who believed that no study of nature (or anything else) could be conducted without a proper understanding of Aristotle's grammar, logic, and rhetoric. He believed once he established the linguistic rules for his new discipline, Galenic, Hippocratic, and Hermetic teachings could be incorporated into alchemy, and its independence from less well-regarded chemical studies achieved. Libavius hated the Paracelsians, in particular, because they introduced magical and subjective elements into alchemy without following any authorities but their own inspiration. Instead, Libavius argued that even occult forces should be studied methodically, by means of analysis of their effects. Within these parameters, Libavius believed that alchemists could find the probable causes for supposedly occult effects, such as bodies that bled in the presence of their murderers. With proper philosophic training, he maintained, artisans could make alchemical medicines without falling into the errors of the Paracelsians.

Very much a man of his times, Libavius accepted the reality of demonic forces, and at times even accused a Paracelsian rival of diabolical inclinations (p. 265). The European witch craze raged in the background of these alchemical battles, and Libavius clearly wanted to disassociate himself from any connection with magic. It would have been helpful if Moran had explored this context of Libavius's work in more detail, and developed those parts of his book dealing with the social and political atmosphere of early modern Germany. Since Libavius is presented especially as a polemicist, it would have been intriguing to see some reflection on the increasingly vituperative epistolary and textual climate of

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European intellectuals in the early seventeenth century.

Moran is most comfortable when he is exploring the texts of Libavius and his enemies and admirers, of which he has an encyclopedic knowledge. His subject, who loved compilations of prior thought, would have been proud of him. But since most of us are not as knowledgeable about the alchemical community (or battlefield) of the period, a short biographical essay would have been helpful. Since alchemical terminology was protean at this time, a glossary of how Libavius understood his terms also would have made this book more accessible.

Libavius, according to Moran, "seems more like an off-putting sour-puss than a compelling or attractive historical figure" (pp. 292–293). Why, therefore, he asks, should we be interested in him? Moran makes a compelling case for the inclusion of this figure in the historical narrative. He demonstrates that the picture of early modern alchemy is far more complex than many historians have understood. In concentrating on Paracelsus to the exclusion of other alchemical thinkers, the traditional historiography has misunderstood the role of early alchemical thinking in the development of science. Most importantly, Moran's impressive study reveals the vitality of Aristotelianism at the beginning of the Scientific Revolution and how the ancient philosophy contributed to the growing empiricism of the time. Moran's discussion broadens our knowledge of the intricate relationships between learning, teaching, and doing, and how figures like Libavius who have become marginal in our own story of the past, may indeed be one way to understand that past.

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Walter L. Adamson. *Embattled Avant-Gardes: Modernism's Resistance to Commodity Culture in Europe*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 2007. Pp. xii, 435. $45.00.

In this rich and stimulating book, Walter L. Adamson reframes the scholarly debate on modernism by bringing to the fore the engaged nature of the modernists' reaction to commodity culture since the late nineteenth century. Adamson counters the established view of modernism's obliviousness to the political, and he also challenges a monolithic understanding of the movement that ignores its historically shifting positions within the art field. The book's main goal is to redefine the evolving contours of modernism by analyzing the activities and practices that underlay the modernists' aesthetic project. Within this context, Adamson's controversial adoption of the formula "avant-garde modernism" exactly aims at emphasizing the central value that modernism assigned to political and organizational autonomy in its struggle against the dominance of commodification in the West. As committed cultural agents, and in part motivated by a rejection of materialism, the modernists, Adamson argues, deployed strategies that aimed at maximizing their influence on artistic processes. Considering themselves the standard bearers of aesthetic values, they struggled for the right to arbitrate on cultural matters and to affirm control over artistic creation. In the end, they fought to maintain their privileged position as possessors of cultural capital, although they did not advocate an elitist appreciation of art.

In eight informative chapters, Adamson details how avant-garde modernists' tactics shifted from the period before World War I to the interwar years through World War II and its aftermath. Chapter one sets up Adamson's argument with a background discussion that emphasizes the spiritual view of art in the nineteenth century. "Religions of art" were supposed to provide a shelter against the functional world of the marketplace, and they ideally overcame the separation of the value spheres, even as artists were torn between a desire to democratize culture and an aristocratic view of art enjoyment. In the late nineteenth century, however, a shift occurred in the artists' approach to the commodity that opened the way to the avant-garde modernism of the like of E. F. T. Marinetti, Guillaume Apollinaire, Wassily Kandinsky, Design Modernism, the Strapaese movement in Italy, Surrealism, and Herbert Read (chapters two through eight). In different ways, these groups and individuals (that Adamson selects on the basis of their national contexts rather than their artistic results) represent for Adamson particular moments and modalities of avant-garde modernism's committed efforts to enlarge art's role in public life by adapting to commodity culture.

Before the war, whether they affirmed art's aristocracy (Marinetti) or aimed at educating the public to experience art (Kandinsky) or envisaged art at the center of democratic life (Apollinaire), modernists rejected any alliance with commercial producers. After the war, however, according to Adamson's original thesis, Design Modernism opened the way to an alliance between art and industry as a measure to overcome art's crisis. A more direct political engagement characterized avant-garde modernists' positions in those years, albeit not without dilemmas and contradictions (especially in the case of the Surrealists). At this time, nationalism also more strongly emerged as bound up with modernism. Throughout the book, Adamson drives home his argument that avant-garde modernism cannot be seen as a merely aesthetic phenomenon. It rather constitutes a broadly conceived political endeavor that, characterized by multivalence, confronted and adapted to commodity culture in order both to grant art a central role in the modern public sphere and ensure artists' control over aesthetic values.

While the book presents an impressive command of the subject, some questions arise over Adamson's definition of avant-garde modernism, as he seemingly equates "avant-garde" to political engagement. Furthermore, Adamson criticizes Peter Bürger's thesis, which both depicts modernism as withdrawn from politics and identifies the destruction of the autonomous

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work of art as the characterizing mark of the historical avant-garde. Although for Adamson the "reception" of the avant-garde and its eventual admission in museums is proof of Bürger's fallacy on this point, leaving one wondering why he mixes reception with intention and production, he also seems to dismiss the importance of the reflective attitude toward the institution of art as an element that defines the avant-garde. The question then arises: is there a difference between avant-garde and modernism, according to Adamson, or is all modernism avant-garde in his schema? Another potential point of contention also emerges in the disproportionate and unquestioned emphasis Adamson assigns to the spiritual dimension of art as claimed by the modernists. If the commodity form is based on the senses, how did the modernists approach and resolve their rejection of sensuousness while creatively engaging with the commodity? And how can one categorize those dissident Surrealists who, on the basis of a materialistic vision of culture, attacked the spirit and art (see in particular the journal *Documents*)? All these questions are not necessarily intended to diminish the value of Adamson's work. They rather aim to emphasize the richness and unfinished nature of the intellectual debate over modernism and the avant-garde, which the book helps raise again. The book will indeed remain a reference point for discussions of the avant-garde for years to come.

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William H. Sherman. *Used Books: Marking Readers in Renaissance England*. (Material Texts.) Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 2008. Pp. xx, 259. $45.00.

William H. Sherman distills many years of slow, sometimes tedious work in rare book libraries into a very fine collection of essays that will prove invaluable to scholars, librarians and book collectors alike. Sherman confesses no boredom; he wears his learning lightly and some of his discussions of particular books or practices are riveting. This book can be read for pleasure, but it is primarily a learned, thoughtful, and theoretically adept examination of the evidence of reading and readers found in surviving English books of the fifteenth, sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Sherman systematically examined thousands and thousands of early English printed books and manuscripts (7,500 in the Huntington Library alone), finding marginalia in some twenty percent of them. Most surviving marginalia is mundane (penmanship practice and owner names being the most common) and thus interesting primarily in the aggregate and as evidence of the ways in which the margins and blank pages of books served as repositories for all sorts of written memoranda. Occasionally a book bears intense evidence of its use: a 68 page volume of Aristotle with almost 60,000 words of annotation; a Catholic religio-political book from the 1580s with "vehemently Protestant notes" each "marked by a red silk thread . . . sewn through the margins" (p. xvii); a printed (originally blank) commonplace book, its categories heavily amended and elaborately cross-referenced.

The essays move between consideration of aggregate evidence—marking practices across many varied books, annotations in certain classes of books—and closely focused discussions of particular books like the red-silk-tabbed volume, whose annotations and tabbing turn out to be the work of Richard Topcliffe, Elizabeth I's notorious political servant. Although the essays are gathered into four thematic clusters ("Parts"), those divisions are superficial. Rather, the coherence of the book lies in its reversible quality. Sherman suggests that readers new to the study of old books and marginalia begin at the end, with an essay on attitudes toward readers' marks ranging from injunctions against the marking of books to the erasure of marginalia by bleaching and/or cutting down pages to the attribution narratives that are sometimes fancifully elaborated. Read backward, the book then moves through a number of intrinsically interesting and detailed case studies of particular books. Read forward, the book begins with a discussion of the methodological issues and current state of research in the scholarly study of marginalia and reading practices and proceeds to in-depth considerations of readers' marks (an essay on the history of the manicule originally published some years ago and already a classic) and of the "matriarchive" (p. 54) of ownership and writing practices left by female readers. Most of the essays are illustrated by black and white images, a total of thirty-six.

The case studies address the annotations in English Bibles in the first century of their widespread vernacular circulation, annotations in and multimedia reformatting of the *Book of Common Prayer*, John Dee's extensive marginalia in Fernando Columbus's account of his father's life and voyages, and Sir Julius Caesar's adaptation of John Foxe's commonplace book, *Pandectae locorum communium* (1572). In each case close study not only reveals how particular volumes were used but also opens up historical, methodological, and theoretical issues that bear more widely on research in the history of books, reading, and what used to be called "ideas." A manuscript book of common prayer whose copytext is the 1559 printed edition, whose layout follows print conventions but not the layout of the copytext, and which features mock-printed initials drawn by both amateurs and professionals or cut from medieval manuscripts and pasted in, for example, serves as a focal point for thinking about hybrid forms, the suppression and/or survival of devotional texts, and readerly practices of active modification in ways that challenge and sharpen our received understanding of the reformation as well as print. The chapters on Caesar's use of Foxe's commonplace book or Dee's annotations of the Columbus volume demonstrate how much the archive can tell us about early modern intellectual activity and the organization of knowledge. These are, as Sherman notes, exceptional volumes and exceptional readers,

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but through them one can glimpse the complex structures and practices that informed readers' interactions with books more generally.

Such close attention to the material evidence of books and to the embodied practices involved in their use is especially timely. Early modern collections and archives are increasingly digitized and thus ever more widely available for virtual inspection. All who troll *Early English Books Online* should read Sherman's book, not just because it will sensitize their perceptions and sharpen their thinking about the evidence before them, but because they too are implicated in active and hybrid forms of reading and writing such as those exemplified in the chapters of this work.

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SUSAN WISEMAN. *Conspiracy and Virtue: Women, Writing, and Politics in Seventeenth-Century England*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2006. Pp. vii, 384. $99.00.

In this work, literary historian Susan Wiseman closely reads a wide variety of seventeenth-century texts to study women's relationship to politics in a society that excluded them from formal political roles and official political categories. The texts Wiseman analyzes include female-authored diaries, letters, poetry, biographies, autobiographies and spiritual testimonies, as well as male-authored accounts of women's lives and significance.

At the outset, Wiseman specifically disavows any intention of writing a genealogy of feminism or addressing the related issue of whether women's position improved or declined in the period. She contends that eschewing these issues produces a more accurate picture of the period because even arguments for including women in politics were not made upon the basis of their sex. Furthermore, a feminist approach focusing explicitly on pro- and anti-women texts excludes a wide variety of material that reveals the complex connections between women and the political sphere. Although she does not say so openly, Wiseman's implication is that feminist readings of the seventeenth century misinterpret the period by reading contemporary concerns into the past.

What is absent from Wiseman's position is recognition that her analysis, which claims a broader and implicitly more objective perspective, also has a politics, one formed by the view that scholarship shaped or influenced by second-wave feminism is partial. Yet omitting pro-women writers and their opponents distorts her study just as much as limiting the story to them does. Bathsua Makin (1600-c.1675) and Mary Astell (1666–1732), to name only two of the female authors who argued for women's education, were forging connections to politics as surely as the women Wiseman discusses. Furthermore, despite her assertion to the contrary, some women did see themselves as a distinctive group and framed their petitions during the Civil War in precisely those terms.

With this notable lacuna, Wiseman has chosen to study women of very different class positions and religious and political allegiances. They also varied in their relationship to politics. The overall picture she creates is neither surprising nor indicative of a new direction in seventeenth-century history and literary studies. With the possible exception of Anne Murray Halkett, all of her subjects entered the political realm as a result of their religious commitments or experiences or their family relationships and responsibilities. At the same time, their attitudes toward acting politically differed greatly. At one extreme, they consciously made decisions that could only be interpreted as political: Lady Brilliana Harley chose to defend her home, Brampton Bryan Castle, against a royalist siege; Halkett participated actively in rescuing James, Duke of York, during the Civil War. At the other end of the spectrum, the adolescent Sarah Wight tried, unsuccessfully as it turned out, to prevent her religious sufferings and reception of grace from being interpreted for political ends.

Despite the predictability of her subjects' relationship to the political sphere, the variety of the women Wiseman has studied and the depth and extensiveness of her analyses of their individual lives and writing make this book a valuable contribution to seventeenth-century scholarship. As I read her book, I had a vision of Wiseman in the British Library or the Bodleian following every possible clue in the texts she was using to place them in the widest context possible and persisting until there was no where else to go. As a result, it is hard to imagine anyone working on seventeenth-century politics, religion, women, or literature who will fail to learn a great deal about at least some of the women she studied. In my own case, for example, although I certainly knew something about Anne Bradstreet, I found Wiseman's focus on her poem "The Tenth Muse" (1650) and her success in placing Bradstreet in a transatlantic context refreshing and illuminating. Wiseman also enriched my understanding of Halkett by including Halkett's meditations and memorials as well as her better-known *Memoirs* in the discussion. Scholars coming from different disciplines or backgrounds than I do undoubtedly will find other chapters or discussions most enlightening.

Having praised Wiseman's scholarship, I want to register my disappointment that this work did not include a bibliography, an omission attributable to Oxford University Press's policy of eliminating this element of the traditional scholarly apparatus to cut expenses. The policy reduces the usefulness of the excellent books it publishes.

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JOHN STYLES. *The Dress of the People: Everyday Fashion in Eighteenth-Century England*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 2007. Pp. xi, 432. $50.00.

John Styles has written a delightful and important book. It is full of new research, is imaginative in its use of sources, poses major challenges to the historiography, and is lavishly produced. The book joins a growing body of scholarship on the history of clothing in early modern Europe. Unlike many predecessors, Styles focuses on the dress of the bottom half of society, which is much more difficult to document than the top half. Yet the author is able to weave together a multitude of documentary threads to create a stunning image of lower-class apparel. The result is a major revisionist view of eighteenth-century social history.

Styles's mastery of a wide variety of sources is impressive. He consulted trial records—usually for theft cases—of the assizes and quarter sessions for the north of England and of the Old Bailey. He sampled newspaper advertisements for fugitives, which contained descriptions of their clothing. For the book's rich visual and material sources he used records of the London Foundling Hospital, which listed the clothing of children admitted, producing "what is probably the world's largest collection" (p. 333) of swatches. He gathered evidence of lower-class clothing from a list compiled after a fire in Suffolk; from account books of a Lancashire laboring family, a Yorkshire worsted maker, and a York pawnbroker; from several accounts of parish overseers of the poor. He employs a wealth of visual evidence from paintings and engravings; his commentary is rich in details, and he links them closely to the text. It is not only the variety of Styles's sources that impresses but also the skill with which he is able to winkle results from them. For example, from a close reading of the clothier's accounts he determined that the man's maidservants were allowed to pay on credit and to choose apparel themselves.

The results of Styles's research are fascinating. He gives qualified assent to Neil McKendrick's thesis that the period saw a "consumer revolution" but doubts that mass production in factories was the reason. He points out that several groups were not allowed to shop for clothing, e.g., the military, servants, and paupers. Apparel was far more valuable in the eighteenth century than in the twenty-first, accounting for two thirds of the wealth of a lower-class person; hence the frequency of pawning. People's place in the life cycle drove their purchases, which were few in the early years of marriage and peaked when adolescent children began to earn. By showing that dress was "embedded in the practices of every life" (p. 323), Styles gives the lie to elite complaints about the lower classes overdressing to ape their betters. The reality was that the populace liked to dress well for good reasons. Apparel was especially valued by adolescents and young adults, who wanted one set for work and one for "best" because the latter was needed to find work and marriage partners. On holidays, at church, and at political demonstrations, the people put on their finest. Contrary to Sir Frederic Eden in the 1790s, northerners rarely made their own outer clothes, whereas homemade underclothes were the norm almost everywhere.

Styles is critical of the work of E. P. Thompson and argues for substantial improvement in people's dress except for the very poorest. Thompson denied that the lower classes benefited from the economic changes of the eighteenth century and industrialization, suggesting that conflicts defending customary rights were more prominent than consumerism. Styles points out that Thompson's model of patricians and plebeians left out the middling groups in society. Styles questions Thompson's linkage of increasing purchases of watches with a "time-work discipline," showing that few factory workers possessed them, that clocks were widespread, and that people could tell time without time-pieces.

There are very few dropped stitches in this elegant tapestry. Perhaps it is time to put aside the debate between optimists and pessimists, which is looking decidedly threadbare. Where theory is concerned, Norbert Elias might spruce things up a bit. Using the word "plebeian" to describe the lower classes follows Thompson, but it has such negative connotations that it might have been dropped for "populace" or another construction. Since people took pride in apparel, Styles should have said more about its role in the institutions of courtship and marriage. This book badly needs a glossary because one has to dig to find definitions of terms like "check" and "chip" (p. 43). A final complaint concerns the book's exiguous typeface, even if it did keep the price reasonable. Despite these caveats, Styles has lived up to his surname in all possible respects.

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VICCY COLTMAN. *Fabricating the Antique: Neoclassicism in Britain, 1760–1800*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2006. Pp. xii, 256. $48.00.

This book throws an interesting new light on the practices of classical connoisseurship and collecting in the later eighteenth century. Viccy Coltman's central claim is that neoclassicism, previously relegated by nineteenth-century historicism to the lowly status of an ahistorical decorative discourse, was in fact a coherent style of thought realized in the collecting, commissioning, and housing of classical art, whether originals or replicas. The evidentiary basis of her study is a detailed exploration of correspondence between connoisseurs in Britain and the agents in Italy who bought original art and commissioned reproductions; the resultant placing of (mostly) statues in the libraries and galleries of town and country houses is shown by over ninety illustrations.

The first chapter explores the place of art in libraries, arguing that books and art works should be taken together: monuments may be texts, while texts, such as Edward Gibbon's *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* (1788), may become monuments.

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The point is well made, though the visual aspects of books (page layout, typography, binding) are hardly discussed. Chapter two pursues the theme, looking at the transfer of monuments via engravings into volumes which acted in effect as portable galleries, sometimes not for sale, often so expensive that only the rich could afford them. The following chapter focuses on Sir William Hamilton's published accounts of vases and their use by Josiah Wedgwood in the design of his "Etruscan" ware. Chapter four turns to Pompeii and Herculaneum and shows how wall paintings and other objects were removed, copied and installed in British elite homes. The next chapter explores the commissioning of classical copies for country houses, often in a context of political-cultural rivalry, as in the case of the Whig Marquess of Rockingham and his Tory rival Lord Strafford. Finally we turn to the London residence of the collector Charles Townley, whose library and dining room, crowded with sculptures and casts, were depicted in all their glory by William Chambers and Johann Zoffany. Such pictures add a reflexive layer to the connoisseur's learned display, at times portraying his wife or mistress as a classical beauty among others.

These six chapters are cumulatively impressive, and the analysis conducted with real skill. The long introduction, "Getting into the Classical Mood," is more problematic. It seems intended to set the rest of the book in a theoretical context, invoking as it does Karl Mannheim and Pierre Bourdieu: the former for "style of thought," the latter for the construction of "habitus" through education. The perfunctory references to Mannheim do not do justice to his analysis, for example, of conservative thought; those to Bourdieu overlook the elision of institutional differences which is a persistent weakness of his approach. Coltman claims that elite pupils at eighteenth-century public schools acquired "a distinctly 'Roman' mind set" (p. 11), but she refuses to engage with the content of their education. Thus the chart of a fourth-form pupil's week at Eton in the 1760s she reproduces (p. 13) shows time spent on Classics, but not what was being read (almost all Latin, and almost all verse; but Greek, again mostly verse, loomed large in the curriculum of older boys). Translating back and forth constantly put boys in the classical mood, she argues. But how? And just what *were* the "thought styles" that had "become second nature through endlessly ritualized repetition at school" (p. 15) apart from an interest in classical culture? The balance of Greek and Latin is important, since the period 1760–1800 saw the emergence of philhellenism and the marginalizing of Augustanism, but this wider context remains almost invisible in Coltman's discussion. Again, "the public schools" are taken as a homogeneous entity, but classical reading varied between schools, as is well documented in M. L. Clarke's *Classical Education in Great Britain, 1500–1900* (1959), to which Coltman does not refer. (The Catholic Townley, the subject of chapter six, was schooled in Douai in France; whether this affected his "classical mood" is left undiscussed.) The citation of a few textbook titles from Eton College library leads to the assertion that "we are left in little doubt as to the content of the educational diet" (p. 29); but it remains unclear how representative the titles are, or even if they were regularly used at Eton. Finally, university education is nowhere discussed.

The introduction is hard to read at times because of an over-insistent tone and an overuse of italics. It is also disfigured by textual errors, including stylistic and syntactic solecisms and misspelled names. Latin quotations are unreliable (alarming in a book on neoclassicism): Wedgwood's vases were inscribed "Artes Etruriae renascuntur," not "revascuntur," and Pliny's work was not entitled *Naturalis Historiae*.

In sum, the bulk of Coltman's book is well worth reading and pondering, offering as it does excellent analyses of classical connoisseurship in action. The author's presentation of a legitimating theoretical stance, however, is weakly grounded and unconvincing.

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H. S. JONES. *Intellect and Character in Victorian England: Mark Pattison and the Invention of the Don*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2007. Pp. viii, 285. $95.00.

Mark Pattison, rector of Lincoln College at Oxford University, 1861–1884, was one of the most prominent intellectual figures of mid-Victorian England. When he died, it was said that Oxford had lost by far its most distinguished resident. Yet today few people apart from historians of nineteenth-century Britain have ever heard of Pattison or, if they have, associate him with three basic facts. First, he was locked in a loveless marriage with a younger woman that became the prototype for the marriage of Casaubon and Dorothea in George Eliot's *Middlemarch* (1871–1872). Second, he was the archetypal unproductive scholar, producing nothing of substance for his many years of detailed reading and note-taking beyond the biography of another Casaubon, the seventeenth-century philologist Isaac. Third, he was a university reformer, besotted by the German example, who waged war on Oxford's tutorial system and wanted to turn his alma mater into a research hot-house built around the professoriate.

H. S. Jones's biography, based on careful and exhaustive study of Pattison's letter, papers, and publications, completely explodes the traditional image of the man. Pattison's marriage certainly ended unhappily, but for many years it worked well. Moreover, there is no reason for believing that Eliot, though a friend of both the husband and wife, drew her inspiration from their later difficulties. Rather, Francis, Pattison's wife, saw herself as Dorothea and came to understand what had gone wrong with her marriage in the light of the novel. More importantly, Pattison did not have writer's block. In fact, his output was prodigious. He was one of the great exponents of a particular mid-Victorian art form—the review article—and wrote many lengthy, witty, and care-

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fully crafted analyses of the great books of the age in which he expounded upon his own evolving ideas about intellectual history, human progress, the role of the university, and so on. Nor was Pattison an unthinking advocate of the German research university. Far from it: if he did want a much larger share of the colleges' endowments to be used specifically to support research rather than teaching, he tended to believe that original research (especially in the sciences) was the province of academies, not universities. What he objected to in the Oxford of his own day (and he particularly pointed an accusing finger at that other great Oxonian of the mid-Victorian era, Benjamin Jowett of Balliol) was Oxford's emphasis (admittedly relatively new) on passing examinations and winning prizes. He believed completely in the tutorial system, but as a means of getting undergraduates to think for themselves rather than forcing them to jump through hoops. And to have this liberating influence, he believed the don must be an expert in his field. He did not have to be a creative thinker, but he did have to be fully in control of his subject so that he could inspire and illuminate.

This is an elegant and persuasive biography written with economy and clarity that brings to life a neglected and much maligned mid-Victorian essayist. Pattison was clearly not one of the warmest men but he was liberal and humane and his vision of a university education was a noble one. Just as he wanted to free undergraduates from the shackles of the assumptions they were reared in, so too was his own life, as retold in his autobiography, a story of his emancipation from the traditionalist and church-bound Tractarian movement with which he had been initially associated and as well as his own development as a critical free-thinker. Pattison was an existential apostle of freedom—a Rousseauian champion of the morally autonomous individual who broke completely with Christianity as an established dogmatic religion and took a dim view of the contemporary celebration of togetherness fostered by team games. Yet Pattison was different from other Victorian radicals both in his pessimism (prophetically, he does not seem to have believed that the triumph of an age of reason was assured), his dislike of utilitarianism (he believed in the pursuit of knowledge for its own sake), and his suspicion of all systems. Moreover, he always retained a certain affinity with his erstwhile Tractarian friends, and his own conception of the university was not a million miles away from John Henry Newman's. As Jones so successfully shows, Pattison was of a party, one of the small coterie of Victorian intellectuals who were at odds with the Victorian establishment. But he was always his own man. It is sad to read in his memoirs how unsatisfactory he came to feel his intellectual journey had been. In Jones, however, a biographer has been found who rescues Pattison from his own doubts and shortcomings. This is a biography that should be read not just by historians of Victorian England but by all university teachers moved to question the value of what they do. Pattison is in all of us. His is a very human story, and it has been written by a historian of great humanity.

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STUART ANDREWS. *Irish Rebellion: Protestant Polemic, 1798–1900*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan. 2006. Pp. x, 238. $69.95.

In 1801 Sir Richard Musgrave published his massive *Memoirs of the different rebellions in Ireland, from the arrival of the English: also, a particular detail of that which broke out the 23d of May, 1798; with the history of the conspiracy which preceded it*. The book has remained an important source of information on the 1798 rebellion, but in the late twentieth century, especially the 1990s when bicentenary observances prompted a good deal of new research, the Irish historical profession subjected Musgrave to searching criticism. Musgrave's primary objective, it is now generally agreed, was to use the rebellion as proof that Catholics should never be trusted with full membership in the polity. To that end he almost entirely omitted the central role of Ulster Presbyterian radicals in the "conspiracy" in hopes that their coreligionists could yet be recruited into a pan-Protestant political alliance.

Stuart Andrews has appropriated this insight from the work of Kevin Whelan and others as the backbone of a study of elite discourse concerning the Irish question throughout the nineteenth century. It is an interesting exercise. After summarizing recent findings of Irish historians about the rebellion itself, the author devotes four chapters to Musgrave's work, the latter's own commentary on his principal Catholic critic Francis Plowden, and controversy surrounding other accounts of the rebellion as well as the Act of Union and its aftermath. Two chapters are devoted to the Catholic Emancipation question from the Union until its resolution in 1829. Two more chapters deal primarily with Daniel O'Connell's post-emancipation career and Young Ireland. A chapter focused on William Ewart Gladstone deals with church-state issues, from the "papal aggression" crisis of 1850–1851 to the Irish Disestablishment Act in 1869, against the background of Fenian activity. From here the author jumps to the *fin de siècle* celebrations of royal jubilees and the first centenary of 1798.

The author makes heavy use of British periodicals as well as pamphlets and partisan books. Despite the demotic character of many of the issues at stake, this is a top-down work of intellectual history. Given the fact that Musgrave's book was never reprinted between 1802 and 1995, it is reasonable to doubt its salience as the nineteenth century progressed. Nevertheless, the reader can learn a great deal about how the British governing class came to terms with the realities of Ireland and the non-viability of its Anglican confessional state. Regardless of how responsible Musgrave was for the

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anti-Catholic strain of discourse in Victorian England, Andrews vividly captures its elite element.

Andrews is clearly very interested in Nonconformist radicalism in Britain, but oddly he has relatively little to say about the Ulster Presbyterian component of Musgrave's alleged design. Irrespective of whether Musgrave caused it or even intended it, a strong political alliance between Presbyterians and Anglicans was indeed created in Ulster during the nineteenth century. Andrews has a good deal to say about R. R. Madden, the Dublin-based Catholic who published biographies of United Irishmen leaders in the 1840s, but he makes no reference to his Ulster equivalent: Presbyterian antiquary Samuel McSkimin, whose invaluable narrative *Annals of Ulster; or, Ireland fifty years ago* (1849) was published posthumously in Belfast. This omission, of course, is not a flaw in Andrews's work, for he constructs his work on Musgrave's book, and Musgrave deliberately ignores the Ulster Presbyterians. What it does suggest is that Irish Catholics, however detested they were by the English political and literary elite, may have had a better chance of their grievances being heard in the corridors of power than did their Presbyterian counterparts.

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Eugenio F. Biagini. *British Democracy and Irish Nationalism, 1876–1906*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2007. Pp. xi, 421. $105.00.

This book by Eugenio F. Biagini is a detailed, scholarly study of the interwoven politics of Ireland and Britain. It builds on the pioneering Irish Home Rule scholarship of Paul Bew, Margaret O'Callaghan, Alvin Jackson, and Alan O'Day; it also has much to offer regarding the wider history of nationalism in Ireland, a subject on which D. George Boyce, Tom Garvin, and Richard Vincent Comerford have all written very perceptively.

Biagini is a historian whose previous books include a sharp-eyed study of W. E. Gladstone; indeed, his most important strength is his ability to explain Irish and British history as related parts of an interlinked phenomenon. Biagini quite rightly insists on retaining both British and Irish contexts, his book viewing the two islands synoptically. This is a welcome hermeneutical approach: far too many scholars of one or other of these islands tend, even yet, to be effectively illiterate in the modern scholarship regarding the other one.

The book presents Irish affairs as utterly integral to British political life in the years under scrutiny, stressing the unavoidability of the Irish question in British politics during the 1880s and 1890s. This was not merely because of "Ireland's intrinsic importance as a constituent part of the United Kingdom, at the heart of the empire" (pp. 376–377) but also because the Irish question came to be interwoven in so many British people's minds with issues of democracy, freedom, and humanitarianism.

So we see Ireland prominent within the British setting in various ways, at local level as well as centrally. The Newcastle area emerges as "a Home Rule hotbed" (p. 59), and there was strong support for Home Rule also in Wales and Scotland, as well as among the wide Nonconformist constituency. (Only two of the seventeen Methodist MPs opposed Home Rule in Parliament in June 1886.) This all reflected the extent of Irish-British resonances. British Nonconformists and trade unionists were reminded of their own past persecution when they looked at contemporary Irish grievances, and there were broader perceived affinities between the two islands regarding democracy and constitutional liberty. Biagini presents Irish nationalist hero Michael Davitt as "basically a social radical in the Tom Paine tradition" (p. 109), and he makes a convincing case for the existence of an affinity between the Irish nationalist cause and the wider Gladstonian politics of humanitarian liberalism.

The central argument of the book is that late nineteenth and early twentieth-century Irish Home Rule was not merely a Gladstonian obsession or a short-lived Liberal aberration but rather something that "fired the public imagination of the peoples of the United Kingdom and came to dominate their understanding of liberty and citizenship" (p. 4). This is a subtle work of intellectual history, less of the Irish Home Rule crisis itself than of the impact of that crisis on "the development of popular ideas of liberty and democracy" (p. 7). Biagini argues that Irish nationalists in this period shared much with their British counterparts regarding culture and ideology. In calling for radical land reform and civil rights, preferring responsible local government to central authority, and resisting coercion, liberals in Scotland and Wales shared much with Irish enthusiasts. Irish anti-landlord sentiment, Biagini suggests, was echoed in the subversion of landlordism attempted in the same period by Scottish crofters, Welsh farmers, English laborers, and British radicals.

One of the work's key strengths is its extensive range of original sources: Biagini draws on archives in Dublin, Belfast, London, Oxford, and Cambridge but also in Birmingham, Newcastle, Durham, Sheffield, Aberystwyth, and Glasgow. He has read widely in contemporary newspapers and periodicals and the richness of (often very localized) British sources helps reinforce the book's central argument regarding affinities between British radicalism and Irish nationalism in this period.

As he proceeds, Biagini usefully points out the deep-rootedness of Gladstone's 1880s "conversion" to Home Rule, as well as reaffirming the hopelessness of the Grand Old Man's approach to Ulster realities. The book has a very strong section on Joseph Chamberlain, and stresses that the extensive Home Rule debate involved crucial questions of sovereignty, liberty, community, and citizenship. As such, Irish Home Rule simply could not represent an isolated issue.

The emotional aspects of all of this were particularly important, and are well signposted in Biagini's book. I would have preferred a more sustained engagement with the broader literature on nationalism itself, be-

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yond Ireland; and there are some very occasional slips (as with the reference to Charles Stewart Parnell's "divorce" [p. 200]). But this remains a very impressive study of an important Irish—and British—historical subject. It deserves to be widely read by scholars of both of these islands and their politics.

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JAMES CASEY. *Family and Community in Early Modern Spain: The Citizens of Granada, 1570–1739*. (New Studies in European History.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 2007. Pp. viii, 314. $99.00.

James Casey, aiming to "explore . . . the nature of a honor society, the informal networks which held it together [and] the link between the family man and the citizen" (p. 5), focuses on Granada in the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries. Scholars and artists have long been fascinated by this beautiful city in southern Spain, the last Moorish kingdom in Iberia. Its status as a frontier society allows historians to trace the development of political, social, and economic institutions from the ground up, so to speak. Casey's skillful mining of documentary materials from Granada's archives and sensitive reading of printed primary sources result in an exhaustive examination of the city's elites in the early modern period. He charts the struggles of families to achieve economic security, social status, and political power on the local level and to perpetuate the fortunes of their lineages.

After describing Granada's transition from Muslim capital to Christian city, Casey turns to the processes by which newly arrived men established themselves as members of an urban elite. In chapters two through five he analyzes the strategies deployed by families to enrich their members, form political and economic alliances, and perpetuate their wealth and influence over time, including participating in Granada's silk trade, buying and selling rural properties, and carefully planning marriages and bequests. In chapters six through nine Casey continues to explore the manifold uses and meanings of family ties, examining the structure and composition of households and the overwhelming importance of lineage in tracing a family's past, fictive or real, and preserving its honor. Chapters ten through twelve highlight the involvement of Granada's elite families in a wider public sphere, as they made thorough use of the legal system, extended relief to the poor, and offered their services to the Crown. However, even for those who acted as brokers between king and city, Casey suggests, the "honours awarded by the court for loyalty depended . . . on the foundation of honour which a family enjoyed within Granadan society" (p. 286). He concludes that Granada was "essentially a clan society" that "governed itself by more informal laws of personal obligation" (pp. 291–292).

Casey's meticulous reconstruction of family history from legal records regarding property transfers, disputes over inheritance, marriage and noble status, wills, and even love letters is certainly impressive. I particularly appreciate the way that his research calls into question some pervasive stereotypes about early modern Spanish society. To the notion that Spanish aristocrats were too proud to work and utterly disdained the world of commerce, Casey shows how Granada was ruled by "nobles of the doubloon" deeply involved in large-scale trade and agriculture and displaying a decided "work ethic" (p. 43). Countering the image of a rigid caste system, we see how this frontier society allowed for the possibility of social mobility, with "new men" routinely entering the city's patriciate through trade, marriage, and if they were lucky, inheritance. It is also widely believed that before modern times, people never married for love. Despite the efforts of parents to control the marriages of their children, however, Granada's young people sometimes did pursue "affairs of the heart" (p. 124) resulting in clandestine marriages, as Casey documents in one the book's most engaging chapters. Finally, while he acknowledges the influence of church and state on the lives of early modern *granadinos*, he insists upon the countervailing local forces of honor, friendship, and family solidarity, a perspective that complicates accepted ideas about "absolutism" in this period.

This book does have its weaknesses. I would not recommend it for undergraduates or other non-specialists, as it assumes prior knowledge of early modern (and even modern) Spanish and European history and lacks a strong narrative flow. Casey's decision to stay within a strictly thematic or topical framework makes it difficult for even more seasoned readers to gauge changes over the approximately 200 years under consideration. He denies that Granada's was a "static culture" (p. 292), but his failure clearly to explicate the contours of continuity and change at times leads the reader to that very conclusion. Specialists will be disappointed that the numerous quotations from primary sources are rendered into English in the body of the text but not cited in Spanish in the notes. I also find the lack of historiographical context puzzling. Reading this book, one might assume that very little work has been done recently in English on family life, marriage, inheritance, and honor in early modern Spain. Virtually all the secondary works in English that Casey cites date from the 1980s or earlier. But scholars such as Allyson Poska, Georgina Dopico Black, Renato Barahona, Abigail Dyer, Elizabeth Lehfeldt, Scott K. Taylor, Stephanie Fink De Backer, and Charlene Villaseñor Black published books, articles, and essays on these topics between 1996 and 2006.

These considerations aside, Casey's careful research advances our knowledge of family and urban life in early modern Spain, offering a significant contribution to a rich and growing field of inquiry.

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YVAN LOSKOUTOFF. *Rome des Césars, Rome des Papes: La propagande du cardinal Mazarin*. (Bibliothèque d'Histoire Moderne et Contemporaine, number 21.) Paris, France: Honoré Champion Éditeur. 2007. Pp. 741. €145.00.

Yvan Loskoutoff has written a study of the iconography in the extensive propaganda glorifying Cardinal Mazarin during his lifetime. Loskoutoff is not interested in the *mazarinades*, polemical pamphlets about the cardinal usually emphasized in such discussions, but instead concentrates on the nature of the literary symbols and motifs used as propaganda and their reproduction in the decorative arts. He challenges the judgment of René Pintard, Orest Ranum, Marc Soriano, and Wolfgang Leiner that Mazarin's propaganda was overdone, heavy-handed, and vulgar (the standard interpretation before 1970) and argues instead for its originality, vitality, and contemporary appeal, an increasingly prevalent viewpoint characterizing the work of Jacques Truchet, Françoise Bardon, and Frances Yates among others.

Loskoutoff's book is structured in three sections of three chapters each. The first section discusses the portrayal of the cardinal's virtues, in particular prudence and justice. Prudence was emphasized in the propaganda on Mazarin before the civil war of the Fronde (1648–1653) in literary works by Jean-Louis Guez de Balzac, Gabriel Naudé, and others, and was favored by the Thomists, Jesuits, and Machiavellians. Mazarin's love of justice was emphasized after the Fronde in texts by Jean de Silhon and Filippo Maria Bonini. The Cardinal's triumph over the *Frondeurs* was attributed both to his prudence and love of justice, and representations of his virtues appeared in paintings, frescos, and wall decorations as well as in literary texts and engravings.

The second section of the book discusses the widespread use of the cardinal's coat of arms with its three stars and fasces, or bundle of rods with an ax projecting from them, a Roman symbol of authority. Mazarin's coat of arms with its individual components appeared everywhere on book bindings, frontispieces, engravings, medals, medallions, coins, portraits, paintings, picture frames, carpets, and were even mentioned in *mazarinades* and literary works by Pierre Corneille, Jean Racine, and Jean de La Fontaine. His coat of arms decorated the Palais Mazarin in Paris, now the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, in sculptures over its doors and paintings on its walls and ceilings, and other Paris buildings including the Louvre and the Collège-des-Quatre-Nations, and several Roman churches.

The third section demonstrates how Mazarin's iconography was influenced by his Italian upbringing and vocation as a churchman, a duality that explains the book's title. His propaganda emphasized his Roman background and for this reason frequently alluded to the glory of ancient Rome, comparing him to Julius Caesar (who shared his first name), Augustus, Atlas, Hercules, and Apollo. Mazarin's propaganda attributed to him both Roman birth and Roman ancestors, although he had neither. He was born in a small village in the Abruzzi, but he was brought up in Rome where he was educated by the Jesuits. His vocation as a cardinal was praised in hagiographies that emphasized his saintliness and even his quasi-divinity, his pacifism, and his generosity, and repeatedly described him as the guardian angel of France.

This book will be a valuable reference work for specialists in early modern French and Italian iconography. The author's erudition and scholarship are impressive, and his book is the result of extensive, careful research combined with numerous illustrations that contribute greatly to its understanding. The book is not easy to read, however. It is more descriptive than analytical with too much detail and repetition, and too few summaries of the argument. Cutting its length by half would probably have improved its readability. The author's florid, whimsical, playful writing style, demonstrated by his title and his frequently obscure vocabulary, does not improve readability either. This book should be a valuable and useful tool for the specialist, but it is not meant for the casual reader.

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JAY M. SMITH, editor. *The French Nobility in the Eighteenth Century: Reassessments and New Approaches*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press. 2006. Pp. x, 346. $65.00.

The eleven essays that make up this volume are in themselves useful and interesting. However, despite the book's title they all concern the last half of the century with some discussion of earlier centuries, except one essay on historians' views on the nobility in the eighteenth century from 1840 to 1960. None of the essays expressly discusses methodology. In the introduction, entitled "The Nobility after Revisionism," editor Jay M. Smith tells us that the authors, who met for a seminar at the National Humanities Center, aimed "to re-examine the relationship between the dependent variable of 'nobility' and the larger equation of historical change in eighteenth-century France. . . . Where . . . should the nobility fit into the twenty-first century's narrative about eighteenth-century France?" (p. 1). The hope was that the authors would explore how we can get beyond the Marxist social history and ask whether cultural history can help. Smith "suggests that the nobility is in the process of becoming a valuable site for the reconceptualization of historical change and for the testing of new methods of social, cultural, and political analysis" (p. 15). While this is a useful volume, these lofty expectations were not met.

The volume is divided into four sections, beginning with "Nobility and the Economy." This section includes essays by Michael Kwass, Gail Bossenga, Robert M. Schwartz, and John Shovlin. The most useful article is Bossenga's on the changing nature of the market and

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the impact of the patrimonial state, which was abolished with the French Revolution. A central element of the Old Regime, the patrimonial market of venal offices, tax farming, and state-monopoly industries, was eliminated by the most basic achievement of the revolution, civic equality. Bossenga's essay holds promise for a more complete understanding of the last half of the eighteenth century that goes beyond the old Marxist social history.

Kwass's reconceptualization of social status and consumption in the writings of Jean-Jacques Rousseau, Victor Riqueti de Mirabeau, and François Véron de Forbonnais in the 1750s looks at the role of the court nobility from a new perspective. Shovlin plows some of the same ground on luxury and conspicuous consumption as Kwass, but he brings his analysis up to the events of 1789. Finally, Schwartz examines conditions in Burgundy from the perspective of two seigneurs. While this is interesting, one wonders if his view of the modernizing seigneur is reflected in the *cahiers*. Furthermore, can a link be made between the condemnation of the court nobility for its focus on wealth and the provincial seigneurs' modern management that helps explain how these two groups became treated as one during the events of the first year of the revolution?

The second section, "Nobility and Political Culture," includes essays by Rafe Blaufarb, Mita Choudhury, and Thomas E. Kaiser. All three focus on the conflicts between different parts of the nobility. Blaufarb looks at the long battle over noble tax exemptions in Provence from the point of view of the monarch's desire to increase revenues, which allied the crown with the local non-noble elites against the noble seigneurs. Choudhury discusses criticism of the monarchy and the court nobility as "feminized" by their servility to scheming women. It would be interesting to know if this type of attack was new from the 1750s or a traditional manner of condemnation. Kaiser adds a solid piece on the Society of Thirty.

Next, the volume shifts its focus from economics and political discourse to the key paradigm of the role of the nobility in the coming of the French Revolution: the aristocratic reaction. Johnson Kent Wright, Jay M. Smith, and Doina Pasca Harsanyi approach this subject by examining Montesquieu's *L'Esprit des lois* (1748) as a work of a conservative, not a proto-liberal, and reflections by François-Louis d'Escherny and Alexandre de Lameth explaining why their support of the basic principles of the revolution were not a betrayal of the Second Estate. Wright makes a good case for a new close examination of Montesquieu. He focuses on Montesquieu's phrase "no monarch, no nobility; no nobility, no monarchy," which was an accurate prediction, but as Wright recognizes, more work is needed to understand why this insight was ignored.

The essays by Smith, Harsanyi, and Kaiser clearly illustrate the old adage that "enemies of my enemies are my friends." It should not surprise us, nor is any deep explanation necessary, that in the spring and summer of 1789 progressive nobles who hated the court nobility and everything it stood for joined with the Third Estate to welcome and embrace the principles of civic equality and promotion, and that henceforth status should go to those with merit, especially those willing to sacrifice for the good of the nation. Of course, once the court nobility and its failings were overthrown, then the differences in interpretations of equality, liberty, and honor between the liberal nobles and the members of the Third Estate would have to be confronted, which is exactly what happened.

Thus, we learn how the nobility, or at least parts of it, were progressive in economic management of its lands, how some were reconsidering the nobility's role in society, and how conflict within the nobility is the primary stimulus to radicalizing the events of 1789 right through the abolition of the nobility in June 1790. What is missing in this volume is an overall assessment of these insights and an evaluation of whether we are getting beyond Marxist social history. Certainly, simplistic Marxist history will not do, but does the fact that some nobles were moving forward negate the overall claim of a decaying nobility? Have we put to rest the idea that there was no poor provincial nobility? Some work on this group in the first half of the century would help us understand the change people were experiencing in the third quarter of the century. One might also ask: was the court nobility for all of its conspicuous consumption actually decaying? Several of the authors view this group as the chief fomenter of reactionary behavior, from dictating what the deputies to the Estates General should wear to the conspiracy to overthrow the National Assembly. Was the court nobility rotten at the core, and did this rot infect the entire nobility?

The most curious entry is the last one by Jonathan Dewald on "Nobility and Modernity," which examines French historians' treatment of the nobility from François Guizot to Roland Mousnier. While he provides a clear picture of how these historians put the nobility in a central place and then ignored them—that is, they worked within the Marxist paradigm even if some of them did not do so consciously—Dewald ignores the fact that his historians treat the bourgeoisie as defined in the mid-seventeenth century. This, of course, makes nonsense out of all of the work on the eighteenth-century nobility, when the central change is the development and merging of the feudal and robe nobility. As Bossenga points out, one third of the nobles in 1789 had become noble only in the eighteenth century.

A final essay that synthesizes the contributors' findings, highlights fruitful areas for additional research, and acknowledges unaddressed issues would have greatly improved this collection. For example, much of this research begs for a look forward into the nineteenth century to the world of the notables. Did those nobles who were moving into the market with modern forms of management survive the revolution more successfully? Given all of the political and cultural condemnation of the nobility, how does the notable remain so central in French society into at least the second half of the nineteenth century? In short, did the d'Eschernys

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of the world triumph after all, and what does this indicate about the true nature of the French Revolution? Was the revolution simply political, achieving civic equality and therefore freeing all enterprising people, noble or bourgeois, to move forward?

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MARK ANTLIFF. *Avant-Garde Fascism: The Mobilization of Myth, Art, and Culture in France, 1909–1939.* Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 2007. Pp. xv, 352. Cloth $84.95, paper $23.95.

Whereas Peter Gay's *Modernism: The Lure of Heresy* (2008) sees liberalism as "the fundamental principle of modernism" (pp. 425–426), Mark Antliff believes that the interrelation between fascism in politics and modernism in the arts was "profound" and that modernist ideas were "central" to fascism (p. 17). According to Antliff, French fascist modernism was infused with a palingenetic nationalism that sought to regenerate society by extolling "mythic politics," "revolutionary" syndicalism, "heroic" youth, "aestheticized" violence (p. 23), antisemitism, and the "hygienic virtues" of art (p. 186). Many of these notions were initiated by Georges Sorel and later extended or modified by Georges Valois, Le Corbusier, Thierry Maulnier, and a host of other fascist or fascist-leaning modernists. The result was a wide-ranging fascist discourse in France in the 1920s and 1930s on art, architecture, literature, city planning, sculpture, and photography. The breadth and depth of Antliff's knowledge of these writers is impressive, including the information he provides about modernist fascists in Italy and Germany.

One of the strengths of Antliff's book is his description of the varieties of fascist ideology of the era. Since their authors were often competing with one another, the creation of that ideology was constantly in flux, "disparate" rather than monolithic, "permeable" rather than fixed, "a movement full of internal contradictions" with an "unstable" base composed of individuals who sometimes endorsed fascism for different reasons (pp. 59–60). The disagreements were many. Some French fascists promoted industrial Taylorism and "machine aesthetics," others workplaces and art that were "organic." Some celebrated all things modern, others France's cultural traditions (including Catholicism). Some praised peasant primitivism, others aristocratic neo-classicism. Some celebrated Bergsonian irrationalism, others a "fusion" of the Dionysian and the Apollonian. Many labored to "synthesize" paradoxes. For Antliff, palingenetic nationalism lent "coherence" to all these disparities (p. 22).

Antliff presents palingenetic nationalism as "revolutionary," "anti-capitalist," "syndicalist," and national "socialist" even though its major political enemies were communism and the French Popular Front. French fascists despised "socialist realism" but were also selective in their modernism. They condemned the French Surrealists, many of whom were communists in the late 1930s, and disparaged Henri Matisse and Pablo Picasso for their "crafty aestheticism" and spirit of "disorder" (p. 185). French fascists preached "beautiful violence" but its ultimate aim was to create "order and discipline," not chaos and anarchy (pp. 246, 204, 231). Rather than calling for the overthrow of capitalism or the nationalization of industry, they defended private property and proposed ending class conflict with right-wing corporatism, not left-wing syndicalism. Antliff fails to mention that they received little support from French workers, who were all too aware of the results of corporatism in fascist Italy and Nazi Germany: both regimes crushed left-wing unions and backed management far more than labor. Antliff maintains that fascist ideas should be taken "seriously" and not dismissed as mere propaganda—and indeed some of their proponents may have believed all of their own rhetoric. But it is not clear why they did so where fascist corporatism was concerned. Were they less informed than French workers about the fate of workers in Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany or were they simply indulging in willful ignorance?

Antliff's emphasis on the revolutionary and modernist nature of French fascism, along with his focus primarily on intellectuals (most of whom, like Maulnier, wrote for journals with small circulations), may leave the impression that anyone who was socially conservative or culturally traditionalist in France during the interwar period was opposed to fascism. By these standards, the four largest French fascist movements of the 1930s—Pierre Taittinger's Jeunesses patriotes, François Coty's Solidarité française, Jacques Doriot's Parti populaire français, and Colonel François de la Rocque's million-member Croix de feu/Parti social français—were not fascist, despite the many important characteristics they shared with other European fascisms of the era. Modernist aesthetics may not be as "central" to French fascism as Antliff claims, since these movements were more traditionalist than modernist in their cultural politics (true also of Valois's Faisceau). By ignoring these movements, Antliff indirectly reinforces the belief, still popular among some French historians, that French fascism existed only on the fringes of French interwar politics and had its ideological roots partly in the neo-Proudhonian "left." In fact, all these movements shared the major social, economic, and cultural goals of the mainstream Right even when they railed against political democracy. Moreover, even the modernist French fascists that Antliff discusses were hardly as "revolutionary" in their goals as they were in their means when it came to management-labor relationships—as his own evidence (but not his palingenetic conclusions) confirm time and time again.

In contrast to Antliff, Peter Gay sees Nazism as much more an enemy of modernism than a friend, writing that its "new man" was "cobbled together from folk memories" and that Nazism itself was a "retrograde revolution" in which "the past loomed larger in the official ideology than the future, a nostalgia at least partly dis-

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guised by modern embroidery" (pp. 422, 423). Gay also observes that Adolf Hitler's accession to office sounded the "death knell" for German modernists who "emigrated or fell silent" (p. 423). However, Gay's references to fascist modernism are much less extensive than Antliff's. If one wants to learn a great deal about how numerous art and cultural critics during the interwar period, especially in France, exploited modernist aesthetics on behalf of fascism, Antliff's book is the place to go. Read together, his book and Gay's provide ample support for Antliff's passing comment that "aesthetics can serve a variety of political positions" (p. 33).

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HEINRICH AUGUST WINKLER. *Germany: The Long Road West*. Volume 1: *1789–1933*. Translated by ALEXANDER J. SAGER. New York: Oxford University Press. 2006. Pp. ix, 599. $65.00.

In some future account of late twentieth-century historiography, the effort to reconstruct the German past—which had been distorted for decades and finally and totally perverted by the Nazis—will be noted as an exceptional international achievement. Heinrich August Winkler, a prodigious scholar and a strong public presence in all the controversies, has been a pre-eminent participant in this work of meticulous reconstruction. This first volume of his two-volume magnum opus constitutes a synthesis of his scholarship, supplemented of course by the vast literature that now exists on German themes.

Winkler's intent is to write a "problem history," inspired by what has haunted recent generations: "How it happened that Hitler came to power is still the most important question of nineteenth- and twentieth-century German history, if not of all German history" (pp. 1–2). Consonant with all that Winkler has done before, he seeks here to reach an audience beyond historians, and indeed his book should be in the hands of every person curious about the complex, tragic conundrum that is German history. Winkler is authoritative, critical, and selective, and he is interested as much by the interpretations of events as by the events themselves. His is an original, challenging work, as the subject demands (but has not always received).

He begins with a swift survey of the foundations of modern German history, focusing on three aspects. The first reminds us of the medieval Reich, encompassing so much more than a German nation; he argues that the memories of this empire engendered a lasting myth about a Reich whose continuous resonance abetted the establishment of the Third Reich, a creation bolstered by pervasive bourgeois contempt for a mere republic. His equally brief but incisive portrait of the Reformation gives it the central importance it deserves (and perhaps no longer gets in modern teaching). He sees it as both "the liberation from ecclesiastical coercion increasingly perceived as foreign rule, and the establishment of a new, interiorized, state-supported regime of coercion" (p. 12). The deleterious effects of Germany's confessional divisions lasted until the end of the Weimar Republic, and illiberal tendencies in both Protestant and Catholic churches contributed to the debility of the nation for decades. His third concern is with the Austro-Prussian antagonism, which came to a temporary halt with the creation of Otto von Bismarck's Second Reich, excluding Austria but leaving yearnings for a *Großdeutschland*.

Most of the book is a reexamination of German history since the Enlightenment and French Revolution, and it deals with particular themes in very different and appropriate tempi. At the heart of Winkler's chronological account lies his interpretation of the timing, the dissonant, successive stages in German modernization—so "Western" in some respects, so "feudal" or "East Elbian" in others. He offers new insights regarding the familiar dilemma: why and how was it that Germany, so advanced in many realms, was so hobbled by powerful resistance to the political manifestations of modernity, beginning with the place of parliament in the polity? He gives trenchant and perfectly grounded accounts of German liberalism and democratic socialism, but their opponents and their own weaknesses are memorably traced as well.

All the familiar landmarks of the pre- and post-1848 period are newly illuminated. One chapter title, "Unity before Liberty, 1850–1871," sets the theme for his discussion of Bismarck, the wars of the 1860s, and the liberal retreat or surrender. He is especially good on the Protestant interpretation of Prussia's victory over France in 1870, which, he says, took the form of "an imperial nationalism [that] implied *both* the continuing secularization of German Protestantism . . . *and* the increased theologization [sic] of German nationalism, separating the latter from the purely secular nationalism in France" (p. 199). Bismarck appears as great in foreign policy, petty and divisive in domestic politics; Winkler is close to Theodor Mommsen's famous judgment that "Bismarck broke the back of the nation" (p. 237). The idolatry of Bismarck that set in after his dismissal in 1890 did much to poison the public spirit of German politics, and Winkler is chillingly superb on Germany's war party before and during the Great War, emphasizing as well the rise of radical antisemitism in nationalist circles.

Winkler, the author of fine studies of Weimar and of the German labor movement, is at his best in analyzing Weimar's slow decline into violent decay, which began very precisely with the end of the Great Coalition and the appointment of Heinrich Brüning as chancellor in March 1930. He notes the post-1918 emergence of a new breed of conservative intellectuals, enemies of liberal parliamentarism, who were so congenial to the material interests of East Elbian agrarians, still battling for their special privileges, and the newer barons of the Ruhr. He cites chapter and verse on the German Communists' attacks (mostly Soviet-inspired) on democracy in general and on Social Democrats in particular; his citations from V. I. Lenin and his followers make all this

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clear. (Throughout, he adroitly employs his close knowledge of Marxism-Leninism.) And he passes fair judgment on both the too passive defenders of the Republic and its unabatedly aggressive enemies. In the end, he shares the now prevalent view among most historians that Adolf Hitler's appointment was not inevitable, and he sets out alternatives that President Paul von Hindenburg could have chosen.

Winkler masters the hard task of combining narrative with original analysis and judgment, splendidly injecting authoritative voices of the time, some known, many less so, and all exemplary. There are calculated and acknowledged omissions in the book: it is an achievement to deal with the politics of Germany's many wars between 1862 and the Great War and yet say virtually nothing about military strategy or actual fighting. One could quibble with some omissions: the Prussian era of reform, for example, that first "revolution from above" after Napoleon Bonaparte's triumph, gets short shrift, but Winkler made choices in producing his easily accessible political history. His English publisher served him well with a fluent translation; eighty pages of notes attest to Winkler's mastery of sources, but the inclusion of both the German and English titles of all the works he cites was a rare instance of unprofitable excess.

Winkler's portrait of pre-Hitler Germany is painted in many hues; there is no black-and-white here, but perhaps the reader might be better equipped to find answers to Winkler's original question. This rich study is faithful to the past and consonant with the needs of a country that has become so important a part of what we once so confidently called the West, and that today faces all manner of new dangers. It will help future generations to deal with the ever-recurring temptation to "relativize"—or evade—the "German question." Winkler has set a high standard of engaged scholarship that provides a historic fundament for Germany's vibrant democratic life.

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Michelle Mouton. *From Nurturing the Nation to Purifying the Volk: Weimar and Nazi Family Policy, 1918–1945.* (Publications of the German Historical Institute.) Washington, D.C.: German Historical Institute, with Cambridge University Press, New York. 2007. Pp. xvi, 310. $70.00.

Schemes to reverse the declining birthrate while upholding the quality of the future generation were pursued energetically both in Weimar and Nazi Germany; they have in recent years attracted considerable interest from historians both in Germany and in the English-speaking world. The special value of this study is that it offers a thorough comparison between Weimar and Nazi social policy, considers both national policies and local implementation, and supplements archival research and a sound knowledge of secondary literature with oral history.

Michelle Mouton disapproves of suggestions by a number of historians, myself included, that certain Weimar population policies paved the way for Nazism, notably the pursuit of negative eugenics. As her title indicates, Mouton prefers to represent Nazi policy as a radical departure from anything that preceded it. Certainly Weimar policy was timid in design and application compared to what happened after 1933; it was never based on consensus nor adopted wholesale. In the more liberal climate of the republic, proposals were always fiercely contested. Restrictive schemes to stop the "unfit" from breeding were balanced by reforms that bolstered individual rights. Although the most controversial scheme—compulsory sterilization on eugenic grounds—gained considerable support from doctors, jurists, and government officials during the Depression, it stood little if any chance of ever becoming law. Only after the dismantling of the entire democratic system under Nazism could it become official policy.

It is Mouton's careful discussion of all areas of reproductive control, ranging from the regulation of marriage and divorce, maternity protection, and birth control to guardianship, foster care, and adoption, that supports her thesis of policy break in 1933. For example, marriage certificates on grounds of health introduced in 1920 remained voluntary, whereas the Third Reich infringed upon the autonomy of the individual by outlawing certain marriages, such as those between Jews and Aryans. In the republic, the Left and liberals sought to "enhance the position of the weaker partner (usually the woman)" (p. 76) in divorce law, whereas Nazi race-based legislation supported and even stimulated petitions by Aryan and healthy men and women to divorce their Jewish or otherwise "undesirable" spouses. In the 1920s, reforms of the illegitimacy law aimed to raise the social and economic status of children born out of wedlock, while after 1933 support was restricted to "worthy" children, and "undesirable" women faced the loss of their children and compulsory sterilization.

Mouton is right to problematize the differences between policy and implementation over the 1933 divide by using case studies located in state, local, and church archives in Westphalia. They reveal that the effect on German families, and especially on women, was often at odds with the original intent. This disconnect was partly due to active resistance, partly to economic or administrative constraints or sheer ineptitude. For example, despite popular support for the 1933 Law to Prevent Hereditarily Sick Offspring, "Nazi policymakers met resistance at each turn" (p. 142). Especially "religious personnel working in hospitals refused to identify candidates for sterilization" and many women singled out for this operation rebelled through so-called *Trotzschwangerschaften*, or defiant pregnancies, before they were rendered infertile. Implementation was also hindered when details of sterilization candidates were lost or when they were found to have already undergone the operation.

This picture of uneven implementation at the local level is strengthened by oral history interviews with for-

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ty-eight women, drawn equally from Catholic and Protestant backgrounds but predominantly from the generation who were young adults in the Third Reich. As Mouton readily acknowledges, they belonged to a group primarily composed of housewives who gained rather than suffered from Nazi policy. They nevertheless show that women "collaborated with, accommodated, evaded, and sometimes challenged" (p. 31) Nazi policy to suit their own interests. Such agency by women and their partners challenges the notion that under Adolf Hitler the private sphere was comprehensively invaded and destroyed.

Considerably less space is given to Weimar than Nazi years, to pronatalsim rather than restrictions on conception. There are some mistakes in the description of Weimar policies: the concern over the declining birthrate preceded World War I; eugenics was supported by both the political Right and the Left; the display and advertisement of contraceptives were outlawed but not contraceptives themselves. Too little is made of the many attempts to introduce eugenic sterilization in the Weimar Republic, and, more seriously, there is no proper discussion of abortion policy in both periods despite a number of important recent studies. Although the author professes the influence of *Alltagsgeschichte* and women's history, there is little serious analysis of popular and cultural influences. Deeper reflections on women's experience are missing, as are references to the vibrant feminist discourse in the Weimar Republic. Such criticism notwithstanding, this is an impressive work that enriches our understanding of Weimar and Nazi social policies, their implementation, and their effect on ordinary German women and men.

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ALEX J. KAY. *Exploitation, Resettlement, Mass Murder: Political and Economic Planning for German Occupation Policy in the Soviet Union, 1940–1941*. (Studies on War and Genocide, number 10.) New York: Berghahn Books. 2006. Pp. xiii, 242. $75.00.

In World War I, the governments of Europe were unexpectedly successful in supplying vast numbers of soldiers and weapons to the front line for years on end. Critical factors in the final outcome for Germany (as for Austria, Hungary, and Russia) were not only deficiencies of industrial capacity but also the increasing shortage of food in the domestic market and a declining ability to control the supplies that were available. Coupled with losses and expenditures on the battlefield, hunger destroyed the army's will to fight and dissolved support for the war at home.

This memory plays a key role in Alex J. Kay's work. With the prospect of another war looming, Adolf Hitler took steps to prevent history from repeating itself. Self-sufficiency in strategic materials was one of the fundamental principles of the Nazis' Four-Year Plan for Germany. The idea of self-sufficiency in food through conquest, as Kay reminds us (p. 15), also ran deep in the National Socialist vision. His book, based on extensive research in German archives, starts from Hitler's determination to solve the expected wartime food shortage at the expense of the people living in Germany's future eastern empire.

Kay's focus is on planning rather than implementation, so the book's timeline is the eighteen months from July 1940 to December 1941. In the summer of 1940, British resistance hardened. Fearing that a protracted war had already begun, Hitler contemplated the invasion of the Soviet Union. Germany was already experiencing food shortages at home and there was belt-tightening and grumbling (p. 49). The conquests of 1939 and 1940, if anything, had worsened the food deficit of the region under German control (p. 123). The invasion was launched in June 1941 before plans were complete, so planning and implementation overlapped briefly. Kay tells a little of what actually happened next, but his primary focus is on the plans themselves.

What were the plans? Kay answers that, in the spring of 1941, Hitler's staff designed an occupation regime for the western region of the USSR that would ensure the food supply of Germany. This endeavor would involve sealing Soviet food consumers (particularly in the cities of the industrialized north) off from the food producers (particularly in Ukraine). The supplies on which the former depended in order to live would be diverted to the Germany Army. The inevitable consequence would be death by starvation for tens of millions of Soviet citizens, perhaps as many as thirty million (p. 163). This plan was developed alongside the better-known preparations for political restructuring of the East through racially selective mass killing and resettlement. Yet the starvation policy was elaborated more rapidly and was at a relatively advanced stage of design before implementation began (p. 53).

The starvation plan is not a complete surprise, since some of the key documents (p. 133) were described more than forty years ago, for example by Alexander Dallin. In *German Rule in Russia, 1941–1945* (1957), Dallin identified the plan's proponents as the officials of the Four-Year Plan and other "economic agencies," and in particular Herbert Backe, state secretary in the ministry of food and agriculture; so does Kay. The structure of the earlier version differs, however. Dallin portrayed Nazi politics as "the product of a continual tug-of-war between feuding 'blocs' and 'coalitions' of various elements within the Nazi parallelogram of forces" (Dallin, p. 20). Kay presents a picture of greater coherence. The champions of starvation were more than just one among many competing interest groups; they articulated an overriding objective of Hitler's dictatorship. The starvation plan did more than just resonate conveniently with the Nazi Party's classification of Slavs as an inferior race, which did not dictate mass murder but weakened moral inhibitions against it (Kay, p. 121). Once he had formulated the policy, Backe won the "approval of the highest authorities" (p. 136), i.e., Hitler, Heinrich Himmler, and Hermann Göring, because the plan was entirely in line with their strategic

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vision of German victory. Kay also demonstrates that, where the starvation plan provoked dissent, it was on the pragmatic grounds that it might not succeed (p. 143).

Kay's book is an original, richly detailed, and on the whole readable work. There is more in it than a short review can cover. Although relatively specialized, it has clear importance. Its weakness is a regrettable neglect of previous scholarship, for example by Dallin (mentioned once), and Alan S. Milward (completely ignored). The fact that these scholars concentrated on outcomes does not mean that they did not consider plans. The true originality of Kay's work lies in reinterpretation as well as in archival evidence, but readers must work these contributions out for themselves.

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SYLVIA TASCHKA. *Diplomat ohne Eigenschaften? Die Karriere des Hans Heinrich Dieckhoff (1884–1952)*. (Transatlantische Historische Studien, number 25.) Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag. 2006. Pp. 289. €45.00.

"This nation has meanwhile gained strength . . . and a conflict with this country would therefore be a very serious matter for us." Thus wrote Hans Heinrich Dieckhoff, the last German ambassador to the United States before World War II and brother-in-law of future foreign minister Joachim von Ribbentrop, in December 1937 to warn his government of the risks ensuant upon war with the United States. Appointed that year, Dieckhoff tried to improve Nazi Germany's souring diplomatic relations with the United States. Four years later, his efforts came to naught.

Borrowing its title from Robert Musil's novel, *The Man without Qualities*, Sylvia Taschka's intriguing biography of Dieckhoff does not present an extraordinary person of his time. Dieckhoff's life took the predictable path of a career diplomat. Part one of Taschka's biography portrays the young diplomat in the context of the Treaty of Versailles, while the next looks at his appointments dating from 1923 in Great Britain and the United States. Here we encounter a man torn between loyalty to Germany and his criticism of the German government. Dieckhoff opposed the appointment of Field Marshal Paul von Hindenburg as president of the Weimar Republic, because Hindenburg seemed to embody precisely the nationalist-militarist Germany that Americans had come to loathe during World War I. The next two parts of the book analyze Dieckhoff's political career after 1930: chapter three retraces his work as Ministerialdirektor for Anglo-Saxon affairs between 1930 and 1936; chapter four focuses on his appointment and work as ambassador to Washington (1937–1938) and Madrid (1943–1944). Although Dieckhoff initially shared European stereotypes about U.S. culture and society, he developed a profound affinity for the country's informal politics, habits, and attire. Such admiration served him well among U.S. elites: as Adolf Hitler's ambassador, he charmed even the most resistant critics in governmental circles. "No matter what Washington thinks of Nazi politics," the *Washington Post* stated after the Anschluss in 1938, "everybody likes Dieckhoff" (p. 167). Yet his efforts to soothe German-American tensions on both sides of the Atlantic completely failed. While the U.S. press emphasized the paramilitary character of the Third Reich, Hitler and his entourage ignored Dieckhoff's warning regarding the disastrous impact of Nazi domestic and foreign policies. The final chapter summarizes Dieckhoff's life after 1945, when he continued to comment on foreign affairs while nurturing an increasingly Christian and liberal political Weltanschauung.

One of the book's most intriguing passages concerns Dieckhoff's relation to fascism. As Taschka convincingly shows, he rejected National Socialist racial and nationalist ideology before 1933, ideologically supported the Weimar Republic, and even contemplated voting for the Social Democrats to prevent the rise of Hitler. He did not join the National Socialist Party until May 1941. Why, then, did Dieckhoff serve in Hitler's government? Why did he try to improve German-American relations? One of his predecessors in Washington, Ambassador Friedrich von Prittwitz und Gaffron, immediately resigned from his position after the Nazis came to power. Was Dieckhoff indeed a "diplomat without qualities"?

Like many Germans, Dieckhoff supported the system to the end despite the fact that he did not believe in it. Although he abhorred Nazi domestic policies, he remained convinced that an alliance with the United States remained the best option for his country. Diplomatic reasoning surpassed political conviction. Besides, he was unwilling to yield his political career to moral reservations. Dieckhoff, Taschka argues, was not a conservative anti-democratic civil servant bent on preserving prestige, status, and Weltanschauung. He was not a man without qualities, neither an accomplice nor a nominal member of the Third Reich.

Instead, Dieckhoff was a top-level *Mitträger* (co-supporter) with a laundry list of conflicting attributes, including Christian humanity and a sound sense of honor, liberalism, patriotism, opportunism, and antisemitism, a penchant for Western democratic ideas, and a profound admiration for Otto von Bismarck. Given his political convictions, he would have made a better fit for a member of the resistance than those national conservative diplomats who plotted to assassinate Hitler in July 1944. But Dieckhoff represented a typical example of what Thomas Mann described as the inability of German humanism to develop a political element: he lacked the ability to put ethics and self-criticism above *raison d'état*. In this regard, the ambassador is an apt illustration of German diplomacy and society before and during the Third Reich.

Well conceptualized, minutely researched, provocatively argued, and superbly written, this book deserves praise and is a must for anyone interested in the history

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of Germany and German-American relations between 1918 and 1945.

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FRANK BIESS. *Homecomings: Returning POWs and the Legacies of Defeat in Postwar Germany*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 2006. Pp. xiii, 367. $35.00.

The return of German soldiers from captivity in the aftermath of World War II exemplifies, as Frank Biess argues in his impressive study, the moral, social, and political challenges of confronting legacies of war and defeat. The empirical focus of the book is the "homecoming" of the more than two million prisoners of war from the Soviet Union and, more specifically, the reception of these "returnees," as they were called, in what became East and West Germany. Biess resolves the problem of dual-track, East-West explorations by positing the commonality of wartime experience and distinguishing strategies of dealing with them. It turns out that even these strategies were similar. He is mainly interested in the cultural representation of returning POWs but pays tribute to the social and political efforts toward integrating and, in the process, excluding returning soldiers. The story begins with the Battle of Stalingrad (1942–1943) and comes to an end with the arrival of some 9,000 POWs and another 3,000 civilian internees in 1955. The latter effectively ended the "postwar" period.

The most thoroughly researched and well-argued strand of the book is the formation of collective or, perhaps more appropriately, public forms of memory. Above all, Biess demonstrates that the public imaginaries concerning POWs and their return held the key to remembering war and defeat in the years after the war. It is not just that so many German men and, as it turns out, a considerable number of women ended up in Soviet captivity. Rather, captivity was also the central trope that Germans used in order to talk about war and defeat. It is worthwhile to hold onto this insight.

Biess's observation buttresses a line of thought that is most fully developed in the first and seventh chapter of the book. While the Nazi propaganda machine extolled the virtues of war to death, the concern for POWs crystallized a culture or, perhaps more appropriately, a persistent rumor of survival—even in Soviet captivity. POWs demonstrated the possibility of life after war and of survival after defeat, and thus rumors about POWs surviving in captivity, stoked not least by Soviet propaganda, drove a wedge between Nazis and the population. This train of thought is taken up again in what struck me as the most tantalizing and certainly the most original chapter on the postwar cult of POWs and MIAs. The idea of survival in captivity came to haunt Germans after the war. Because the Nazis had booked over one million losses on the eastern front as POWs and MIAs, the fervent hope and expectation of postwar Germans was that, somehow, they had survived long after it was evident that the fictitious million in captivity were dead. Given the power of imagination it is equally intriguing that this fantasy began to disappear in the mid-1950s with the consolidation of the two German states and the growing sense, interrupted by Cold War panics, that Germans would be secure. There is no long-term German cult of the POW/MIA.

This enticing argument about defeat and survival is overgrown by another one about the conversion of early postwar narratives of guilt and responsibility for Nazi crimes into public memories of suffering and victimization. It is worth noting that there was, if not a sense of guilt, a widespread knowledge of wartime crimes. However, it was quite literally overwritten by rhetoric and an imaginary of German victimization, in which POWs—Germans behind barbed wire—became the quintessential victims, on par with concentration camp inmates. This fantastic exchange not only equaled the score. More intriguingly, it made POWs the exemplary "victims" (*Opfer*) for the survival of the German nation and the atonement for past evil (which was seen less as a matter of personal responsibility for crimes than as deviating from righteousness). The churches especially championed the idea—but, as Biess shows, so did Social Democrats and Communists. Captivity was purgatory on the way to German redemption. Heroic suffering would cleanse not only soldiers from their past, but also Germans from their association with Nazi crimes. POWs returned from captivity "as noble survivors" (p. 102).

There is some skepticism in order as to the pervasiveness of victimization as a German imagination. I am rather with Biess on this issue, mainly because he has uncovered the extraordinary power of myth-making in wartime and postwar German society. The problem is elsewhere and is captured in the altogether less successful effort to demonstrate the integration of POWs into the newly emerging civil societies of East and West. The focus is on making captives into men (reconstructing masculinities) and making soldiers into citizens. Again, the rhetoric and imagination are impressive, but the salient issue is the gap between myth-making and reality that threatens to undermine the main thrust of the argument. This is not a matter of the physical and psychological damage done by fighting and surviving that Biess explores in a chapter on "trauma"—a term that needs a lot more unpacking. Rather, it appears that a majority of returnees and other Germans cared a lot more for staking out claims for survival than for structures of meaning, for improvements in their life more than for redemptive memories. If Germans escaped the clutches of Nazi cult propaganda, the postwar public efforts of redemptive memorialization might have washed over them as well. Ultimately, Biess points to the withdrawal into family life as the main strategy for coping with war and death. But as he shows, private life was thoroughly disturbed by the effects of war—divorce rates were skyrocketing in 1948—which makes one wonder how Germans did learn to rebuild their private

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lives—and if indeed they did as the churches and secular advertisement would have liked.

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MICHAEL S. BRYANT. *Confronting the "Good Death": Nazi Euthanasia on Trial, 1945–1953*. Boulder: University Press of Colorado. 2005. Pp. x, 269. $34.95.

While historians have used the evidence from postwar trials to reconstruct Nazi euthanasia, this helpful study shifts the emphasis to the trials themselves. First, though, one ought to review the history of what is somewhat idiosyncratically called "National Socialist" euthanasia as a background to analyzing the trials.

As much of the history of euthanasia is based on courtroom testimony and prosecutors' evidence, the value of the book is to alert historians to be cautious about possible biases. Michael S. Bryant helpfully explains how the estimated number of 5,000 euthanized children was based on a figure proposed by the Frankfurt prosecutor's office in 1962. Bryant indicates some of the complexity, as well as the inextricable link between euthanasia and the Holocaust. There follows a judicious analysis of successive phases of euthanasia trials. Bryant considers first the United States trials until 1947, beginning with the Hadamar Trial. He is alert to assumptions made by military lawyers at the time, and he points out how illusory the prosecutors' picture was. Another wrong assumption made by the prosecutors concerned the presumed legality of Nazi euthanasia. Karl Brandt and Viktor Brack are taken as key figures at the Doctors' Trial. Here, mention might have been made how the Czech émigré prosecutor on the U.S. team, Arnost Horlick-Hochwald, mounted a highly competent case concerning euthanasia. Disappointingly, the author makes no use of either prosecuting or defence lawyers' papers, instead relying mainly on interrogations and trial transcripts.

Bryant then turns to different phases of the German-conducted trials, when distinctive German legal interest in individual culpability replaced the American interest in conspiracy. The book recounts a series of minor prosecutions, such as that of nurses tried by the state court in Berlin (the occupying zone is not made clear) in 1946, when a death sentence was imposed, and by a Frankfurt court in December 1946, again resulting in death sentences. Bryant interestingly points out that the status of nurses was reduced from perpetrators to accomplices. He leads the reader through several cases in which the rationales of the prosecution and the distinction between perpetrator and accomplice are given prominence.

Here, the study crosses zonal frontiers, although Bryant stresses that these were German courts rather than ones under Allied supervision. The book emphasizes the softening of U.S. and West German attitudes toward Nazi euthanasia through the 1950s, bearing out how war crimes prosecutions were indicative of postwar politics. Ideally, one would write an account of euthanasia prosecutions and investigations in the four zones of occupation in both Germanys, in Austria, and in former occupied countries, notably Poland and the Soviet Union. Such scope would be a topic of considerable complexity, but further comparison is needed. Yet Bryant's study of euthanasia on trial will remain a significant account of what is a crucial part of this broader picture.

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HARALD WELZER, editor. *Der Krieg der Erinnerung: Holocaust, Kollaboration und Widerstand im europäischen Gedachtnis*. Assisted by CHRISTIAN GUDEHUS. (Die Zeit des Nationalsozialismus.) Frankfurt a.M.: Fischer Taschenbuch Verlag. 2007. Pp. 292. €10.95.

In 2002, an edited volume appeared in Germany that examined the way the Nazi past was remembered by different generations of Germans. The title of the book was *Opa war kein Nazi* (*Grandpa Was Not a Nazi*). Edited among others by the director of the Center for Interdisciplinary Memory Research in Essen, Harald Welzer, it revealed an astonishing discrepancy between private and public memory in Germany. While the official view of the Nazi period promoted in Germany's public culture is, generally speaking, critical of the conduct of Germans during the Third Reich, in private family discourse, it seems, there is a tendency among the children and grandchildren of those who lived through the Third Reich to imagine the latter as untainted by Nazism, as victims, or even as resistance heroes—so much so, in fact, that a kind of "cumulative heroization" has taken place over the generations since 1945. Welzer and his research group, having pioneered research into the way stories about the past are passed down through generations in the German case, have extended their research to produce a new volume investigating memory of World War II across a range of European countries. This volume examines generational and intergenerational memory in Norway, Denmark, Holland, Croatia, and Serbia. The work also includes a chapter on memory of World War II in Switzerland, although the research in this case would seem to have been based on more heterogeneous group interviews.

In contrast to Germany, according to the authors there has been little "cumulative heroization" in the countries analyzed in this volume, countries with very different experiences of World War II (Switzerland was neutral, Croatia in the grips of fascist rule, and Holland occupied). In fact, the authors attest to a gradual disintegration of what they term the national "*Basiserzählungen*" (foundational narratives) according to which, for example, the Dutch, Serbians, and Norwegians had been united in their resistance to Nazism. It is generally the case that degrees of collaboration with Nazism are now acknowledged. Nevertheless, this collection identifies a trend toward what is termed "idealization," whereby World War II is understood to have provided examples of individual humanity and tolerance that can

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have exemplary character in the present. Increasingly, too, Nazi inhumanity is regarded as one example of universal evil alongside others, a view not conducive to an appreciation of the specific responsibility of those involved in committing this inhumanity or the specific conditions of its execution.

But the volume presents more alarming findings. In her contribution on Norway, Claudia Lenz argues that the issue of Norwegian involvement in the deportation of Norwegian Jews is still not being addressed in private memory; indeed Jews are still regarded as "the other." At the same time, Norwegians are increasingly tending to a conciliatory attitude toward the German occupiers. Lars Breuer and Isabella Matauschek make a similar point in their discussion of Denmark; Danes are seen as not complicit in antisemitism, while German soldiers are regarded as victims of social conditions and propaganda. When Olaf Jensen and Sabine Moller showed photographs of World War II to generational groups in Germany, Norway, Denmark, and Holland, they elicited similar responses, including a conciliatory attitude toward Nazi perpetrators enhanced by a universalized understanding of evil and patterns of antisemitism. In her chapter on Switzerland, Nicole Burgermeister shows that, while Switzerland has been rocked by recent allegations of Swiss involvement in aspects of the Holocaust, antisemitism is still present among some members of the population.

Of concern, too, are the findings of Natalija Bašić in her chapter on Croatia and Serbia. Both of these countries, of course, have experienced a much more recent war, and they have experienced several changes of regime since the 1930s. Accordingly, there is a tendency particularly among younger generations to accord exemplary status to those who, in the past, were opportunistically able to adapt to changed circumstances. Morality is no longer the issue but rather pragmatism. In their discussion of generational memory in Holland, Hans Marks and Friederike Pfannkuche show that, while younger generations have taken leave of the idea that everyone in Holland resisted the Nazi occupation, they also seem to subscribe to the notion that such resistance could not really have been expected. Some degree of survivalist adaptation is seen as acceptable.

This is a well-written and interesting volume, based on sound methodological principles (outlined by Olaf Jensen). But overall it makes for depressing reading. Memory of the Holocaust may now be universal, but so too, perhaps, is the view that forms of accommodation other than active collaboration with a racist and tyrannical regime do not constitute grounds for moral criticism of the wartime generations.

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ANTHONY D. KAUDERS. *Unmögliche Heimat: Eine deutsch-jüdische Geschichte der Bundesrepublik*. Munich: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt. 2007. Pp. 300. €22.95.

How was it possible, even conceivable, that a Jewish community could take root in "the Country of its Murderers?" (p. 9). Numerous factors vitiated against a critical mass of Jews settling in Germany after the Holocaust, yet several thousand Jewish Displaced Persons (DPs) arrived in Germany soon after the Nazi surrender, and a stable German Jewish community exists in the twenty-first century. Due to this seeming incongruity, Jews in post-World War II Germany have received increasing attention from scholars such as Y. Michal Bodemann, Ze'ev Mankowitz, Dan Diner, Sander L. Gilman, Jack Zipes, Jeffrey M. Peck, Jay Howard Geller, Atina Grossmann, Leslie Morris, Anson Rabinbach, Michael Geyer, Miriam Hansen, and Michael Brenner. Anthony D. Kauder's contribution to this scholarship is a perceptive survey of the small but conspicuous community of Jewish survivors in the Federal Republic of Germany.

Six chapters, focusing on guilt, money, Israel, democracy, the Jewish religious community, and the future, problematize and historicize these themes. Kauders explains how they informed tensions within the German Jewish community itself, and (to varying degrees) how they influenced that community's relations with German authorities, the non-Jewish German public, European society at large, organized diaspora Jewry, and the State of Israel. The chapter on guilt first addresses the problem: how could Jews exist, by their own volition, in post-Holocaust Germany? What was the German government's responsibility toward the surviving victims of attempted genocide and their descendants? The guilt issue, however, is even more layered and divisive. Kauders reveals that Jewish officials beyond Germany often derided German Jews as "disgraceful" for staying in the country. In some sense ironically, modern Israel helped to give German Jews one of the strongest elements of their collective identity: they imagined themselves as the most ardent guardians of Israel in the diaspora.

The role of money is also complex and contradictory. Certainly most Jews who elected to live in Germany did so because they were able to earn a decent living there. A few became rich, while many eventually entered the middle classes. Yet the funds that came to Jews as part of *Wiedergutmachung* (roughly, atoning or making good for the sins of the past) contributed substantially to the persistence of Jews in the country. Confronting an issue that often proves difficult for historians to handle, Kauders argues that money was an overriding concern for many Jews, yet it also overdetermined non-Jews' perceptions. Wealth as a symbol of security was paramount to German Jews, as it was for many survivors. Yet an apparent obsession with money also fueled the view of Jews outside of Germany that Germany's Jews were always grasping after handouts and incessantly emphasizing their victim status. Well-publicized scandals involving Philip Auerbach and Werner Nachmann exacerbated such impressions.

Kauders's discussion of democracy is perhaps most fitting to his subtitle. The presence of Jews in the West German body politic was, supposedly, evidence that

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Germans had transcended their Nazi past. Jews, likewise, derived benefits from West Germany as a new beacon of democracy, priding themselves as vital upholders and bellwethers of a new democratic and humanistic consensus. German Jews therefore were regarded as not only a burden but also as a "gift" and fillip to insure the legitimacy of the nation, and to serve as an antidote to any whiff of German intolerance or aggression.

Not surprisingly, the extent to which German Jews were defined and defined themselves through Zionism and identification with Israel was central to German Jewish discourses. This became more subdued later in the story when emigrants from the former Soviet Union radically altered the composition of German Jewry. Kauders offers an excellent analysis of this turn, emphasizing the importance of the decision to emigrate as "individual" rather than communal.

As much as this is a convincing and cogent portrait, some dimensions of German Jewish history seem to be underestimated. Greater attention might have been paid to the legacy of the DP community, as explored by Grossmann, Mankowitz, and others. In addition to detailing politics per se, the author also might have followed more closely the cultural figures among German Jews, such as Marcel Reich-Ranicki, Michel Friedman, Henryk Broder, W. Michael Blumenthal, Michael Brenner, and Berndt Josef Wulf. The reception of American Jewish culture surely had repercussions, as well, for the history of Germany's Jews. These reservations aside, Kauders has produced a highly commendable study probing the enigma of what a living community of "German Jews" means to post-National Socialist Germany, and what Germany means to its post-Holocaust generations of Jews.

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CHRISTINA VON HODENBERG. *Konsens und Krise: Eine Geschichte der westdeutschen Medienoffentlichkeit 1945–1973*. (Moderne Zeit; Neue Forschungen zur Gesellschafts- und Kulturgeschichte des 19. und 20. Jahrhunderts, number 12.) Gottingen: Wallstein. 2006. Pp. 512. €46.00.

The cultural history of West Germany and the history of the media are two of the most dynamic fields of recent German historiography. Combining the two strands of research, however, is not simply an expression of the latest trends. It touches on the neuralgic points of contemporary German history: the success of democratization, coming to terms with the Nazi past, and the extent and role of westernization. Thus, Christina von Hodenberg's history of German mass media and the public sphere between 1945 and 1973 is highly relevant.

With good reasons, von Hodenberg starts off with intellectual concepts of the public sphere, as *Öffentlichkeit* was not only a key term in intellectual debates during the early years of Konrad Adenauer's postwar Germany but also serves as an analytical tool for the author (although the distinction between the two usages is not always quite clear). Von Hodenberg demonstrates how strongly elitist concepts drawing directly and indirectly on Carl Schmitt—although often as a focal point of criticism—still dominated the discussion. Only in the late 1950s would more open and democratic models of public discussion gain ground.

Von Hodenberg sees a new cohort of journalists as the driving force behind this process: the "45ers," born in the 1920s and early 1930s. These disillusioned survivors of the war profited immensely from the Allies, in particular the American attempts to rebuild German journalism from scratch. Almost automatically they filled the many vacant positions in the newly established newspapers and broadcasting stations, as only few older journalists met the standards of denazification. Moreover, as von Hodenberg shows, the 45ers profited from the Allied attempts to dispose of what they perceived to be the two main problems of German journalism: lacking independence from the state on the one hand and the mixing up of news and opinion on the other. Trained in specially designed American and British programs, the 45ers helped to establish both new values and methods in journalism.

Von Hodenberg regards the conflict between this new style and the traditions of the older journalists, pouring back into the profession after 1947, as even more decisive than diverging political convictions. Starting with the 1950s, the 45ers had ample opportunity to prove their newly acquired skills. Von Hodenberg shows very convincingly to what a disturbing extent Adenauer implemented authoritarian instruments in influencing the press. While a consensus-based journalism was widely accepted from the late 1950s onward, the new generation increasingly left their mark on public discourse and journalistic practice. Major instruments of change were public affairs and scandals, which effectively helped to dissolve the symbiosis of government and journalism. In addressing these topics, the younger journalists supported the battle cry of *Zeitkritik*, a critical stance toward established norms. Von Hodenberg, however, makes the convincing point that public criticism was often used to make one's name and thus to build a career. A significant number of the young journalists who seized the window of opportunity that opened up between 1945 and 1947 relied on these patterns to become leading names in West German journalism for the decades to follow. This view is also supported by the fact that criticism was regularly voiced in the semi-public broadcasting services and not in newspapers fighting for their share of the market, a circumstance that has often been regarded as the reason for a more aggressive journalism.

In her extensive discussions of smaller and bigger scandals, von Hodenberg shows that the famous *Spiegel* Affair, the attempt by the government to silence the critical journal by imprisoning its editor, has to be seen in this broader context and against the background of a number of earlier affairs. This also implies—and it is

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an important goal of the book—putting the changes brought about by the 1968 generation into perspective. Von Hodenberg stresses continuity rather than change here, although she concedes the emergence of much more radical forms of critique than were common before.

Summing up, this study presents exceptionally rich material and tells an intriguing story throughout. Despite numerous new interpretations, however, the overarching narrative remains surprisingly conventional and linear. Von Hodenberg's purported constant rise of ever more critical and "Western" journalists leaves some questions unanswered. While it is von Hodenberg's strength to focus her story on persons rather than the history of ideas, this decision also limits her narrative to some extent, as the concept of generation seems somewhat overstretched in attributing an all-decisive role to the 45ers. One also wonders where the critical traditions of Germany before 1933 fit into von Hodenberg's picture. Moreover, there remain some doubts as to whether the traditionally strong nexus between the media and the state really disappeared in the late 1960s and early 1970s. The fact that after some forty-five years the *Spiegel* Affair still serves as the major reference point for Germany's critical journalism casts some doubt on von Hodenberg's optimistic assessment. But these are minor criticisms. Von Hodenberg sets the standard and provides the foundation for answering these questions in future studies.

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Jose Raymund Canoy. *The Discreet Charm of the Police State: The* Landpolizei *and the Transformation of Bavaria 1945–1965*. (Studies in Central European Histories, number 41.) Boston: Brill. 2007. Pp. xii, 333. $129.00.

The representative of the modern bureaucratic state in any given German village was the local police officer. Jose Raymund Canoy studies the State Police (Landpolizei) in the sole-surviving "historical" state in postwar Germany, Bavaria, during the crucial transition period from the Battle of Stalingrad to the collapse of the Grand Coalition (pp. 209–210, 232). He explains how they were able to revive a tradition of "authoritarian policing" (p. 4) despite the decentralizing, anti-authoritarian inclinations of a United States intent on uprooting Nazism. Informed by the cultural history of everyday life, Canoy makes creative use of archival sources to tell an ironic tale about a classic tradition of policing that found creative ways to survive rapidly changing regimes and conditions.

The local Bavarian police officer did not restrict his duties solely to those of the night watchman: that is, fighting crime, preserving public safety, and executing judicial instructions. He actively monitored—and reported on—the habits, behaviors, movements, and even the political "mood" (*Stimmungsberichte*, p. 204) of non-criminal citizens. This officer's intimate knowledge was made possible by the fact that he lived in the village he monitored, interacted with citizens on his beat, and solicited reports from informants. He directly administered many of the routines of everyday life such as identifying citizens, registering residents, issuing permits, managing welfare services, and authorizing assemblies. Under the Nazis the local police were "coordinated" into centralized public security organizations that operated beyond civilian bureaucratic control. Already in the 1920s, however, this paramilitary, barracked police force had not been subordinated to the authority of the local mayor. Rather it defended the Bavarian state against internal enemies as a centralized but politically independent political player. The State Police became one cornerstone of the paternalistic Bavarian "Order State" (p. 46): sovereign over the public sphere, ostensibly above politics, and bearing a comprehensive claim to ordering daily life.

To Canoy, the persistent institutional independence of the police was caused by apolitical, situational factors. A political survivor, Michael Freiherr von Godin built an empire for himself in the Landpolizei by translating this earlier authoritarian tradition into postwar democratic language for an American occupier with sketchy knowledge of that history. Godin also exaggerated his credentials as a resistance fighter and used his connections with other exiled powerbrokers to make himself indispensable. Playing the Americans off the Bavarian interior minister, Godin did as earlier police chiefs had done before him. He used a series of crises—in public safety, reconstruction, displaced persons, and even "cultural incursions" from the Soviet Zone (p. 226)—to stretch the ambiguities in the law. This strategy enabled him to negotiate institutional independence for the police as a "state within a state" that coexisted ambiguously within a quasi-constitutional system (pp. 290, 300). By the 1950s, however, some commentators recognized that their traditional assumptions were outdated, particularly when confronting the new youth cultures – a fascinating reversal of attitude. They abandoned their neo-authoritarianism rather quickly once compelled by the "deprovincialization" of rural Bavaria (p. 263). The neighborhood police officer could no longer do his job effectively once intimate agrarian villages dissolved into geographically mobile bedroom communities of anonymous commuters and tourists. From 1954 to 1962, the Landpolizei centralized stations in towns, issued cars and radios, and unceremoniously abandoned their attachment to direct administration of the non-criminal citizenry. In effect, the police responded to the structural modernization of the Bavarian countryside by making themselves more anonymous, mobile, cost effective, efficient, and technocratic.

Canoy has perhaps too readily accepted the long-standing myths of a German police force nominally "above politics." Operationally it leaned heavily to the Right. Canoy admits that the postwar Landpolizei engaged in intrusive search and arrest without legal war-

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rants, not to mention large-scale razzias; they used "ethnic" categories to blame criminality on "foreigners"; and they engaged in conservative cultural politics. In the Adenauer era of "No Experiments" (pp. 181, 208), Godin actually expanded the scope of their administrative responsibilities to governing prices, inspecting food, supervising health, and policing waterways. Canoy often seems surprised (p. 128) when he discovers continuities in conservative policy making and attitudes transmitted by survivors like Godin through shared experiences, popular expectations, and an institutional culture (pp. 72, 118, 178, 195, 199, 234, 294, 301). I cannot help but suspect that this tacit conservatism meshed well with the Landpolizei's authoritarian solutions to the pragmatic challenges facing them in everyday life. That said, this book is clearly written, first-rate scholarship. Canoy's first chapter could be assigned to any undergraduate as a precise, concise, and elegant summary of policing in Germany from 1815 to 1945. Indeed this study is most insightful in revealing how the Germans helped shape their postwar order: by skillfully manipulating the contradictions inherent in the transition first to democracy and then into a post-agricultural consumer society (pp. 152, 166).

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DONNA HARSCH. *Revenge of the Domestic: Women, the Family, and Communism in the German Democratic Republic*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 2007. Pp. xvi, 350. $35.00.

Donna Harsch has written a terrific book, the focus of which is the often confrontational relationship between East German women and the German Democratic Republic (GDR) from the immediate postwar years to the 1970s. Utilizing a wealth of sources including state documents, local reports, statistical records, personal papers, citizens' letters of complaint, and recent interviews, Harsch presents a rich history of gender relations and of the many ways in which gender shaped policies, politics, and society in East Germany. Harsch's argument is that East German women's sometimes quiet, sometimes loud, but always constant pressure on the Socialist Unity Party (SED) to make good on its rhetoric of social and political equality, to redirect its productivist focus, and to redesign its policies to elevate "the domestic" gradually forced the transition from a productivist dictatorship to a welfare dictatorship. By the 1970s, Harsch asserts, "the 'social' emerged as a key category of state policy" and of state expenditure (p. 10). In all sorts of tangible ways, the state was forced by this pressure "from below" to address domestic concerns (i.e., family, consumption, reproduction, working conditions, child care, and private desires) and to concede to the power of the domestic.

Although the book's subtitle suggests otherwise, Harsch's chronological and scholarly emphasis is on the period 1949–1961, from the establishment of the GDR in October 1949 to the construction of the Berlin Wall in August 1961. While the first chapter covers the chaotic years 1945–1949, the succeeding five chapters explore in great detail state policy vis-à-vis women in the period 1949–1961. Each of these chapters is dedicated to one aspect of policy: women's political roles, participation, and responses to particular party policies; women workers and production; reproduction, population policy, and motherhood; taste and consumption; and family relations. The seventh chapter examines the years 1961–1971, and a very short conclusion surveys the 1970s and 1980s.

Harsch argues repeatedly that women's confrontational relationship with the state—their persistent pressure "from below," their resistance to state plans that neglected the family, and their insistence that state agendas and policies fully address and support domestic concerns and desires—had a cumulative effect. This "revenge of the domestic," Harsch concludes, "contributed mightily" to the collapse of Communism in the GDR (p. 10). While it is clear that women were crucial and ultimately successful in forcing the state toward "the domestic" in terms of its strategies and policies, this argument seems to be somewhat of a stretch, especially given the very limited material presented on the 1970s and 1980s. Moreover, particularly in the book's introduction and sometimes in its conclusion, Harsch presents women and communists as two distinct, polarized groups (see, for example, pp. 1, 2, 3, 4, 310). Yet, she often uses as source material various reports that were written primarily by female party, state, and union officials (p. 17). And, as her work reveals, even those women not serving in some official capacity did work closely at times with official communist organizations. These small criticisms, however, should not detract from the many valuable aspects of her fine study.

Throughout her book, Harsch uses gender as the primary lens through which she views, analyzes, and deftly intertwines aspects of culture, politics, consumption, class, and society in East Germany. The result is a richly detailed, nuanced story of the early decades of the GDR. Additionally, she illuminates the importance of "ordinary women" in that history, as well as the key role women played as agents of change (p. 319). Slowly and sometimes grudgingly, the GDR moved from a productivist agenda to one that not only acknowledged "the domestic," but expended both funds and effort in recognition of the power and significance of the domestic.

IRENE GUENTHER
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ROGER KARAPIN. *Protest Politics in Germany: Movements on the Left and Right since the 1960s*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press. 2007. Pp. xiv, 318. $55.00.

In this anniversary year of 1968, when conferences, articles, reminiscences, and books on 1960s protest abound, Roger Karapin's interesting and well-written

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book refreshingly takes the period immediately after the 1960s as its starting point. Karapin's book has the additional interest of providing a unique comparison between protest movements by the Right and Left from the 1970s to the 1990s. As such, it represents a useful addition to the burgeoning literature on postwar protest movements in general and postwar West Germany in particular.

Unfortunately the assumptions that position the focus of the research and, in turn, the conclusions reached, fail to convince entirely. These assumptions are set out clearly, if all too briefly, from the start, with the first paragraph making the claim that the book "is an attempt to rebut certain structural theories of protest, those that focus on social structures, socioeconomic change, and political institutions" (p. xi). This artificial division between what Karapin calls "interactive" processes and structural forces skews the focus of the book throughout and leads to a frustrating approach that gives the occasional nod of acknowledgement to the validity of considering structural issues and then presses on as though "interactive" processes can be hermetically sealed from the distracting influence of wider factors. This approach finds expression in a partial and indirect engagement with the secondary literature so that, while trends in the literature are implied, the content of that literature is never discussed directly. The author seems to be in too much of a hurry to gloss over the arguments and evidence provided by other authors in favor of promoting the primacy of human agency as an explanatory factor. The resulting haste in dismissing other approaches has the effect of introducing assumptions that do not appear to add up, creating a limited approach that does not do justice to complex phenomena while demonstrating a lack of awareness of wider literature and approaches that is at times dismaying.

For instance, Karapin writes that in surveying the literature he "was drawn consistently into a debate with structural explanations, which I found in theories of new politics, new social movements, political opportunity structures (the static variant), and ethnic competition" (p. xii). All very interesting, but the entire discipline of History, among others, is strikingly missing from this list, and a wide variety of work by political scientists, historians, and others is inexplicably absent. Where is the work of Roger Woods on Germany's far Right? Why are Martin Klimke and Holger Nehring absent from the discussion? Why is only one work each by Wolfgang Kraushaar and Ingrid Gilcher-Holtey listed in the bibliography, and why isn't their work engaged with directly and critically? Why has the excellent and stimulating research on the Social Democratic Party of Germany (SPD) by Dianne L. Parness been completely ignored? It is difficult to see how a detailed consideration of such varied and relevant literature would have harmed Karapin's work, other than to force a more rounded approach.

Examples of the impact of Karapin's problematic assumptions upon the approach taken are too numerous to catalogue here, but one small instance will suffice. Protests tend to be viewed in crude terms, so that there is no sense of who protesters were, what divisions existed among them, and from what political or social backgrounds they came. Their voices are absent for much of the time, so the discussion gives a sense of faceless groups rather than real people with names, and this is surprising in a book that claims to give primacy to human agency. This absence matters because Karapin argues at the start of the book that protests in Berlin-Kreuzberg took place in "a working class neighborhood rather than a more postmaterial setting, the issues were largely material . . . and nonviolent protests were intermingled with threats of violence by protesters as well as police." As a result, Karapin insists that "these features pointed me toward political rather than socioeconomic causes of protest" (p. 3). Yet is it enough to conclude that, because protests took place in working class areas, then postmaterial values are not worth considering? What if protests were led by middle-class interlopers, as Karapin briefly notes later (pp. 70, 79)? Such complications do not fit the model and so are not explored.

Perhaps the most frustrating point is that the many aspects of the book of which the author can be justly proud—notably some wonderful research on protest campaigns, insightful comments on their development, and a useful synthesis of ideas on how protest movements interact with other agencies—are too often subordinated to a desire to pursue a thesis on political interactions at all costs, when often this is a distraction.

NICK THOMAS
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PAUL D. MCLEAN. *The Art of the Network: Strategic Interaction and Patronage in Renaissance Florence*. (Politics, History, and Culture.) Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 2007. Pp. xv, 288. Cloth $79.95, paper $22.95.

Historians have been interested in the role of personal patronage in shaping essential structures and functions of the society of Renaissance Florence for more than forty years now. However, in the last decade a group of political scientists and sociologists led by John F. Padgett and including Paul D. McLean has devoted more energy and resources than historians ever have to studying Florentine social networks.

Recognizing that Florentine patronage letters constitute "a corpus of patterned discourse" (p. 35) offering "opportunities for *both* strategic interaction *and* the achievement of constitutive identities" (p. xii), McLean makes brilliant and novel use of Erving Goffman's model of frame analysis to evaluate the rhetorical strategies employed by Renaissance writers to frame their negotiations and construct their identities in relation to a patron and his network.

McLean's study of the material and the process is the most systematic ever undertaken, and for patronage letter junkies like myself it makes compulsive reading. Beginning with the witty and genial conceit of writing his

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preface as a letter of recommendation from the author to his audience, McLean goes on to consider at length many marvelous examples of the genre. His analysis of the letters is subtle, sophisticated, and informed by an admirable command of Florentine historiography, although often he prefers to speculate about the writer's meaning and intention on the basis of sociological theory, rather than illuminating them with crucial and easily establishable information about writer, recipient, or the circumstances in which the letter was written.

Historians can learn much from this book. McLean's discussion of the rhetoric and themes of patronage letters, foregrounding the Florentine concept of honor, its obverse, shame, and other key cultural values such as trust, obligation, and service, especially in office-seeking letters, is of great interest. So too is his critical appreciation of the sociological literature on the principles of networking as a social process, and his vivid description and diagramming of the creation of chains of patronage. The chapter relating patronage to the question of why Florence did not give birth to the modern state, as once claimed, skillfully balances sociological theories and historians' findings to emphasize that the Renaissance state, especially in relation to vital fiscal innovations, was both traditional and modernizing, largely because Florentines' relationship to it "was both adversarial and participatory," since citizens were at once custodians and subjects of the state (pp. 190–191).

McLean's "micro" study is intended to supplement the Padgett team's "macro" study of network ties in Florence; thus different ways of framing patronage letters and changes in the use of key words over time must be quantified. Quantification requires classification, in this case the division of the letters into mutually exclusive types. However, it is impossible to distinguish among letters as principally about assurance, information, office-holding, recommendations, or thanks—let alone the composite category of marriage/friendship/family. In most Florentine patronage letters these themes are intertwined, if often by implication rather than through the use of the "buzz words" McLean identifies.

His attempt to correlate the use of different constructions in letters with cases of "different social distances between sender and recipient" is also highly problematic. McLean concedes that social status is "elusive" but nevertheless tries to measure it by "critical status categories (age cohorts, income brackets, prestige groups) and in different social spaces (neighborhoods, marriage networks, economic networks)" (pp. 90–91). There are far too many variables here, each imposing simple categories upon complex material, to produce any meaningful result, especially when represented with the imprecision of multidimensional scaling tables, which McLean admits he offers only "heuristically" (p. 123).

Truly interdisciplinary work is difficult and rare, and this book is an admirable if not entirely satisfying attempt to apply the insights of sociological theory to a complex body of historical evidence from the remote past. Criticism is almost disarmed by the author's awareness of the problems inherent in this enterprise: for example, his acknowledgment that in view of the small and somewhat arbitrary sample of 1,100 letters among the hundreds of thousands that survive, "we have to settle for a very imperfect empirical study of content" (p. 92), and that it is "difficult to assess the statistical significance of these findings" (p. 94). Only in the final chapter is the modesty of McLean's claims overcome by the agenda announced in the preface: not just to trace the historical antecedents of networking, but to use the Florentine culture of patronage as a test case for illustrating a theory of culture, because Florence, as "a crucible producing modernity" is "a very special case" for history and historical sociology (p. xiii).

Having rejected the Burckhardtian idea that the modern state was created in the Renaissance, McLean clings, despite many reservations, to the related notion that this period saw the emergence of a new, "modern" conception of the self as an autonomous agent. At this point sociological theory triumphs over historical pragmatism, since, as he observes, the kind of self being constructed and presented throughout his book is "rather the contextually variable, relational self" (p. xiii). Nevertheless, McLean searches his sample of patronage letters for a "shift in moral vocabulary" that might reveal "an adjudicating, prudential self there as well." He finds three appearances of the term *sincero*, used classically by Dante to denote the pure and unadulterated, and strives hard to equate *semplicità* and *onestà*, words associated with the primarily public virtues of straightforwardness and uprightness, with the expression of inner sincerity. None of these usages is novel; nor do they seem to justify the claim that "this chapter has documented the emergence of certain practices and certain phrases by means of which Florentines signaled, increasingly over time, that they understood that private selves lay behind public presentations" (p. 222).

However, for historians at least, the value of this book will probably lie not in its conclusions, but in McLean's impressive demonstration of what may be gleaned from a systematic analysis of the processes of patronage and the letters that were the coin of that relationship.

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DAVID D. ROBERTS. *Historicism and Fascism in Modern Italy*. (Toronto Italian Studies.) Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 2007. Pp. vi, 370. Cloth $80.00, paper $35.00.

This is a dense and demanding volume of essays focusing on the polarizing figures of Benedetto Croce and Giovanni Gentile. Before a potential reader rolls her eyes and thinks "been there, done that," it should be noted that David D. Roberts successfully challenges previously held notions concerning these two "mar-

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ginal" figures of twentieth-century European history and thought.

Notice the adjective "European" in the previous sentence, rather than the more expected "Italian." Roberts argues, correctly, that both Croce and Gentile must be rescued from a provincialism (and, in Italy, a reverse provincialism) and placed in a larger European framework of intellectual and cultural history. Although these essays have been previously published (some only in Italian, others in rather inaccessible journals), the volume is a welcome and important addition to Italian and European intellectual history. Considering the state of academic and scholarly publishing, the University of Toronto Press is to be commended for including this book in its strong Italian Studies series.

Roberts is the author of three important works: *The Syndicalist Tradition and Italian Fascism* (1979); *Benedetto Croce and Uses of Historicism* (1987) and *Nothing but History* (1995), a title borrowed from Croce. Many of the arguments he first broached in his earlier books reappear here in modified and revised form. Roberts's juxtaposition of historicism and fascism raises meta-questions about "influence, misrepresentation, and neglect" (p. 4), questions he addresses with authority and an impressive familiarity with a wide range of thinkers.

An introductory essay convincingly argues for a rereading of Croce and Gentile in light of the developments in historiography over the last three or four decades. Croce (1866–1952) was the leading liberal philosopher of his age, widely credited with reintroducing the German idealist tradition into an early twentieth-century Italy saturated with positivism. Originally from Abruzzo, he settled in Naples and enthusiastically embraced a Neapolitan intellectual genealogy stretching back to Bertrando Spaventa (one of the Neapolitan Hegelians), the counter-Enlightenment philosopher Giambattista Vico, and Renaissance humanism. Gentile (1875–1944) was born in Castelvetrano, Sicily, and took his degree at the University of Pisa. An early colleague of Croce's, the two fell out in 1913 (shades of Sigmund Freud and Carl Jung), not, as might be assumed, over fascism, which Gentile supported and Croce eventually came to oppose, but over philosophical matters.

To his credit, Roberts does not simply dismiss Gentile as a fascist hack but takes his ideas seriously. And serious ideas they were. Gentile as philosophical idealist—"one of the most insistent and extreme the Western tradition has known" (p. 107)—argued that the world is best understood "as a continuous act of thought thinking" (p. 121). But for Gentile, this continuous thinking and making of the world could only be collective, hence the necessity of the totalitarian fascist state.

Ironically, in face of the postmodern and linguistic turn of historiography with its subsequent dismissal of figures such as Croce and Gentile, Roberts argues that it was their complete and adamant rejection of any form of transcendence, providence, telos, or natural law tradition and their embrace of a radical immanence and total historicism as a form of radical humanism that prefigured many of the ideas of the second half of the twentieth century. For Gentile, this led to fascism and a position as the de facto philosopher of the regime, minister of education and co-author, with Benito Mussolini, of the "Doctrine of Fascism" that appeared in the 1932 edition of the *Enciclopedia Italiana*. (It also led to his assassination, by antifascist Partisans, in 1944.) For Croce, radical historicism was a liberating force, for as Roberts writes, "what the world becomes depends on our collective response at every moment." This "perpetual incompleteness of the world is a measure of our own freedom, creativity—and responsibility" because we come to realize that "what becomes of the present is up to us" (p. 41). Postmodernism *avant la lettre*. Roberts also rescues Croce and Gentile from the formalist hold of philosophy and philosophers, claiming that he is truer to their ideas by denying any privilege to formal philosophy (p. 46).

This is not only a study of the early collaboration and later conflict between Croce and Gentile. Consistent with Roberts's claim that the two Italians should be reinserted into a larger cultural history, the essays here range far and wide over such historians, philosophers, and theorists as Friedrich Nietzsche and Karl Marx, Hannah Arendt, Richard Rorty, Vilfredo Pareto and Mark Poster, Milan Kundera and Václav Havel. For example, chapter seven, "How Not to Think about Fascism and Ideology, Intellectual Antecedents and Historical Meaning," offers a vigorous critique of Ze'ev Sternhell and A. James Gregor, while chapter eleven, "The Stakes of Misreading," examines how Hayden White and Carlo Ginzburg may have both misread and misinterpreted Croce. The anglophone reader should also note that Roberts approaches the Italian intellectual tradition as an outsider, with all the advantages and disadvantages this might engender: "I can say things that the Italians can't, or won't, or don't, and I find that having done so prompts—no surprise—a varied and not always predictable range of reactions on their part" (p. 36).

My only criticism is that the essays tend to repeat phrases, ideas, and arguments, but this is the nature of an intellectual project decades in the making, with peregrinations across countries, continents, and languages, a minor defect that, considering the demanding nature of the writing, might actually be welcomed by some readers.

STANISLAO G. PUGLIESE
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ARNO STROHMEYER. *Konfessionskonflikt und Herrschaftsordnung: Widerstandsrecht bei den osterreichischen Standen (1550–1650)*. (Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Europäische Geschichte Mainz, number 201; Beiträge zur Sozial- und Verfassungsgeschichte des alten Reiches, number 16.) Mainz: Verlag Philipp von Zabern. 2006. Pp. x, 561. €55.50.

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This substantial and thorough volume is an important milestone in the history of the Habsburg monarchy in early modern times. Although scholarly interest in the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Habsburg commonwealth has increased dramatically over the past two decades, leading to some remarkable reassessments of the period, and although a considerable literature has appeared on the subject in numerous languages, there is little doubt that Arno Strohmeyer's book will establish itself as one of the new pillars of the field. The book is devoted to an analysis of the theory and practice of noble resistance to a royal absolutist agenda increasingly perceived as tyrannical in the Habsburg provinces of Upper and Lower Austria, and the author casts a wide and sophisticated analytical net.

Strohmeyer begins with a careful analysis of the kinds of arguments used by the noble estates of the two provinces to legitimate their rights of resistance to the crown. Placing these arguments in their context and reconstructing how they were understood in their time, he uncovers seven broad notions on which these estates tended to base their case. The first and most important argument was the assertion of contractual obligations inherent in the feudal relationship between ruler and nobility. Loyalty and obedience were in this view contingent on the sovereign's respect of noble rights and privileges. This argument, in turn, tended to rely less on written contracts than on the assertion of precedent and an emphasis on custom and tradition. A third line of reasoning gave a constitutional twist to the notion of the "common good" by interpreting it as the right to have a voice in the decision-making process. Similarly, the view of society as a kind of patriarchal family conferred a right of resistance should reciprocal rights and privileges be disregarded by the father. The metaphor of the body added a further dimension to the notion that the head and body had to act in concert, but was used less frequently. The argument of self-defense tended to be employed only when the conflict acquired a military dimension. Ironically, least emphasis was placed on the notion of freedom of conscience, and theological arguments consequently played a decidedly secondary role. Finally, virtually no effort was made to have recourse to arguments drawn from Roman law. Thus, though the battle was in fact about religion, it was not fought with religious arguments. "The nobles," Strohmeyer concludes, "preferred to go to the archives rather than reach for the Bible" (p. 449).

The bulk of the volume is then devoted to a detailed analysis of how these kinds of arguments were used, particularly at the critical moment of a sovereign's accession to the throne. The three cases under discussion here are the respective negotiations over the oath of allegiance at the accession of Rudolph II in 1577–1578, Matthias in 1608–1609, and Ferdinand II in 1619–1620. The oath of allegiance was a vital precondition to the recognition of monarchical sovereignty and was required for its legitimization, the dynasty's hereditary rights notwithstanding. It was given coercive power by the fact that that the cameral estates of the monarch were administered by the noble estates at each accession until the homage ceremony had been completed. Negotiations over the form of the allegiance and attendant coronation oath were frequently tense, and arguments about rights of resistance played a central role. Of course, Strohmeyer emphasizes that the old paradigm of a polarization between feudal estates and absolute monarchy has little validity in the Habsburg case, as even the much maligned Ferdinand II accepted the contractual character of sovereignty. Under debate were the nature of the social order and the relative competences of ruler and noble estates. The elasticity in the interpretation of these respective competences proved to be the dynamic factor in the process.

A significant conclusion in this study is the refutation of the traditional view of Lutheran docility in contrast to Calvinist social activism. The estates of Upper and Lower Austria were overwhelmingly Lutheran and began arguing for the right of resistance long before Calvinist thought on the subject penetrated the Habsburg Monarchy. Their assertions, based primarily on arguments about feudal contract and tradition, owed very little to Calvinist writings on the subject. Throughout, there was no trace of any putative inherent Lutheran disposition to submission and obedience. As the seventeenth century wore on, however, many of the nobility's arguments lost their potency, primarily because the Habsburgs began holding the homage ceremony for the successor to the throne in the lifetime of the ruling prince. In this way the initiative increasingly passed to the dynasty.

A weighty and exhaustive tome in the best tradition of German-language scholarship, this volume is an essential contribution to a growing literature and deserves serious attention well beyond the circle of early modern Habsburgists.

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Deborah R. Coen. *Vienna in the Age of Uncertainty: Science, Liberalism, and Private Life*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2007. Pp. xi, 380. $45.00.

Deborah R. Coen's book provides a sweeping panorama of Viennese liberal culture in the nineteenth century by reconstructing the history of three generations of its leading scientific family, the Exners. Franz S. Exner, the founder of the dynasty, achieved prominence in the 1830s and 1840s as a liberal philosopher and educational reformer responsible for creating the blueprint for modernizing and secularizing the monarchy's higher education system. Exner's educational reforms, which were put into effect after 1848, were based on the conviction that all knowledge had to be grounded on probabilistic reasoning and directed toward the cultivation of ethical individualism. Rejecting both determinism and skepticism, Exner's probabilistic liberalism, Coen argues, was peculiarly suited to the needs of Habsburg politics, which had to distinguish itself from the dogmatisms of clerical conservatism on

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the Right and the skepticism of socialist radicalism on the Left. Although Franz Exner died early, two generations of descendants carried on his philosophic legacy by elaborating the implications of relativistic reason in disciplines as varied as physics, neurology, psychology, jurisprudence, optics, and art. The story of this remarkable family, which began in the 1840s with the struggle against religious dogmatism and political reaction, came to an end in the late 1930s with Adolf Hitler's invasion of Austria and the emigration or collaboration of family members.

Although the fate of the Exner family provides the general frame for this study, it is far from a straightforward family biography. Coen is a methodologically and theoretically self-conscious historian who addresses two distinct audiences and problems in this book: historians of science, concerned with the ways scientific knowledge is generated and diffused; and historians of culture, interested in Vienna as a hotbed of cultural innovation at the turn of the century. In her role as historian of science, Coen challenges traditional approaches that have configured the scientific enterprise either as a public discourse divested of all personal components, or as an act of individual genius independent of all cultural contexts. Rejecting such polarized visions, Coen places the realm of domesticity at the center of her story, arguing that it was through the mediation of concrete emotional ties and personal relationships that the creative task of science was carried forward. In the case of the Exners, this domestic space that linked private and public and made possible a synthesis between science and emotional life was symbolized by Brunnwinkl, the Exner's summer home outside of Salzburg, where the extended Exner clan gathered every summer for over sixty years. Brunnwinkl assumes in Coen's narrative a central symbolic role as the utopian embodiment of Austrian liberal values, where scientific, artistic, political, and personal pursuits were unified under the umbrella of probabilistic reason and humanistic cultivation.

Coen's vision of Brunnwinkl as the emblem of Austrian liberal culture raises questions not only for historians of science, but also for general cultural historians interested in the relationship between liberal politics and modernism. Coen is clearly indebted to Carl E. Schorske in her conceptualization of this relationship, but she also challenges Schorske in several ways. Unlike Schorske, Coen argues that Viennese liberal culture needs to be distinguished from general European liberalism in that it was based on the principle of uncertainty and probability rather than causality and determinism. Moreover, she rejects Schorske's well-known thesis that Austrian liberalism was superseded by a modernist culture of introversion and subjectivity that retreated from the public realm of rational politics. She argues instead that bourgeois domesticity lay at the heart of enlightened Viennese culture, in which modernism and liberalism constituted continuous, rather than antagonistic, cultural forces. As she puts it, "the cultivation of the domestic sphere was not a retreat from politics but a precondition of liberal identity" (p. 90).

Despite these differences, Coen shares a great deal with Schorske's celebrated vision of Viennese liberalism. Like her distinguished predecessor, Coen also paints a deeply elegiac picture of liberal culture, whose idealized self-presentations she uncritically accepts and celebrates. Yet Coen's account also hints at internal tensions between the professed ideals and the actual practices of Austrian liberals like the Exners. Their particular brand of universalism and rationality appears particularly limited when juxtaposed to that that of their Victorian contemporary, John Stuart Mill, with whom they liked to compare themselves. Unlike Mill, the Exners feared modernity and consistently opposed developments such as women's rights and modernist culture, including Sigmund Freud's theories of hysteria. By the first decade of the twentieth century, they had retreated into a snobbish insularity that was tinged with social antisemitism and permeated by contempt for democracy and modernization. Coen briefly admits in her conclusion that the particular configuration of public and private virtues characteristic of Austrian liberalism had always depended on a social geography that was essentially conservative and intricately tied to the apparatus of the state. Yet she does not pursue this train of thought very far and seems to prefer the idyllic version of the Austrian liberal story. Despite this lack of tough-mindedness, however, Coen has written a lucid and erudite account of a complex cultural phenomenon that will be of use to both historians of science and students of Austrian culture.

MARY GLUCK
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MARK CORNWALL and R. J. W. EVANS, editors. *Czechoslovakia in a Nationalist and Fascist Europe 1918–1948*. (Proceedings of the British Academy, number 140.) New York: Oxford University Press, for The British Academy. 2007. Pp. xv, 258. Cloth $74.00.

This edited volume of thirteen essays stems from a 2002 conference organized by the Forum of British, Czech, and Slovak Historians. As with most such works, the book does not center on a single historical problem or debate. Themes related to Czechoslovak-British relations, nationalism, and fascism (as well as radical Right politics more broadly) make frequent appearances, but none of these themes is sustained. To its great credit, however, the volume crosses chronological lines to encompass three tumultuous decades that began with the creation of Czechoslovakia and ended with the communist seizure of power. This periodization, and the talents of the individual authors, provide a number of new insights. Together, the essays reflect the rich diversity of Czechoslovak, Bohemian, and Slovak studies today.

Indeed, many of the authors wisely extended their scope beyond the period from 1918 to 1948. In the 1880s, editor Mark Cornwall writes, Bohemian Ger-

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mans established two central political demands: the protection of land and the empowerment of local, German-dominated government and administration. It was not until 1937, he argues, that the Sudeten German leader Konrad Henlein fully abandoned these political goals and allied himself entirely with Adolf Hitler. Rather than seeing a straight line from 1933 to 1938, Cornwall reveals an uncertain Henlein leading a broad-based movement that struggled to reconcile past political strategies and goals with new domestic and international realities. In asking why many Bohemian nobles became attracted to fascism, Eagle Glassheim harks back to the nineteenth century, when the nobility successfully adapted capitalist practices yet resisted the political and social transformations that eventually undermined their traditional stature. After the Great Depression, nobles like Karel Schwartzenberg and Karl Anton Rohan heralded fascism's corporatist aspects as a way to protect their property and restore a vanished political and social order. Catherine Albrecht shows that Czech-German struggles over economic assets in the interwar period also had their origins in the late nineteenth century. Her richly detailed essay shows how the creation of Czechoslovakia frustrated both sides. Sudeten German groups had little influence over the government and blamed Depression-era hardships, fairly or unfairly, on state-sponsored policies like nostrification, which, they argued, shifted large numbers of assets from German to Czech hands. Czech groups, while heating up nationalist tensions, complained that the government was not doing enough to further national interests. Melissa Feinberg argues that before 1918 the "woman question" was about access, including the right to vote. After 1918 and the introduction of women's suffrage, debates among women's groups and within society as a whole swirled around different notions of equality, the government's role in promoting equality, and women's role within society. Mark Dimond interprets the Sokol's post-1945 emphasis on social reform as a return to the ideas of one of its nineteenth-century founders, Jindřich Fügner.

Four of the essays deal in some way with Slovakia in the early twentieth century. Jan Rychlík and Jiří Kocian revisit some of the major themes in Czech-Slovak relations from 1918 to 1939 and from 1944 to 1948, respectively. Tatjana Tönsmeyer shifts the perspective to German-Slovak relations during World War II, arguing that Slovak elites had a degree of ruling independence unappreciated by historians who have portrayed the country as a simple "puppet" state of Nazi Germany. Volume co-editor R. J. W. Evans also steps outside the traditional Czech-Slovak perspective to look at Czech-Hungarian relations from 1900 to 1950—relations, he writes, that had been reflected through a Slovak "prism." Especially revealing are his discussions of how Czechoslovak leaders had to acknowledge the reality of Slovaks' Hungarian past while trying to encourage "Czechoslovakism"—a fiction that pro-Hungarian writers worked to expose. Any goodwill that had existed between Czech and Hungarian elites disappeared after the latter's land grabs of 1938 and 1939, which only encouraged Edvard Beneš's distaste for the Hungarians and his determination to expel the minority after the war.

Still more essays look at legacies. Robert B. Pynsent uses Czech legionnaire literature to discuss various cultural tensions that arose after 1918, asking, among other things, why the genre proved so amenable to a peculiar form of interwar antisemitism. Zdeněk Radvanovksý's thoughtful essay reminds us that the expulsion of the Sudeten Germans after World War II was followed by a massive resettlement program of Czechs and Slovaks to the borderlands. From 1945 to 1947 more than five million people were transplanted to or from the region, an upheaval with local consequences that have only begun to be investigated. Vít Smetana takes two events central to Czechoslovak history—the Munich Agreement and the communist coup d'état—and asks how they informed British foreign policy goals. He argues that both events pushed Britain away from a policy of aggressive negotiation to one of deterrence through alliances and clearly stated guarantees. The events also marked the beginning and end of a foreign policy that, thanks to growing interpersonal connections with Czechs and the success of Czechoslovak propaganda during World War II, took an increasing interest in Czechoslovak affairs. Michael Robbins rounds out the essays with a thoughtful piece about how historians, especially the author and his tutor, A. J. P. Taylor, have considered a myriad of themes related to "Britain and Munich."

The diversity of the essays speaks well to a field that has expanded beyond chronological and geographical boundaries, sometimes to cast new light on old questions, sometimes to ask entirely new questions. As such, the volume would seem most useful for the graduate student in the beginning stages of his or her study of modern Czechoslovak history. Indeed, the editors seemed to have had this reader in mind. Evans's introduction provides an excellent overview of the country's history. There are several helpful maps and a useful bibliography of prominent works in the field. The essays will no doubt inspire future scholars, both young and old, to pursue research in manifold directions.

CHAD BRYANT
University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill

JOACHIM HÖSLER. *Von Krain zu Slowenien: Die Anfänge der nationalen Differenzierungsprozesse in Krain und der Untersteiermark von der Aufklärung bis zur Revolution 1768 bis 1848.* (Südosteuropäische Arbeiten, number 126.) Munich: R. Oldenbourg. 2006. Pp. 414.

How was it that during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries some inhabitants of the multilingual Habsburg duchy of Carniola and its neighboring territories came to see themselves as Slovenes, others came to see themselves as Germans, and some did not identify themselves particularly strongly with either category? Increasingly, historians of Habsburg Central Eu-

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rope explore this kind of question in a variety of settings, focusing their attention on the century from 1848 to 1948, when nationalists mobilized growing numbers of people into national communities. The foundation for these studies was Gary B. Cohen's seminal work, *The Politics of Ethnic Survival: Germans in Prague, 1861–1914* (1981). Cohen demonstrated through statistical analysis that an individual's language use alone in Prague hardly predicted which nation that person might join. More recently, in his essay "The Nationalization of East Central Europe: Ethnicism, Ethnicity, and Beyond" (*Staging the Past*, 2001), Jeremy King takes constructivist historians of the region to task for their tendency to view language use or "ethnicity" as an adequate explanation of specific national outcomes. According to King and other historians, the argument that language use somehow made people "prenational" or "protonational" simply allowed nationalists to naturalize the idea of the nation by removing it from history.

Joachim Hösler challenges the many nationalist certainties produced by generations of historians of this region, from imperial Austria, Yugoslavia, and especially from contemporary Slovenia. Hösler's book sets up a complex interplay between intellectual and social history approaches. In one part he examines a remarkable group of eleven thinkers and their texts from 1760 to 1848. Each figure is quite well known to specialists, yet Hösler's depiction strips away layers of historiographic varnish from their works, revealing their thinking in a fresh, new light. His close familiarity with local society of the period enables Hösler to challenge traditional views of these thinkers (the better known include poet France Prešeren and journalist Janez Bleiweis) as "national awakeners," as "fathers of a nation," or even as "national figures." Insisting on a careful contextualization of their writings—he often devotes pages to analyzing a few lines from a poem or letter—Hösler argues that what scholars have viewed as early examples of nationalist sentiment were more often manifestations of regional patriotism or abstract visions of potential Slavic unity. Hösler interrogates traditional nationalist claims, however minor. He has tracked down the sources cited in questionable footnotes by a host of earlier scholars to determine the accuracy of their assertions about the popularity of the national idea in the 1830s and 1840s. Hösler learned that many historians had uncritically cited works of earlier historians whose own claims, in turn, were not substantiated by the documents.

Among other things, Hösler's work offers an important antidote to the theories of Ernest Gellner and Miroslav Hroch about nation building in Central and Eastern Europe, undermining assertions that a national idea somehow crystallized among a small group of awakeners who then spread it to the population in growing numbers. His eighteenth-century subjects turn out not to have been the classic forefathers of a nation, those whose preoccupation with the language and culture of so-called "non-dominant ethnic groups" created the norms that helped separate supposed protonations from each other. In part this results from Hösler's repeated insistence on seeing language use as a question of local communication and not as a function of national identification choice. In his view there were neither dominant nor oppressed nations in the region. At most the documents betray a situational sense of a "Carniolan" people, largely defined by common borders and administrative history, or a larger "Illyrian" people, encompassing many groups that differed from each other in customs and history.

When it comes to 1848, Hösler focuses specifically on the relationship between the peasantry and the emerging Slovene nationalist circles in Ljubljana and Vienna in order to challenge the claim that differences in language use somehow reflected fundamental differences in social status in the region. Allegedly, Slovene speakers in Carniola (largely peasants) viewed the local elites (nobles, businessmen, educators, and administrators) as Germans. According to Hösler, this deceptively commonsense claim enabled many historians to frame early Slovene nationalism as a fundamentally progressive social phenomenon linked to emerging ideologies of democracy and social emancipation. Hösler's own analysis of 1848, however, demonstrates that the opposite was often the case. The idea that class and national differences produced each other contradicts the facts: many peasants in Carniola and neighboring Styria and Carinthia, for example, spoke German (especially in the Kočevsko/Gottschee region), and some large landowners spoke Slovene. Furthermore, Hösler points out that Slovene nationalist newspapers and organizations not only berated peasants for their attacks on the social status quo in 1848 but also opposed the more democratic elements of the Kremsier constitution developed in 1849 and 1849.

Slovene historians like Peter Vodopivec and Vasilij Melik have written insightfully about popular ambivalence toward national identification in these regions, particularly during the last third of the nineteenth century. Hösler's book builds fruitfully on their work, extending their questions to a much earlier period and to a different set of actors. Given its refreshing approach to the intellectual, cultural, and social history of a less-studied period, this book offers a compelling model to historians of comparable multilingual regions in Habsburg Central Europe.

PIETER M. JUDSON
Swarthmore College

ROGERS BRUBAKER, MARGIT FEISCHMIDT, and JON FOX. *Nationalist Politics and Everyday Ethnicity in a Transylvanian Town*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 2006. Pp. xx, 439. $35.00.

Cluj-Napoca is the main city of Transylvania, a large Romanian province that was a bone of contention between rival purveyors of Romanian and Hungarian nationalism for most of the last two centuries. Even after the current borders were recognized by both states, the

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city was "marked by sustained and highly charged ethnopolitical conflict" along with "tradition and expectations of civility" (p. 358).

Rogers Brubaker, the sociologist who authored this book along with two researchers, uses Cluj to deepen understanding of how ethnicity works in everyday life. The mobilized groups that often provide the raw material for nationalism are shunned, and instead the focus is on how nationalism intrudes into the routines of ordinary people. The authors use discourse analysis to investigate how the everyday talk of citizens is "a site for the daily reproduction and enactment of ethnicity" (p. 359).

The book has two sections. The first one shows how nationalism became a source of contention not just in this city but also in the ethnic borderland of Transylvania and this entire region of Europe. The complex evolution of nationalism is handled with consummate skill until the period when communists seized power in the 1940s. The demographic transformation of Cluj and the educational and broader cultural consequences for Hungarians once they ceased to be a majority are explored in depth. Indeed the project began as one focusing on Hungarian minorities in the region, and the book's emphasis remains with their concerns. But there is a failure to explore the Romanian power structure based on educated and ambitious peasants catapulted into positions of authority, especially when the communist regime embraced Romanian nationalism. The party, local state organs, the factories that ran for ten miles along Cluj's northern perimeter, and the intelligence services appear to be off-limits in this study. Yet it was from this power group, only briefly discomfited by the events of 1989, that the nationalist backlash sprang that enabled a xenophobic agronomist, Gheorghe Funar, to triumph electorally and plunge the city into isolation for a dozen years.

The emphasis on the everyday function of nationalism, however worthwhile an exercise, is diminished in value if only cursory attention is paid to why ultranationalism was stronger in this Romanian city than in any other from 1992 to 2004. Missing from the narrative is a discussion of the economic changes that overtook Cluj. When factories downsized or were privatized, which ethnic groups were disproportionately affected? The collapse of the communist economy was the major event of these times for many *Clujeni*, but it fails to merit attention. Nor does the fact that the city played host to two major banking scandals that enabled Funar to consolidate his power while postponing the transition to capitalism, at least in a form recognizable to Western eyes. Overlooked by the authors is the way that the new capitalists, drawn from nimble members of the communist elite, purloined state money to build their fortunes and prop up Funar. There is a wealth of evidence to suggest that they created a nationalist diversion in order to deflect popular attention from serial looting of the state economy. If attention had been paid to the elections of 1992 and 1996 in Cluj and to other key political events, much more might have been revealed. But Brubaker and his colleagues channelled their energies into too narrow and indeed esoteric an area of scholarship.

The second part of the book involves informal group discussions, interviews, and extended participant observation. The authors catalogue family stories and forms of social interaction, and how and when people talked about politics. The conversations make for absorbing reading and attest to the humane and worldly wise attitudes of citizens shut off from the rest of the world for two generations in the middle of the last century. But the sample of interviewees is very small and not at all representative of a city dominated by lower-income ethnic Romanians after 1989. Two individuals and four family groups are the main information sources. Two young members of Cluj's small countercultural world make up one-third of the Romanian respondents. On the book's front cover, there is a picture of men in fur hats, typical headgear of successful citizens, but nobody from this group or from the much larger semi-urbanized peasantry living in the high-rise blocks ringing Cluj is interviewed, which is a very damaging omission. As a result the resentments and anxieties of those who kept Funar in power over three elections only glancingly figure in the narrative. There is instead preoccupation with symbolism, such as the provocative display of flags and erection of nationalist monuments that occasionally brought the city headlines in the world's press, but not with the distribution of economic, cultural, and political power, sources of real polarization of the city in the 1990s. Nine pages are devoted to a census issue and many more to language and educational issues, but it would have been instructive to learn something about "those at the top who stir up all these things" (p. 238). What happened in Cluj after 1989 unfortunately still remains an enigma, at least for readers of this book, thanks to overreliance on developing "a constructivist and nongroupist account of ethnicity and nationalism" (p. 9).

TOM GALLAGHER
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NANCY SINKOFF. *Out of the Shtetl: Making Jews Modern in the Polish Borderlands*. (Brown Judaic Studies, number 336.) Hanover, N.H.: Brown University Press. 2004. Pp. xii, 320. $39.95.

Among the more fruitful revisionist projects of recent Jewish historiography is the sober reassessment of Haskalah, a Jewish Enlightenment-based reform movement founded by Moses Mendelssohn in Berlin and disseminated among East European Jewish communities near the end of the eighteenth century. The conventional notion of Haskalah as an antireligious agent of modernization that spawned spiritual crises and mass assimilation has given way to a new understanding of Haskalah as a *response* to modernity that actively sought to preserve and rejuvenate the Jewish tradition by synthesizing it with secular knowledge and reordering its intellectual priorities along rationalistic lines.

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Some recent works have refined and deepened our understanding of the movement's ideological content; others have drawn upon newly available archival sources to contextualize it. Nancy Sinkoff's book is distinct in that it manages to do both. She demonstrates how Haskalah ideology in Galicia (Austrian Poland) was profoundly shaped by Poland's partitions (1772, 1793, and 1795), its subjection to Enlightened absolutist rule, and the traditionalist and mystical bent of its Jewish population.

At the heart of the book is a discussion about the attempted modernization of Europe's least "modern" Jews. Galician Maskilim (proponents of Haskalah) like Mendel Lefin of Satanow and Joseph Perl were committed to a moderate Jewish Enlightenment that steered between Hasidism's alleged obscurantism and the increasingly radical acculturation of Berlin Maskilim, and was thus more appropriate for Galicia's traditionalist masses. According to Sinkoff, as the Galician political context evolved, so too did Galician Haskalah. Lefin, who came of age in pre-partition Poland, aligned himself with the Czartoryski magnate family (a variation on the historical Lord-Jew symbiosis) and lambasted Hasidism's anti-rationalism in French for non-Jewish Enlightened readers during the vigorous reform debates of the Four-Year Sejm. Perl, in contrast, wrote under conditions of absolutism. He tried to appeal to the Habsburg state's centralizing and secularizing impulses, blaming Hasidism for the multiplicity of extrinsic Jewish customs that allegedly obstructed Jewish integration. Perl's faith in his alliance with the absolutist state was temporarily vindicated in 1815, when he received permission to establish a "school in the spirit of moderate Haskalah," but the school aroused widespread Jewish opposition.

It remains unclear why "moderate Haskalah," for all its regional appropriateness, was ultimately ineffective against Hasidism. It is hard to resist the conclusion that the failure of such a regionally fine-tuned Haskalah to move the vast majority of Galician Jews belies the author's stated decision to privilege ideology over social history, since even the most attractive Haskalah ideology proved to be a hard sell in the absence of emancipation. In addition, Perl's stance on the controversial use of Yiddish to disseminate Haskalah and his interventions with authorities against Hasidism, both of which receive extensive treatment in Lefin's case, could have been elaborated. But these caveats should not obscure the importance of this ambitious work. One only hopes that Sinkoff will engage these issues in the future, since she has proven singularly capable of recovering the nexus between the intellectual and social historical dimensions of Haskalah.

GLENN DYNNER
Sarah Lawrence College

EVA PLACH. *The Clash of Moral Nations: Cultural Politics in Piłsudski's Poland, 1926–1935*. (Polish and Polish-American Studies Series.) Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press. 2006. Pp. xiv, 262. $42.95.

The interwar era is one of the most researched periods in modern Polish history, and the coup d'état of May 12–15, 1925, led by Józef Piłsudski to save the newly reborn nation from a deep political, social, and economic crisis, has been a subject of an ample number of scholarly works. Historians who research this salient historical event mainly concentrate on the political and military aspects of the coup. Therefore, Eva Plach's monograph, which underscores the cultural dimension of the coup, is a long overdue and welcome publication.

At the heart of Plach's study is the concept of Piłsudski's *sanacja* (moral rebirth), understood not in a narrow political sense as the *Sanacja* government that ruled the state between 1925 and 1939 but as an ideal and a cultural and moral project. In the latter sense, the *sanacja* was rather astonishingly a wide-open utopian concept meaning rebirth and change, civic duty, moral responsibility, work, and collective action. Moreover, in post-coup Poland, the discussions of the *sanacja* encompassed themes related to gender, sexuality, and moral degeneration and regeneration of the Polish nation. For Maria Dąbrowska, a highly successful writer, Piłsudski's project of moral rebirth simply meant a cultural and moral revolution, giving birth to "a nation of action and perfection" that would clash with "a nation of lies and convention" (p. 7).

The central goal of the monograph is to reveal the multitude of meanings of *sanacja*, its malleable nature and changeable language. Plach succeeds in achieving this goal. She intelligently discusses how individuals and various social and cultural associations and organizations imbued *sanacja* with varied meaning and significance between 1925 and 1932. One of Plach's most convincing and interesting propositions is that the utopian open-endedness of the *sanacja* as the cultural and moral project proved to be its Achilles' heel. By the early 1930s, original enthusiasm and public interest for the project was on the wane, and the project itself became compromised by the *Sanacja* government's political actions, especially the imprisonment of members of *Sanacja* opposition in the fortress of Brześć in September 1930.

Plach's book is divided into seven sections: an introduction and six chapters. In the introduction Plach provides a concise overview of the May coup and various incarnations of the *sanacja* concept and its varied imponderables. In chapter two Plach focuses her discussion on the letters written to Piłsudski after the coup by men and women who did not necessarily belong to the mainstream of society. The chapter aims to show that those individuals had their own original interpretation of what ailed Poland and that they were eager to share their views with the founder and leader of the mainstream concept of *sanacja*. Chapters three and four examine *sanacja* from the perspective of varied citizen-based organizations and associations formed by the members of the Piłsudskiite left-liberal intelligentsia. In chapter three Plach looks at a small, short-lived pro-*Sanacja* group called the Society for Moral Rebirth, while in chapter four she discusses how women belong-

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ing to two social organizations such as the Women's Democratic Election Committee and the Women's Union for Citizenship Work understood *sanacja* and the role of their own gender in the *sanacja*'s moral revolution. This is the most fascinating and original chapter, discussing at length some leading personalities of the organizations, but it is not free of flaws. Its two main weaknesses are that Plach does not investigate specific limitations of the female gender in the *sanacja* project, such as an endorsement of traditional gender roles by most female activists. Moreover, she also glosses over the exclusion of Jewish women from the Polish women's civic organizations on the grounds of their ethnicity.

Chapter five discusses how Tadeusz Boy-Żeleński, the most famous public intellectual associated with the *sanacja* cultural ideal, became the *bête noire* of the fierce *sanacja* opposition, represented by the exclusivist ethno-nationalist Catholic camp. Chapter six, which is just seven pages long, summarizes the key points made by Plach in each of the previous chapters. This chapter really should have been integrated into the introduction.

Overall the reader gets a sense that some crucial themes should have been treated in a more comprehensive manner. For example, Plach is aware that the ethno-nationalist Catholic camp had its own specific continual cultural and moral project of purification and regeneration of the nation in both pre-1918 and the post-1918 periods, but she discusses it solely as a reaction to the *sanacja* ideal. Comparative historical and theoretical perspectives are also lacking. Nonetheless, this is an important book, presenting a pioneering, fresh approach to the subject that will certainly influence future scholarship.

JOANNA BEATA MICHLIC
Lehigh University

T. DAVID CURP. *A Clean Sweep? The Politics of Ethnic Cleansing in Western Poland, 1945–1960.* (Rochester Studies in Central Europe, number 7.) Rochester, N.Y.: University of Rochester Press. 2006. Pp. x, 270. $85.00.

Most studies of Eastern Europe's postwar ethnic cleansing wrap up their narratives with the departure of the expelled in the 1940s or with the imposition of high Stalinism in the early 1950s. T. David Curp, by contrast, extends his inquiry deep into the period of post-Stalinist Poland. In doing so he illustrates not only the immediate role the expulsion may have played in communist victory—a common theme of the literature on the topic—but also the long-term corrosive effects that ethnic cleansing had on communist legitimacy. In addition to offering a new perspective on the construction of communist Poland, Curp's approach compels us to consider the legacies of postwar forced migrations.

The book concentrates on the region around Poznań, an ethnically mixed area that Germany lost to Poland in 1918. The anticommunist National Democratic movement of Roman Dmowski (the *Endecja*) was especially strong here in the interwar period. During the German occupation the Nazis expelled more than one million Poles from the region. Thanks to their Catholic and conservative ideology, the war's Polish survivors might have been expected to resist communist rule. In fact, Poznanians did not participate in the brief and futile postwar anti-communist insurgency. To the contrary, Curp argues, "The fiercely anti-Communist but highly nationalistic society of Poznań, the church, and the Endecja together pioneered collaboration with Poland's Communist rulers—to ethnically cleanse their country" (p. 8).

That provocative statement forms the crux of one of the book's two main narratives. In the first, Curp argues that Władysław Gomułka's communist Poland was in large part a product of Dmowski's integral nationalist ideology. To demonstrate this thesis the author focuses on the collaboration of the Polish Western Union with the new regime and demonstrates the importance of this symbiosis for the construction of a docile society in the immediate postwar years. The centrality of the Western Union and Gomułka to Curp's argument, however, leaves this thread hanging when the Polish regime took a Stalinist turn in the late 1940s, banned the organization, and imprisoned Gomułka. The Stalinist years form the second part of the book, in which Dmowski's ideology and ethnic cleansing take a back seat to the implementation of Stalinist programs to collectivize farmland and weaken the Catholic Church.

The book's local history of the regime's failed collectivization and anti-church policies is supported by extensive archival evidence from the Poznań region and beyond. Curp skillfully illustrates how the public recovered from the initial attacks and rallied around a common cause to undermine and defeat the regime's policies. Many of the region's rootless immigrant farmers simply gave up their claims and left rather than submit to the new coercive policies. This emigration, the author argues, was a stunning indictment of the regime's attempts to build a new, Soviet-style state.

Curp successfully weaves his narrative of expulsion, resettlement, and transformation in one region into the larger narrative of Stalinist and post-Stalinist Poland, giving the reader enough general information to follow the twists and turns in Warsaw. The book is especially strong on the Polish state's turbulent relationship with the Catholic Church (from cooperation to confrontation and then tolerance). Far from the inimical conflict promoted by the papacy, the Polish church adopted a moderate, apolitical stance that at times won it the tolerance or even support of the state and helped protect it from the party's all-out assault in the late 1940s.

The book returns to its first narrative once the ice of Stalinism began to thaw in the mid-1950s. The re-emergence of Western Union members and the resurrection of Gomułka offered new opportunities for collaboration. Thanks to the tumultuous events of 1956, Poznań is an especially rich location to examine this next period in Polish history. Gomułka was able to calm Poland in part due to his reconciliation with the Catholic Church, but also because he "collaborated with Endecja mili-

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tants . . . [who] continued to influence the official definition of Polish identity" (p. 11). The new collaborative synthesis that emerged resembled the postwar coalition but with a more noxious twist. Over the long term, Curp argues, "the authorities stabilized their rule at the cost of transforming Poland into a national socialist polity, in which the party-state's socialism was increasingly suffused with the Endecja's xenophobic and anti-Semitic nationalist content" (p. 11). This nationalist turn, however, proved to be a double-edged sword. The communists' desperate resort to Dmowski's ideas helped to create the regime's own gravediggers, who eventually turned their nationalism against the Soviet occupiers and their domestic enablers. In short, ethnic cleansing had a mixed legacy over time: it first entrenched but then ultimately undermined the one-party dictatorship.

In the end, Curp answers the title's question in the negative. Poland's ethnic cleaning of its German population was not entirely a "clean sweep," despite the regime's effective policy of "ethnic erasure" and the public's support for it (p. 83). For the Germans continued to warp Polish policy in their absence. The recent anti-German antics of the Kaczyński brothers and their erstwhile government well demonstrate that Dmowski's brand of Polish nationalism has yet to run its course.

Benjamin Frommer
Northwestern University

Alfred Erich Senn. *Lithuania 1940: Revolution from Above*. (On the Boundary of Two Worlds: Identity, Freedom, and Moral Imagination in the Baltics, number 9.) New York: Rodopi. 2007. Pp. 290. $81.00.

Alfred Erich Senn is a leading American historian of Lithuania with many publications. This volume focuses on the political history of a little-known period extending from the German and Soviet invasion of Poland in 1939 to the formal incorporation of Lithuania as the fourteenth republic of the Soviet Union in August 1940. This is a fast-moving narrative of events, personalities, interventions, and diplomatic initiatives, most of which were of ephemeral nature. It presents a wealth of previously restricted archival sources with new historical research by Lithuanian scholars.

Chronologically, Senn deals with separate stages, each with its own set of problems and sources. The secret protocol of the Nazi-Soviet Pact had designated Lithuania inside the German sphere, but it was suddenly reassigned to the Soviet zone, even though they shared no border. Although Lithuania desired the Polish city of Vilnius for its capital, it was caught totally unprepared by Joseph Stalin's offer/demand to take control of the city. In return for Vilnius, which the Lithuanians entered late in October 1939, they had to accept the deployment of Soviet troops inside its borders. The dictator Antanas Smetona remained in power but under increasing Soviet pressure enforced by People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs Vladimir Dekanozov, which paralyzed political life. Finally, the Soviet Union created a crisis and invaded, leading to the establishment of a "People's" government on June 17 under Prime Minister Justas Paleckis, a journalist, and Foreign Minister Vincas Krėvė-Mickevičius, who had been dean of humanities at the university. Members of this government were hand picked, mostly non-communist intellectuals, while a very few communists were placed in strategic posts (like Mečys Gedvilas as minister of interior). Dekanozov implemented a plan to coerce the Lithuanians to seek voluntary incorporation into the Soviet Union. The tiny Lithuanian Communist Party had not been consulted. Newly released from prison, the coming party strongman Antanas Sniečkus, as director of the Department of State Security, helped organize a sham election for a People's Seimas (Lithuanian parliament), which took place on July 14 in an atmosphere of great confusion, manipulation, and intimidation. Many districts registered voter turnouts of more than one hundred percent, the record being 138 percent, and one of the candidates simply did not exist. The main election issue was joining the Soviet Union. When the seventy-eight people elected assembled for the first time at a theater on July 21, they were vastly outnumbered by a crowd of seven hundred who turned the event into a mass celebration. After a short discussion marked by enthusiastic speeches, the meeting declared the country a Soviet republic and requested incorporation into the Soviet Union, which was formalized on August 26, 1940. As a result, Soviet and Russian leaders long claimed that Lithuania had voluntarily joined and thus was not subject to any illegal occupation.

In the process of narrating this story, Senn supplies much new information about how Lithuanian politicians reacted, and he discusses their limited possibilities, given that Germany allowed Stalin complete freedom in the region. Senn devotes considerable space to the rise of anti-Jewish sentiments, which spread rapidly in June and July before there was any visible Jewish participation in government. These played on Judeo-Bolshevik rhetoric, as there was a Jewish overrepresentation in the Lithuanian Communist Party. In the elections to the People's Seimas, candidates with Jewish names were often torn off the lists. A probable trigger factor was that when the Red Army marched in, Jews were among the groups that welcomed them. As Senn emphasizes, this reaction expressed relief over deliverance from the growing fear of a German invasion. In the final eight days of Lithuania's existence, the Dutch and Japanese consuls Jan Zwartendijk and Chiune Sugihara issued visas at a furious pace to more than two thousand Jews.

Senn's book is the first detailed English-language account of this complex story. Combining archival documents with printed and unprinted memoirs, he convincingly criticizes Russian and Soviet historians of Lithuania who assert the "constitutionality" of the Soviet occupation. Yet this cannot be the final word, as vital documents from Russian archives are not accessible. We can only speculate over why Stalin offered

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Vilnius to Lithuania even though the Belorussians had been stationed there weeks before. The Germans immediately annexed their designated zone; what stopped Stalin from doing the same? Was there any purpose to waiting until August 1940 for taking over, or did he simply lack a plan and instead reacted to the international situation? If the latter is true, what did trigger the full occupation?

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JANET M. HARTLEY. *Russia, 1762–1825: Military Power, the State, and the People*. (Studies in Military History and International Affairs.) Westport, Conn.: Praeger. 2008. Pp. viii, 318. $120.00.

There is an abundant literature on the reign of Catherine II (1762–1796), but that of Alexander I (1801–1825) has been much neglected. Military affairs have not received much attention in Russian historical scholarship, despite the fact that this long period of nearly three generations witnessed more wars than any other in modern Russian history. Therefore, we have every reason to welcome Janet M. Hartley's new book, which covers considerable ground. It begins with an examination of the size of the Russian army, about which it remains difficult to reach an agreement, if only because it is not always clear what constituted the military establishment. The book moves on to describe the conscription system and army life; the officer corps and its "challenge to the state"; the costs and the impact of the military on civil society; the army and civil administration; the army and frontier life; military ideology and the monarchy; and a final chapter on the military colonies. It amounts to an excellent doctoral dissertation, with a superabundance of facts which every student of the period and topic will find very useful, especially those interested in Gizhiga, a forlorn outpost in Chukchi and Koriak country on the edge of Kamchatka, strangely called "truly Russia's Wild West" (p. 151). I found chapter five discussing the military burden on townsmen and peasants the most interesting, because the army was an important factor not only in the borderlands but in Russia as well. Chapter eight on the "expansion of the State" is a collection of clichés, and chapter nine is so much padding. The conclusion asks an important question: whether the Russian system of government and Russian society had become militarized or modernized by 1825, as if the two concepts were mutually exclusive. A mention of Mustafa Kemal Ataturk might have been helpful to show that they were not. At any rate, the author does not really answer her own question, and the reader is left to guess what was really achieved during those three generations.

While Hartley's study will be very useful as a mini-encyclopedia for those in search of interesting details of military life, it is also quite obvious that the author cannot distinguish the forest from the trees. Facts are piled upon facts for the sake of accumulation, as on pages 15 and 116, and bordering on the grotesque on page 79. Hartley is not even aware that the quote on page 57 is repeated on page 59. This quasi-verbatim reproduction of archival documents, in the best Soviet tradition, does not compensate for her ignorance of the fact that Kazakhs were known as Kirgiz under Alexander I, that a governor was not the same as a governor-general, that there was no "statute of Cossacks" in 1822 (unless the Siberian Cossacks are meant). The emphasis placed on destruction of the Kerch peninsula and other places in the Crimea by Russian troops in the 1770s (p. 118) conveniently overlooks the fact that the Crimean Tatars had launched their last and most destructive raid into Ukraine in 1769.

But there are larger issues. The book, being conceived as a dumping ground for all the facts Hartley copied in the archives, does not discuss some important issues to which she alludes in passing. For example, almost all of Russia's campaigns during this period took place outside Russia's borders (and the Russian army ended up being deployed chiefly in the borderlands); what impact did this have on the militarization of the Russian core? The presence of Russian Orthodox Christians in the garrisons along the border helped to forge a sense of identity in contrast to the "other" (p. 6): why was it then that there were so many marriages between Russians and Kalmyks or Yakuts, among others? Did the Georgians need the arrival of the Russians to identify with the Georgian Orthodox Church? And how was this "troublesome to other parts of the empire" (p. 167)? Chapter three promises to discuss the army's challenge to the state, but it turns out there was none.

The reader is told repeatedly that there were not enough civil officials and that officers and non-commissioned officers had to be appointed everywhere to fill civil positions. Why was there such a shortage? There was a lack of specialized professional training in the civil service, but the courts showed little concern with law and justice as intellectual concepts (pp. 133, 143): which came first? Was it for this reason that there was no need for more trained civil servants? Warfare and the Napoleonic era had a limited impact on Russian domestic development because Russian institutions were not modernized (p. 129). Between 1762 and 1825, I can think of local government reform; the creation of ministries, a committee of ministers, and a state council; the reform of the Senate; the creation of the Main Staff, of armies, and separate corps; and the establishment of universities, of a corps of mining, and of a corps of topographers. What does the modernization of institutions mean? Must they affect in a significant way the existing structure of power, as those of Napoleon did? But what kind of power structure existed in Russia? This is, alas, a question that is taboo in much English-language scholarship (with very few exceptions), so we cannot expect to find an answer in this book.

A study that is part of a series on military history and international affairs (and priced at 120 dollars) should have tried to provide even some imperfect answers (there are no perfect answers to these questions) and should have helped the reader gain some perspective on

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the impact of military developments on society. Many will be grateful for a mass of data which they will be able to use in their own work; others may conclude that never had such a pedestrian book been written about this most exciting period of modern Russian history.

JOHN P. LEDONNE
Harvard University

SARAH BADCOCK. *Politics and the People in Revolutionary Russia: A Provincial History*. (New Studies in European History.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 2007. Pp. xvii, 260. $99.00.

The Russian Revolution of 1917 is one of the more well-studied subjects in Western historiography, and yet much remains dimly understood, oversimplified, even mythologized. Says Sarah Badcock: "The focus of historical study has been on the capitals, and the urban, organised population. There is a wealth of Russian experience still to be explored, away from the urban centres and political elites, that can alter our perceptions of Russia's revolutionary year" (pp. 1–2). Her focus is on the provinces of Kazan and Nizhegorod during the period of the Provisional Government (March–November 1917 [New Style]). From this vantage point, she seeks to "understand ... the revolutionary experience of the elusive 'average Joe'" (p. 2)—a strange turn of phrase (one might quip) given her considerable emphasis on women as well as men. Badcock's gaze falls not just on peasants but on other "ordinary people" (p. 5): soldiers and soldiers' wives, for example, and national and religious minorities. Kazan province, she points out, was only forty percent Great Russian at the time—the rest were mainly Muslim Tatars, or Chuvash and Cheremis, the latter practicing a mix of faiths including Shamanism-Animism (pp. 6–7). All are relatively understudied.

In general, Badcock finds that much of what we thought we knew about the activities, ideals, and loyalties of identifiable groups, particularly broad social categories such as "workers" or "soldiers," breaks down under scrutiny—at least in Kazan and Nizhegorod—as groups and individuals filtered information and circumstances in their own ways, based on local conditions, and pursued their own visions and interests. Unlike in the capitals, for example, in these provinces the soviets and official Provisional Government often cooperated; "pogroms" were not always directed against Jews (p. 49); the pejorative epithet "bourgeois" was hurled at all sorts of people, not just owners of the means of production (p. 51); and so on. The resulting picture is one of multiple and overlapping local revolutions, ever ramifying. It is possible to take away from this book the notion that there is in fact no single plausible narrative of the revolution at all, just a bewildering diversity of localized experiences.

One of Badcock's main points is that, given these complex realities, it was perhaps inevitable that political elites' efforts to *create* a master narrative—to shape the meaning, image, and course of the revolution—were doomed to failure. For example, in chapter three, perhaps the most rewarding, Badcock treats the question of why the Socialist Revolutionary Party (PSR), whose pro-peasant political agenda should have secured it overwhelming support in a country whose population was nearly ninety percent peasant, in fact failed. She points primarily to a fundamental disconnect between official ideology among the leadership and a fragmented, swirling array of local interests and ideas—not only among the masses, but even more importantly among local PSR officials. In an important (if commonsense) insight, Badcock argues that membership in a party does not necessarily mean agreement with the positions of its leadership. In fact, the Socialist Revolutionary "party elite was unable to exert significant influence, and [its] supporters reshaped and redefined the party's local policy and character" (p. 60) in a variety of ways. Having a particularly large membership simply compounded the party's disunity. Not only the PSR had this problem, which is generalizable, says Badcock, as "the failure of the democratic party political system in Russia" (p. 86).

While Kazan and Nizhegorod have indeed been understudied, this work is far from the first study of 1917 to focus on peripheral areas or marginalized groups. Badcock's frequent in-text references to the earlier or current work of colleagues—such as Orlando Figes's book on the Volga countryside (1989) and Aaron B. Retish's on Viatka province (2008)—and others underscores this, while also providing the reader a useful course in the relevant scholarship. Badcock draws effectively on a fairly wide primary source base, including local archives and newspapers. Her writing is clear, if somewhat dry, and there is a useful summary-conclusion at the end of each chapter.

This is a significant contribution—one that deepens our appreciation of two basic realities of this turbulent year: the inadequacy of simple class or group-based theories in explaining the extraordinary ideological and social disarray of the months following Tsar Nicholas II's abdication; and, more by way of implication, the fact that Bolshevism's eventual triumph lay not in the party's popularity, representativeness, or legitimacy so much as in its decisiveness, ruthlessness, and superior organization—and in its ability to turn profound disorder into fateful opportunity.

Badcock's study will be of interest to a wide range of scholars, although undergraduate and early graduate students are advised to read it after first having familiarized themselves with some of the "master narratives" and works of synthesis that it seeks to complicate.

BRIAN BONHOMME
Youngstown State University

FRANCES LEE BERNSTEIN. *The Dictatorship of Sex: Lifestyle Advice for the Soviet Masses*. (Studies of the Harriman Institute, Columbia University.) DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press. 2007. Pp. xvii, 246. $42.00.

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Social upheavals are usually accompanied by more casual sexual relations, and Russia in the 1920s was no exception. The political and economic revolution was followed by a sexual revolution, with many young Russians, particularly male, embracing "free love" and insisting that a disinclination for casual sex was petty bourgeois and counterrevolutionary. This struggling new society, however, could not handle the consequences of sexual revolution: it could not provide adequate contraception, had few resources to deal with neglected and abandoned children, and had no means of preventing sexually transmitted diseases. Accordingly, there was a torrent of advice aimed at teaching the population to confine itself to "normal" and "healthy" sexual activity: heterosexual, monogamous, marital, infrequent, and aimed at procreation.

Frances Lee Bernstein's book provides a comprehensive study of all aspects of sex education in the Soviet Union through the 1920s up to its sudden cessation in 1931. There is a detailed discussion of the scientific approaches that underpinned many of the dictates of the "sex enlighteners"; the work of the clinics set up to treat those with sexual problems and supposedly unhealthy sexual inclinations, such as masturbation; the plethora of pamphlets, magazines, journals, and books on sex; and the images in posters. The last receive particular attention; with much of the Russian population illiterate, posters formed a crucial aspect of sex education, reaching people whom the written word could not.

Advice on sex was fairly widespread in Western European countries at the same time, but there were significant differences. In the Soviet Union, the promotion of appropriate sexual activity was part of a broader aim to produce a new society. As Bernstein puts it, "the medical mission to make the population sexually healthy [was linked] with the broader revolutionary crusade to transform reality" (p. xvi). Experts believed that the sex glands produced an "enormous, though fixed, amount of unstorable energy" (p. 151) that could be used for social and political ends. In other words, sexual energy that was not needed for reproducing the population could be sublimated into building socialism.

The new regime had an extremely prescriptive approach to its citizens, and in relation to sex this approach involved telling them at what age they should start having it, what sort of sex they should have, and at what point in their lives it would no longer be necessary. These imperatives were all linked to the notion that sex should serve entirely pragmatic purposes. Accordingly, Soviet advice on sex, unlike that of other European countries, paid little attention to pleasure, with "the idea of sexual satisfaction ... rarely mentioned" in the literature (p. 30). Impotence was seen as a problem, but primarily because it affected men's ability to reproduce. Frigidity was not important in itself because it did not stop a woman conceiving, but the fact that it might affect men's performance was cause for concern. Sex should be discontinued after the wife had undergone menopause since she could no longer get pregnant, and hence there would no longer be any point in having sex. Masturbation and oral sex were considered perversions, largely because they served no purpose other than providing pleasure. Prostitution was denounced for a variety of reasons, but "the pathology represented by the prostitute derives as much from her engagement in recreational sex as for her capacity to spread disease" (p. 121).

If pleasure was ignored, danger was constantly highlighted. This is not surprising, given that venereal diseases often went untreated and resulted in horrendous physical and psychological damage. However, the unrelenting stress on disease gives the impression that sex itself was a kind of sickness.

One of the book's most prominent themes is the contradiction between the Soviet Union's supposed commitment to women's equality and the distinctly gendered society espoused by the sex enlighteners. Gender difference was promoted in relation not only to sex but to social roles in general: in the analysis of the commentators studied in this book, "health and societal well-being depended upon the reassertion of the traditional distinctions between women and men that were threatened by the upheavals of the revolutionary years" (p. 6). In this respect, the supposedly new society looked remarkably like the old.

While Bernstein does make reference to works in similar fields—particularly those that, like her own, hold that there is more continuity between the ideas espoused in the 1920s and the 1930s than is generally thought—it would have been useful if she had included a more comprehensive literature review on the subject of sex and sex education in 1920s Russia. Her analysis of her material, particularly the visual images in the posters on sex, might also have benefited from some engagement with theoretical approaches to textual analysis. All the same, the book is a meticulously researched and highly readable study on a fascinating subject.

LYNNE ATTWOOD
University of Manchester

DAVID PRIESTLAND. *Stalinism and the Politics of Mobilization: Ideas, Power, and Terror in Inter-war Russia*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2007. Pp. xii, 487. $99.00.

In his fifty-seven-page introduction, David Priestland discusses the distinction, first made in the historiography of Nazi Germany, between intentionalist and functionalist (sometimes called structuralist) approaches to the study of Soviet history. Intentionalists see the Great Terror as the inevitable result of Marxist-Leninist ideology and argue that Joseph Stalin's desire for total power is the best explanation for the purges. Structuralists, by contrast, regard Stalin as responding more or less rationally to genuine problems and threats and also absolve Marxism-Leninism of responsibility for the terror. Western historians in the early days of the Cold War were intentionalists, and those who rebelled against Cold War policies and interpretations were re-

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visionists, i.e., functionalists. Priestland sides with the intentionalists to the extent that he sensibly recognizes that human beings are constrained in their actions by the ideas they hold, but he proposes a new scheme for examining the beliefs of Soviet leaders. These leaders, equipped with their Marxist ideology, faced the fundamental problem of building a modern economy and society while retaining the equalitarian promise of Marxism. Soviet leaders could emphasize the equalitarian strain and stress class struggle, or they could place greater emphasis on the deterministic, scientific aspects inherent in Marxism. Priestland names the first approach "revivalist" and the second "technicist"; each of these comes in two different sub-varieties, populist and elitist. The introduction to the book can be regarded as a separate essay investigating Marxist ideology and Soviet historiography, and it stands by itself. It is also the most interesting part of the book and, perhaps, makes it worth Oxford University Press's asking price of ninety-nine dollars.

Priestland is a fine scholar who has worked in the archives and has a thorough knowledge of the secondary literature. He indicates his agreement and disagreement with other scholars always in a polite and generous manner.

The chapters following the introduction are a study of Soviet history from the revolution to World War II, using the interpretative scheme introduced at the outset. We learn, perhaps not surprisingly, how individual leaders time and again moved back and forth from the "revivalist" to the "technicist" camp. In this particular approach to Soviet history, there is a danger, not successfully avoided here, of repetitiousness and tautology. When, for example, Stalin said that technology decided everything, we learn that he was in technicist mode, and when he declared that cadres decided everything, then he was on the other side. The reader can usually predict.

It would be unfair to blame the author for writing the kind of book that he set out to write, but it is necessary to point out that this is definitely a history from the top down. Priestland is concerned exclusively with the behavior of the leadership, and the "people" hardly appear in this long book. He has little to say about the consequences of collectivization or even the purges.

Priestland promises at the beginning of his study a novel and better explanation for the purges than we have hitherto had. Indeed, the longest, one-hundred-page chapter is devoted to that gloomy topic. However, I am afraid that his interpretive scheme does not help us much. The reasons for that madness remain elusive. Priestland is compelled to fall back on explanations such as the struggle of the center against provincial leaders, fear of the impending war, and the possibility of conspiracies. In his telling, Stalin probably believed that the charges made against the victims during the purge trials were genuine. It is difficult to accept that he could have believed such nonsense. But we will never know. Maybe the ability of human beings to believe what is convenient is boundless.

PETER KENEZ
University of California, Santa Cruz

MIDDLE EAST AND NORTHERN AFRICA

AFSHIN MARASHI. *Nationalizing Iran: Culture, Power, and the State, 1870–1940.* (Studies in Modernity and National Identity.) Seattle: University of Washington Press. 2008. Pp. xi, 186. Cloth $60.00, paper $25.00.

Afshin Marashi's central thesis is that the transformation of the Iranian state from 1870 to 1940 was essential to the reification and promulgation of a durable Iranian national identity. This analysis is consistent with an increasingly dominant trend in Iranian historiography that evaluates change in modern Iran through an assessment of the emergence of institutions and ideas in Iran since the nineteenth century rather than on the basis of Iran's tumultuous political history alone. The strength of Marashi's contribution is evident in the episodic approach he takes. He examines Naser al-Din Shah's visit to Europe in 1873 in two ways. On the one hand, it was the result of lobbying by the new Qajar bureaucrats trained in the most modern Iranian educational institution, the Dar al-Fonun, and who possessed the most direct experience of Europe though their diplomatic service to the Qajar state. On the other hand, it was the beginning of efforts to create a new public persona for the king in the style of "royalist shi'ism." Next, Marashi largely by-passes the Constitutional Revolution of 1905–1907 and the Civil War of 1908–1909 to explore how Sayyed Hasan Taqizadeh (d. 1965) did more to articulate and advance a politically potent national ideology through his expatriate journal *Kaveh*, published in Berlin from 1916 to 1924, than he could as a constitutionalist revolutionary in the previous decade. This was in part because in the 1920s many government officials were sympathetic to and influenced by many of the ideas expressed in *Kaveh* and wanted those ideas to guide state action.

The following chapters detail the pivotal role of the Pahlavi state in promulgating national ideology through its expansion and control of public education and support for lavish events like the millennial celebration of the poet Ferdowsi (d. 1020) and his masterwork, the *Shahnameh* ("Book of Kings") in 1934. Marashi's narrative illustrates that whether it was wresting control of the education system from American missionaries or working with persophiles from America, Germany, or South Asia, the Pahlavi state was far from a passive recipient of modernist cultural influences. Iranian nationalism in this analysis is not an inevitable by-product of the cultural hegemony of the West, nor a mere construct or political tool. Rather, in Marashi's analysis, nationalism transcends these origins and becomes a cultural force that can mobilize social action along a variety of trajectories. While the Pahlavi state

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was key in promoting this cultural change, it was not the ultimate beneficiary. In the epilogue, Marashi tells of the protection of the tomb of Cyrus the Great from Islamic Republican revolutionaries in the midst of political upheaval driven by bitter feelings against the Pahlavi monarchy. The Pahlavis had fetishized such pre-Islamic ruins as part of their claim to nationalist legitimacy; the irony of crowds of peasants or demobilized soldiers—the accounts vary according to Marashi—protecting a national symbol of monarchy, but not monarchy itself, is provocative.

Marashi's episodic chapters capitalize on the published memoirs of the historical figures he focuses upon; in the footnotes, he is careful to indicate the extent to which memoirs corroborate each other. He also uses them to provide useful background on other key sources for the period—press and journal articles. To a lesser extent, he has taken advantage of some of the Pahlavi and Qajar archival materials that have been published in Iran. There are many more published archives available, of course, but Marashi keeps his study concise by making judicious use of other scholarship.

That being said, Marashi's work presents a challenge for all Iran specialists as it is clearly the tip of an analytical iceberg that awaits more investigation and synthesis. While Marashi does not fall into the trap of reducing the state to a thoroughly consistent and utterly hegemonic presence, his work leaves open important and exciting questions for future researchers about how to qualify the reach of state action and the agency of others in Iranian society as they interacted with the expanding state. As we consider the reactions and initiatives of people inside, outside, or on the margins of the expanding state, how might we better understand the dialogue between Iranian nationalism and other increasingly concrete ideologies centered on other markers of identity such as class, gender, ethnicity, and religion? In the case of rival nationalisms, some of them make a bid for the same history as Iranian nationalist formulations. The recent explosion of published archival material in Iran and the still underutilized "public archive" of the press will facilitate further research along these lines. Exploring the interaction between state, society, and culture further will likely bear out Marashi's assertion that state action was key to transforming Iranian nationalism from a mere construct to a vital part of Iran's cultural fabric, but it will also allow us to clarify the limits of state power in relation to other historical actors and institutions. His study is an accessible and meaningful contribution to the history of late Qajar and early Pahlavi Iran, and can be read profitably by scholars and students alike. And, like all the best academic research, it reminds us of how much more there is to learn.

CAMRON MICHAEL AMIN
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MARIANNE KAMP. *The New Woman in Uzbekistan: Islam, Modernity, and Unveiling under Communism*. (Jackson School Publications in International Studies.) Seattle: University of Washington Press. 2006. Pp. xiii, 332. $50.00.

This prize-winning and passionate book deserves a place on the bookshelf of any serious historian of Central Asia or specialist in Islamic women's studies. It is an inventive attempt to recover women's voices and explore the complexities of female agency; it breaks new ground in exploring Central Asian women's subjectivity. The book concentrates on indigenous feminist circles in Uzbekistan, telling the stories of Uzbek women and girls who sympathized with (and helped realize) Soviet campaigns for education, economic assistance, and legal protection—and who, most famously, threw off their veils in the *hujum* (attack) of 1927.

This small but disproportionately influential group of urban activists, Marianne Kamp contends, has not received its due; in her view recent English-language scholarship unduly minimizes their role, while histories written in Russian stress the role of Slavic "elder sisters," who supposedly guided Muslim women to liberation. Kamp argues instead that the key debates occurred on Uzbek terms, within Uzbek society, and in the Uzbek language. She contends that this group, numbering a "few hundred" Uzbek families (amid a population of four to five million), influenced Soviet policy: they took the lead in melding party directives with indigenous reformism. Kamp explores their personal stories through oral histories and writings, many published in the Uzbek Communist women's journal *Yangi Yol*.

Kamp situates this story of liberation primarily as part of Islamic history, drawing direct comparisons with reforms in Turkey and (less prominently) other Muslim societies. Unlike prior scholarship on the *hujum*, this book is not conceived as Soviet history—Kamp avers little interest in party/state dynamics or recent scholarship on Soviet subjectivity. Until late in the book she ignores most Russian-language and archival sources and pays little attention to wider Soviet contexts—similar (and simultaneous) unveiling efforts in Azerbaijan, for instance.

Instead, readers are introduced to Uzbek activists, female and male. Kamp convincingly fleshes them out as worthy successors of Islamic reformers (*jadids*) and female teachers (*otins*). Here she adds to the work of Adeeb Khalid and Habiba Fathi. Partly because Kamp stresses vernacular debates, partly because she distrusts archival documents, the book has much less to say about interactions with Russians and other non-Muslims. This exclusion comes at a cost: we know, for example, that some activists attended Russian-language schools and training programs, married Russians and traveled in Russia, and interacted professionally in state agencies and party brigades.

Kamp is simply not interested in such questions; she insists that her book is a Central Asian story, and specifically an Uzbek women's story. Her basic premise is that "the contest over the veil [was] more significantly

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an inter-Uzbek dispute over identity and modernity than an Uzbek-Russian conflict over colonialism" (pp. 221–222). Readers may disagree (I do), but this insistence allows her always to stress the agency of Uzbeks. Unveiling, she says, grew out of a story that started long before 1917 (a point others have made, albeit less thoroughly). Drawing illuminating parallels with American lynchings, she argues that anti-*hujum* violence against Uzbek women is best seen as men's protecting patriarchal authority, not as political or anti-colonial resistance. Uzbeks, she argues, saw unveiling in 1927 as *jadid*-style reform for women; men thus fought against the *hujum* to protect their (male) power, not to reject the authority of an alien state.

Kamp further argues that local activists both drove the liberation campaign onward and gave it specific content. On content she is absolutely right: Uzbek activists echoed *jadidist* themes, and many knew better than to parrot party language (attacking religion, for instance) in public. Yet Kamp goes too far in implying that Uzbek women essentially hijacked state policy to force a *hujum*. Before 1927, she muses, "Communists saw women deciding to unveil, and perhaps their own declaration of the Hujum was an attempt to gain control of a movement" (p. 183). If sustained by evidence, this suggestion would be original and important—but, since Kamp is not much interested in the state or details of policy, such particulars never come into focus.

Such trade-offs are part of Kamp's laudable emphasis on recovering the voices of Uzbek activists. At the same time, her sympathies risk suggesting that only a particular kind of women's voice (favoring unveiling) is legitimate, voluntary, or representative. Although she notes the methodological problems and observes that most Uzbek women responded to social pressures rather than made independent choices, we rarely hear from women who decided not to participate in the *hujum*, much less the small number who worked actively against it. Here, like all historians, Kamp is limited by her sources. The editors of *Yangi Yol* were an unusual, self-selected group. They told their story in a certain way, especially in print. As Soviet journalists charged with a mission of advocacy, they faced pressures as they reached out to Uzbek women. Thus their published articles may illuminate "the mental world of Uzbek women" (p. 16), but only with caveats. Kamp notes that her oral history informants, whom she identified via "snowballing," also come largely from the ranks of activists and sympathizers. The most prominent voice belongs to Rahbar-oi Olimova, heroic activist and sister of the pro-Soviet poet Ghafur Ghulom. Given these women's exceptional character, one wonders how far aggregating such life stories shows "the general outlines of urban Uzbek women's lives" (p. 15). In closing, Kamp notes that such women often framed their life stories as "a narrative of progress" (p. 228) but says little about how she queried that frame, or how it—like the vagaries of snowballing—may have affected her book.

Yet interviewing activists and reading Soviet women's journals gives an unprecedented level of insight to this key group of Uzbek women, and Kamp explores their stories with verve. This study sets a standard for feminist analysis of Central Asia; courses in women's studies, gender theory, and Islamic, Soviet, or oral history should consider assigning this accessible, well-written volume.

Douglas Northrop
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Scott Kugle. *Rebel between Spirit and Law: Ahmad Zarruq, Sainthood, and Authority in Islam*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 2006. Pp. xii, 305. $49.95.

Islamic movements for reform in the modern era receive much attention from analysts. However, earlier movements get less notice. This situation is changing as scholars provide a growing number of in-depth examinations of significant movements and individuals from premodern and early modern times. Scott Kugle presents a major addition to this developing library with his study of the fifteenth-century Moroccan scholar-saint Ahmad Zarruq.

Kugle focuses on a particular individual to understand a major issue, "for investigating the life of Zarruq will provide us an insightful lens for looking at the issue of authority in Islamic societies" (p. 8). Kugle presents Zarruq as an exemplar of a specific form of Muslim religious authority, the jurist-saint who "fuses Islamic legal rectitude and devotional piety" (p. 1). Kugle notes that his study "presents the development of a paradigm of the jurist-saint within a reform movement, as defined against other competing paradigms in the surrounding society" (p. 33).

The book begins and ends with short discussions of Muslim movements in the twenty-first century, noting the importance of the jurist-saint mode of reform for contemporary affairs and suggesting lessons to be learned from the teachings of Zarruq. Then, the second chapter examines the concept of "saint" as understood in modern scholarship, and its significance in the mystical-devotional dimensions of Muslim faith and life identified as "Sufi."

The third and fourth chapters examine Zarruq's life as he interacted with the religio-political forces in Morocco during the fifteenth century. One major political system, the Marinid sultanate centered in Fes, was coming to an end, and a new political system based on the genealogical authority of rule by descendants of the Prophet was emerging. Important saintly organizations with populist appeal supported the revolutionary challenge to the old sultanate and were powerful rivals of the jurist-saints who supported the old dynasty. Zarruq was caught in between, since he was a student-disciple of a leader of the scholar-saints and a devotional disciple of a leader of the populist-saints. As the new regime was established, Zarruq went into exile.

Zarruq's exile became a spiritual pilgrimage with a short but transformative visit to the tomb-shrine of Abu Madyan and visits to study and teach in Egypt and Ara-

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bia. Chapters five and six examine the transformation of Zarruq from a persecuted young scholar into a thinker and actor defining the jurist-saint. In his formulation, Sufi devotion and law "need each other for completion. Neither the exponents of sainthood nor the upholders of legal rectitude can claim precedence in historical development or dogmatic authority" (p. 129). However, in his view, law had priority over Sufi practices: "Be a jurist first then a Sufi; don't be a Sufi first then a jurist" (p. 129).

Chapter seven discusses Zarruq's debates with his contemporaries, noting that he was strongly critical of both jurists and devotional saints, with the result that support for him was limited even though his writings would have long-term impact. He was especially opposed to "socially activist sainthood" (p. 174), which could become a dangerous movement "inspired by love for a saint unhinged from legal principles" (p. 182). The book in general and chapter eight in particular examine contesting narratives of Zarruq's life and of the broader history of Moroccan society. Kugle notes the evolution of the group identified with his teachings after his death into "one of the strongest Sufi communities in Fes" under the leadership of an ecstatic populist visionary (p. 213).

After presenting a strong case for the importance of the jurist-saint paradigm, Kugle ends on a surprisingly negative note: "Zarruq's program of reform failed to grow into a religious movement of any lasting force . . . The failure of Zarruq's type of 'reform within Sufi communities' set conditions for reform movements to flourish in the modern period that were 'external to Sufi communities'" (pp. 221, 224). However, Kugle is persuasive in presenting a mode of religious authority in Islamic societies "generated by the overlapping fields of spirituality and law" (p. 1). The definition of this paradigm is an important conceptual contribution made by Kugle and it is not negated by the fact that the direct personal following of Zarruq was not a major movement. Jurist-saints were and are important sources of religious authority. While they may not have had careers identical with Zarruq's, it is possible to see influential reformist Muslims ranging from Abd al-Ra'uf al-Singkili (c. 1615–1693) in Southeast Asia and Shah Wali Allah (1702–1762) in Mughal India to Muhammad al-Sanusi (1787–1859) in North Africa as "jurist-saints."

The analysis in this book is based on in-depth study of many major texts combined with a clear sense of the broader dynamics of Islamic and world history. The close text analysis involves presenting translations of important parts of the works of Zarruq and others, and the translations are generally jewels of the art. This in-depth analysis is an important contribution to understanding religious authority and Muslim movements of reform.

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M. W. DALY. *Darfur's Sorrow: A History of Destruction and Genocide*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2007. Pp. xix, 368. $22.99.

Since 2003, a complex civil war and a humanitarian crisis have engulfed Darfur, a remote region in western Sudan. A central characteristic of the conflict is the deliberate targeting of non-Arab civilians, which has left more than 200,000 people dead and another two million displaced. Given the character and scale of the violence, the region has attracted considerable outside attention from journalists, policy makers, academics, and international non-governmental organizations. Such attention has translated into high demand for information and analysis about the region. Some of that demand has been met by human rights organizations, journalists, and scholars, but most existing studies focus on the immediate antecedents and proximate causes of the civil war and violence. A deeper history of the region, one that examines the precolonial and colonial periods as well as the first decades of postcolonial rule, has been lacking. With this volume, M. W. Daly helps to fill that gap.

Daly's book is a macro-level history with broad coverage and general discussion of major events, people, and themes. It takes the reader from the dominant Fur Sultanate in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries through to the present crisis. As such, the book is an excellent primer on the region's history, one that will be accessible and valuable to policymakers, humanitarian actors, and researchers alike. In addition to chronicling Darfur's history, Daly develops several themes that have clear relevance for the contemporary crisis, in particular Darfur's historic marginalization and impoverishment relative to other areas of Sudan. Daly also shows the ways in which the contemporary problems of desertification, drought, water access, and land rights—all generally recognized as accelerators of the current violence—have deep historical roots. The book's major contribution is its long-term framework, which permits the author to contextualize the contemporary conflict in ways previous studies have not. However, the book's breadth has associated costs. The narrative is primarily descriptive, with Daly often cataloging events and people and moving quickly over key questions and developments.

The book is laid out in twelve chapters, along with a useful chronology of major events, maps, and a glossary. In the first substantive chapter, Daly discusses what is known about the origins and practices of the Fur Sultanate, which was the principal political entity in precolonial Darfur. Documentation is sparse, but Daly's discussion of the sultanate in the seventeenth century, its use of military power, the arrival and syncretism of Islam, and the importance of trade is fascinating. From there, Daly chronicles "Turkiyya" (Egyptian-Ottoman rule, 1874–1885), Mahdiyya (Sudanese central control, 1885–1898), and nominal Darfuri independence under Sultan Ali Dinar (1898–1916). Each period brought changes, and Daly's accounting provides

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useful names and events to anchor this history. His overall theme is one of weak state control; "Ability to conquer but inability to rule" is how Daly summarizes the state in these periods (p. 100).

The next major phase in Darfur's history was the British-Egyptian Condominium (1916–1956). The period, Daly points out, was one of the shortest episodes of European colonial rule in Africa. With better documentation from this era, Daly develops one of his key themes: namely that of Darfur's marginalization and neglect. Indirect rule under the British changed some patterns of local authority and demarcated borders, but its record for development was dismal. Daly provides damning figures on education and economic investment, arguing that Darfur was even worse off than parts of Sudan's south. Equally noteworthy is Daly's unearthing of colonial-era documents showing that many environmental problems of the contemporary era—drought, disease, soil degradation, limited rainfall, and overgrazing—were evident, and poorly planned for, in the colonial period. Daly calls these a "hidden environmental time bomb" (p. 150).

Daly's discussion of the postcolonial period is important and interesting. The theme of Darfur's economic marginalization is again evident. No matter the head of state—whether military, civilian, or Islamist—Darfur remained neglected by Sudan's ruling elites. In addition to this essential point, Daly advances others, notably that Darfur was largely politically loyal to the Mahdi family and that Darfur has suffered from regional wars, especially from Chad's: Darfur was a staging ground for different Chadian rebel groups. Daly also discusses the effects of drought in different periods. He illustrates how the various stresses on Darfur morphed into violence initially between "haves and have-nots, sedentary and migrant populations, and between natives and foreigners" (p. 217). Daly further chronicles how the lines of conflict increasingly became organized around Arabs and Africans, a split that the current regime in Khartoum has stoked. In the final chapter, Daly provides a thorough analysis of a recent, largely failing peace agreement. The book is a critical resource for anyone seeking to understand the roots of the contemporary crisis.

Scott Straus
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SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

Ferdinand de Jong. *Masquerades of Modernity: Power and Secrecy in Casamance, Senegal*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 2007. Pp. x, 228. $39.95.

Ferdinand de Jong's study is an examination of the role of secrecy among the Jola and Mandingo people, the two dominant ethnic groups of Casamance, in southwestern Senegal. De Jong argues that secret rituals, often mistakenly conceived as anachronistic residues of bygone traditions, constitute dynamic forces that have mediated the encounter between Casamance and modernizing forces of different kinds. Historically, secrecy practiced in circumcision ceremonies, initiations, and masked performances has served as a means for incorporating and domesticating different religious, economic, and political forces that have impacted the people of Casamance. In the face of the homogenizing force of globalization, secrecy functions as a coping strategy by enabling the continuing production of local subjectivity. De Jong's book is a welcome addition to the growing scholarship that offers novel and refreshing re-examination of the role and place of so-called African traditions in a complex and rapidly changing world.

The book is comprised of nine chapters grouped into an introduction and three parts entitled "Transitions," "Trajectories," and "Traces." The second and third chapters of the book focus on Thonck Essyl, an important Jola village in the region of Boulouf, north of the Casamance River. In the second chapter De Jong reconstructs and analyses male and female initiation rituals, or the aspects of those initiations that were accessible to him as an outsider. He shows how these rituals developed at the intersection of ethnic identity, Islam, and gender subjectivities and how they ultimately redrew cultural boundaries. Chapter three deals with male initiation, particularly that of *ressortissants*, or people originating from Casamance but living outside the region. De Jong notes that modernizing forces spurred by Islam, the postcolonial state, the market economy, and the global Jola diaspora have affected considerably the ability of Casamance communities to produce locality. Rituals, however, remain important sites for the production of translocal subjects because of their capacity to mediate between global and local forces.

The fourth chapter investigates the entanglement between the politics of the postcolonial Senegalese leadership and that of the sacred forest. Here De Jong explains how democratization brought to the fore the political preferences of the populace, couched in "unexpected local idioms," and consequently forced politicians eager for support to comply with popular standards. In this context, rituals served as an interface that gave the local population some leverage over national politicians but also allowed the state to penetrate local communities.

Chapter five focuses on circumcision among the Mandingo of Ziguinchor, provincial capital of the southern district of Senegal. De Jong views the introduction of this practice as a means for rural migrants to domesticate the city. However, none of the activities he describes actually took place on the city's public space. In the past initiations were done in the bush, now they are done in hospitals and people's households. Further discussion of the meaning of domestication, especially as it relates to space identity and space making, would be useful.

Chapter six returns to the theme of secrecy, politics, and the state already touched upon in chapter four, but

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focusing more specifically on the Mandingo Kankurang masquerade. De Jong discusses the generational conflict that pit elders bent on preserving the masquerade as an authentic "ethnic heritage" against a youth determined to stage rituals as economic venture and "organizing principle for political action." The chapter also reveals the ambivalence of state attitudes toward secret rituals as government officials wavered between the promotion of rituals as "national traditions" and the need to limit their political potency.

Chapters seven and eight deal with the commodification of culture in the context of the increased incorporation of Casamance into international capitalist relations of production through tourism. De Jong uses the Kumpo masquerade, now performed regularly for European tourists in hotels and the businesses of two local painters, to indicate how the perceived need to salvage threatened traditions has shifted the discourse about secrecy.

The shorter ninth chapter is a theoretical reflection on the collection and construction of ethnographic knowledge. This chapter also functions as a conclusion. De Jong does a good job by providing a brief but complete review of the book's major themes, but a stronger conclusion drawing together threads of cohesion from the eight chapters would have helped tighten the text.

In De Jong's view secrecy does a lot of things for the people of Casamance as an instrument mediating their encounter with modernizing forces. But by presenting secrecy as a cornerstone of Casamance identity, he also unwittingly promotes the idea of an exceptionalism that sets the people of this area apart from the rest of Senegalese society. One wonders about the role secrecy plays among Mandingo communities indigenous to other regions of West Africa and Senegal who also perform the type of rituals he describes. Should secrecy be seen as a fact of cultural geography or the marker of ethnic identity? Why is it so potent in Casamance, and not elsewhere, to represent the single strongest shaper of regional identity?

This is a valuable book that enhances our understanding of the complex cultures of southern Senegal. It also offers a model for comprehending how local societies negotiate their encounter with the modernizing forces of globalization. It will appeal to the broad audience of scholars interested in cultural change, translocality, and the commodification of cultures in an increasingly interconnected world.

CHEIKH ANTA BABOU
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ELIZABETH SCHMIDT. *Cold War and Decolonization in Guinea, 1946–1958*. (Western African Studies.) Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press. 2007. Pp. xiv, 310. Cloth $55.00, paper $26.95.

In 1958 Guinea became the first French colony in sub-Saharan Africa to attain political independence. Led by Sékou Touré, the colony achieved sovereignty by rejecting the constitution proposed by Charles de Gaulle to create France's Fifth Republic. Notably, it was the only territory in the French empire to vote *non* in the referendum. As a result, Guinea paid a terrible price in French retribution in the following weeks and months, forcing a realignment of the new country's foreign policy in favor of a Cold War alliance with the Soviet Union and its allies. The decision to seek aid and protection from the Soviet bloc made a reality of the false imagining of political circumstances in Guinea by French politicians and colonial administrators. Thus, the mythology of Touré as a radical force among generally meek anticolonial nationalists in West Africa was an ex post facto re-reading of history that bore little resemblance to the actual process as it unfolded on Guinea's road to independence.

Such is the argument advanced by Elizabeth Schmidt in this book, which offers the reader a compelling new look at Guinea's path to political sovereignty from the end of World War II to its rejection of France's constitution in the 1958 referendum. Schmidt argues that Touré was pushed into increasingly radical positions by grassroots political activists inside and outside his party, particularly members of the youth and labor movements. Touré faced pressure to adopt a pro-independence position even as he sought accommodation with France and reconciliation with his political colleagues in other parts of the federation of French West Africa. Even after independence, France's actions and the activism of radicals within Guinea's dominant political party compelled Touré to move toward socialism domestically and a pro-Soviet alliance internationally. Thus, Schmidt provides a reversal of traditional narratives of Touré's place in the annals of Africa's liberation struggles.

Schmidt draws significantly on archival sources in Senegal (which houses the records of the former colonial federation of French West Africa), France (primarily at the colonial archives), and some interviews with participants in Guinea's struggle for independence. The most interesting sources for Schmidt are her interviews with women activists. Recalling their experiences during the run up to Guinea's break with France, the women Schmidt interviewed offer a rarely explored perspective on events. Through the songs they composed, the rallies they organized, and the critiques they leveled at the male political leadership, the women veterans of the independence struggle reveal a complex and grassroots-initiated process of decolonization. Consequently, Schmidt is able to provide the reader with a more personal account of Guinea's meandering path to statehood by delving beneath the well-known narrative of political engagements undertaken by the Guinean section of the RDA (Rassemblement Démocratique Africain), the French state, and colonial officials.

Overall, though, Schmidt's work echoes much of the story related by Ruth Schachter Morganthau in her seminal 1964 study *Political Parties in French-Speaking West Africa*. In particular, the first three chapters largely repeat Morganthau's exhaustive survey of West Afri-

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ca's political parties in the post-World War II period, including the origin, programs, and emergent leadership of the many groupings that coalesced and fractured on the road to independence. Beginning with the fourth chapter and running through the remainder of the book, Schmidt relies more on her new research and offers more interesting and innovative perspectives on Guinea's specific experiences during the 1950s. The most compelling aspect of her argument is the discussion of Touré's transformation from a relative moderate seeking accommodation and rapprochement with France to the iconic radical of decolonization in French West Africa. Schmidt offers a convincing and telling account of how France's missteps, combined with pressures from the grass roots in Guinea, caught Touré in a political bind wherein he had no choice but to embrace calls for immediate independence by rejecting the 1958 constitutional referendum. Furthermore, in a story analogous to that of U.S. relations with the Castro government in Cuba, Schmidt provides insight into the path whereby Guinea's new government forged an alliance with the Soviet Union and Kwame Nkrumah's Pan-Africanist regime in Ghana in response to French retaliation for Guinea's *non* in 1958. Schmidt highlights a surprisingly overlooked aspect of the decolonization process by integrating Cold War tensions on the macro level into the transformation of local politics on the micro level.

Schmidt's study of Guinea's route to independence is a welcome addition to the scholarship on African history, Cold War politics, and decolonization. While the first half of the book retells a story familiar to researchers of the period and region, the second half offers new and important perspectives on the demise of France's empire in West Africa.

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Ohio State University,

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Collected Essays

These volumes, recently received in the *AHR* office, do not lend themselves readily to unified reviews; the contents are therefore listed.

METHODS/THEORY

PAULA HAMILTON and LINDA SHOPES, editors. *Oral History and Public Memories*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press. 2008. Pp. xvii, 302. Cloth $79.50, paper $29.95.

DAVID NEUFELD, Parks Canada, the Commemoration of Canada, and Northern Aboriginal Oral History. KEVIN BLACKBURN, History from Above: The Use of Oral History in Shaping Collective Memory in Singapore. MARIA NUGENT, Mapping Memories: Oral History for Aboriginal Cultural Heritage in New South Wales, Australia. IŞIL CEREM CENKER and LUCIENNE THYS-SENOCAK, Moving beyond the Walls: The Oral History of the Ottoman Fortress Villages of Seddülbahir and Kumkale. SELMA THOMAS, Private Memory in a Public Space: Oral History and Museums. SEAN FIELD, Imagining Communities: Memory, Loss, and Resilience in Post-apartheid Cape Town. GAIL LEE DUBROW, Contested Places in Public Memory: Reflections on Personal Testimony and Oral History in Japanese American Heritage. SENKA BOŽIĆ-VRBANČIĆ, "Scars in the Ground": Kauri Gum Stories. HORACIO N. ROQUE RAMÍREZ, Memory and Mourning: Living Oral History with Queer Latinos and Latinas in San Francisco. ROBERT F. JEFFERSON, Interfaced Memory: Black World War II ex-GIs' and Veterans' Reunions of the Late Twentieth Century. RIKI VAN BOESCHOTEN, Public memory as Arena of Contested Meanings: A Student Project on Migration. DANIEL KERR, Countering Corporate Narratives from the Streets: The Cleveland Homeless Oral History Project. SILVIA SALVATICI, Public Memory, Gender, and National Identity in Post-war Kosovo: The Albanian Community. PILAR RIAÑO-ALCALA, Seeing the Past, Visions of the Future: Memory Workshops with Internally Displaced Persons in Colombia.

COMPARATIVE/WORLD

KENNETH R. HALL, editor. *Secondary Cities and Urban Networking in the Indian Ocean Realm, c. 1400–1800*. (Comparative Urban Studies.) Lanham, Md.: Lexington Books. 2008. Pp. 347. $85.00.

STEPHEN MORILLO, Autonomy and Subordination: The Cultural Dynamics of Small Cities. JAY SPAULDING, Suakin: A Port City of the Early Modern Sudan. ELIZABETH LAMBOURN, India from Aden: *Khutba* and Muslim Urban Networks in Late Thirteenth-Century India. JOHN CHAFFEE, At the Intersection of Empire and World Trade: The Chinese Port City of Quanzhou (Zaitun), Eleventh-Fifteenth Centuries. KENNETH M. SWOPE, Clearing the Fields and Strengthening the Walls: Defending Small Cities in Late Ming China. JOHN K. WHITMORE, Secondary Capitals of Dai Viet: Shifting Elite Power Bases. KENNETH R. HALL, Coastal Cities in an Age of Transition: Upstream-Downstream Networking and Societal Development in Fifteenth- and Sixteenth-Century Maritime Southeast Asia. CHARLES WHEELER, Missionary Buddhism in a Post-Ancient World: Monks, Merchants, and Colonial Expansion in Seventeenth-Century Cochinchina (Vietnam). ALEXANDRA GREEN, Religious Networking and Upstream Buddhist Wall Paintings in Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Burma. CHARLES ARGO, The Ottoman Balkan City: The Periphery as Center in Punitive Spectacle. STEWART GORDON, A Tale of Three Cities: Burhanpur from 1400 to 1800. JAMES HEITZMAN, Secondary Cities and Spatial Templates in South India, 1300–1800.

STEVEN ERICSON and ALLEN HOCKLEY, editors. *The Treaty of Portsmouth and Its Legacies*. Hanover, N.H.: University Press of New England. 2008. Pp. vi, 249. $50.00.

DAVID SCHIMMELPENNINCK VAN DER OYE, Russia's Relations with Japan before and after the War: An Episode in the Diplomacy of Imperialism. YASUTOSHI TERAMOTO, Japanese Diplomacy before and after the War: The Turning Point on the Road to the Pacific War. I. V. LUKOIANOV, The Portsmouth Peace. EUGENE P. TRANI and DONALD E. DAVIS, Roosevelt and the U.S. Role: Perception Makes Policy. BRUCE W. MENNING and JOHN W. STEINBERG, Lessons Lessened: The Near-term Military Legacy of 1904–5 in Imperial Russia. SHO KONISHI, The Absence of Portsmouth in an Early Twentieth-Century Japanese Imagination of Peace. SHINJI YOKOTE, Political Legacies of the Portsmouth Treaty. DAVID WOLFF, Riding Rough: Portsmouth, Regionalism, and the Birth of Anti-Americanism in Northeast Asia. VLADIMIR I. IVANOV, Economic Engagement: Coping with the Realities of the Globalized World. KAZUHIKO TOGO, The Contemporary Implications of the Russo-Japanese War: A Japanese Perspective.

OCEANIA AND THE PACIFIC ISLANDS

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CANADA AND THE UNITED STATES

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EUROPE: ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL

STEPHEN G. NICHOLS, ANDREAS KABLITZ, and ALISON CALHOUN, editors. *Rethinking the Medieval Senses: Heritage, Fascinations, Frames*. (Parallax: Re-Visions of Culture and Society.) Baltimore, Md.: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2008. Pp. x, 327.

HANS ULRICH GUMBRECHT, Erudite Fascinations and Cultural Energies: How Much Can We Know about the Medieval Senses? EUGENE VANCEZ, Seeing God: Augustine, Sensation, and the Mind's Eye. DANIEL HELLER-ROAZEN, Common Sense: Greek, Arabic, Latin. GREGOR VOGT-SPIRA, Senses, Imagination, and Literature: Some Epistemological Considerations. MARINA BROWNLEE, The Critical Sense: Some Spanish Examples. MICHEL ZINK, The Place of the Senses. RAINER WARNING, Seeing and Hearing in Ancient and Medieval Epiphany. JOACHIM KÜPPER, Perception, Cognition, and Volition in the *Arcipreste de Talavera*. DAVID NIRENBERG, Christian Sovereignty and Jewish Flesh. GABRIELLE SPIEGEL, Paradoxes of the Senses. ANDREAS KABLITZ, Representation and Participation: Some Remarks on Medieval French Drama. JAN-DIRK MÜLLER, Blinding Sight: Some Observations on German Epics of the Thirteenth Century. HILDEGARD ELISABETH KELLER, Blinded Avengers: Making Sense of Invisibility in Courtly Epic and Legal Ritual. HEATHER WEBB, Cardiosensory Impulses in Late Medieval Spirituality. STEPHEN G. NICHOLS, "The pupil of your eye": Vision, Language and Poetry in Thirteenth Century Paris.

WILFRIED HARTMANN and KENNETH PENNINGTON, editors. *The History of Medieval Canon Law in the Classical Period, 1140–1234: From Gratian to the Decretals of Pope Gregory IX*. (History of Medieval Canon Law.) Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press. 2008. Pp. xiii, 442. $64.95.

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GERALD CHRISTIANSON, THOMAS M. IZBICKI, and CHRISTOPHER M. BELLITTO, editors. *The Church, the Councils, and Reform: The Legacy of the Fifteenth Century*. Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press. 2008. Pp. xi, 336. $79.95.

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MIDDLE EAST AND NORTHERN AFRICA

KATHRYN BABAYAN and AFSANEH NAJMABADI, editors. *Islamicate Sexualities: Translations across Temporal Geographies of Desire*. (Harvard Middle Eastern Monographs, number 39.) Cambridge: Center for Middle Eastern Studies of Harvard University. 2008. Pp. xiv, 376. $19.95.

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ACUÑA, RODOLFO F., and GUADALUPE COMPÉAN, editors. *Voices of the U.S. Latino Experience.* In three volumes. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press. 2008. Pp. lxvii, 336; xxii, 337–747; xxii, 749–1128. $299.95 the set.

ALLARDICE, BRUCE S. *Confederate Colonels: A Biographical Register.* (Shades of Blue and Gray Series.) Columbia: University of Missouri Press. 2008. Pp. x, 436. $49.95.

BOWERS, WILLIAM T., editor. *The Line: Combat in Korea, January–February 1951.* (Battles and Campaigns.) Lexington: University Press of Kentucky. 2008. Pp. xvi, 324. $40.00.

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DUNLAP, THOMAS R., editor. *DDT,* Silent Spring, *and the Rise of Environmentalism: Classic Texts.* Foreword by WILLIAM CRONON. (Weyerhaeuser Environmental Classics.) Seattle: University of Washington Press. 2008. Pp. xvi, 150. $16.95.

EDWARDS, JONATHAN. *Catalogues of Books.* Edited by PETER J. THUESEN. (The Works of Jonathan Edwards, number 26.) New Haven: Yale University Press. 2008. Pp. x, 496. $95.00.

FOLEY, MICHAEL S., and BRENDAN P. O'MALLEY, editors. *Home Fronts: A Wartime America Reader.* New York: New Press. 2008. Pp. xx, 635. $27.95.

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HODGES, COURTNEY H., WILLIAM C. SYLVAN, and FRANCIS G. SMITH, JR. *Normandy to Victory: The War Diary of General Courtney H. Hodges and the First U.S. Army.* Edited by JOHN T. GREENWOOD. (American Warriors.) Lexington: University Press of Kentucky. 2008. Pp. xi, 575. $50.00.

LINCOLN, ABRAHAM, and STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS. *The Lincoln-Douglas Debates.* Edited by RODNEY O. DAVIS and DOUGLAS L. WILSON. (The Knox College Lincoln Studies Center Series.) Galesburg, Ill.: The Knox College Lincoln Studies Center, and the University of Illinois Press, Urbana and Chicago. 2008. Pp. xlvi, 341. $35.00.

MALSBERGER, JOHN W., and JAMES N. MARSHALL, editors. *The American Economic History Reader: Documents and Readings.* New York: Routledge. 2009. Pp. xii, 556. $54.95.

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MORGAN, KENNETH, editor. *The Bright-Meyler Papers: A Bristol-West India Connection, 1732–1837.* (Records of Social and Economic History New Series, number 40.) New York: Oxford University Press, for The British Academy. 2007. Pp. xx, 706. $150.00.

MULLIGAN, TIMOTHY P. *World War II: Guide to Records Relating to U.S. Military Participation.* Edited by REBECCA L. COLLIER, JUDITH KOUCKY, and PATRICK R. OSBORN. In two volumes. Washington, D.C.: National Archives and Records Administration. 2008. Pp. xiv, 1–487; viii, 489–1055. $75.00 the set.

REMINI, ROBERT V., and TERRY GOLWAY, editors. *Fellow Citizens: The Penguin Book of U.S. Presidential Inaugural Addresses.* New York: Penguin. 2008. Pp. xv, 476. $16.00.

TRASK, ROGER R., and JOHN P. GLENNON, editors. *The Department of Defense: Documents on Organization and Mission, 1978–2003.* Washington, D.C.: Office of the Secretary of Defense, Historical Office. 2008. Pp. ix, 252. $23.00.

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WALTER, PAUL A. F., JR. *Isolation and Social Change in Three Spanish-Speaking Villages of New Mexico*. Edited by CHARLES E. WOODHOUSE. (Immigrant Communities and Ethnic Minorities in the United States and Canada, number 80.) New York: AMS Press. 2008. Pp. xxxvii, 281. $147.50.

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FISCHER, THOMAS, and ANNELIESE SITARZ, editors. *Die Grenzen des* .American Dream*: Hans Sitarz als "Gelddoktor" in Nicaragua, 1930–1934*. (Lateinamerika-Studien, number 50.) Frankfurt a. M.: Vervuert. 2008. Pp. 192. €28.00.

EUROPE: ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL

BESSEY, VALÉRIE, VÉRONIQUE FLAMMANG, and ÉMILIE LEBAILLY, editors. *Comptes de l'argentier de Charles le Téméraire duc de Bourgogne. Volume 3, Année 1470: Le registre cc 1925 des Archives Générales du Royaume, Bruxelles*. Assisted by WERNER PARAVICINI. (Recueil des Historiens de la France, number 10.) Paris: Diffusion de Boccard, with the Académie des Sciences de Göttingen and the Institut Historique Allemand de Paris. 2008. Pp. xxv, 539; 546–1115. €200.00 the set.

BLANCHARD, JOËL, editor. *Moralité à six personnages: BnF ms. fr. 25467*. (Textes Littéraires Français.) Critical Edition. Geneva: Librairie Droz. 2008. Pp. lxxvii, 183. $55.00.

CRICK, JULIA, editor. *Charters of St Albans*. (Anglo-Saxon Charters, number 12.) New York: Oxford University Press. 2007. Pp. xxxii, 265. $80.00.

HARPER-BILL, CHRISTOPHER, editor. *English Episcopal Acta*. Volume 32, *Norwich 1244–1266*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2007. Pp. lxviii, 286. $90.00.

MARTYN, JOHN R. C., editor and translator. *Arians and Vandals of the 4th–6th Centuries: Annotated Translations of the Historical Works by Bishops Victor of Vita (*Historia Perecutionis Africanae Provinciae*) and Victor of Tonnena (*Chronicon*), and of the Religious Works by Bishop Victor of Cartenna (*De Paenitentia*) and Saints Ambrose (*De Fide Orthodoxa contra Arianos*), and Athanasius (*Expositio Fidei*)*. Foreword by DAVID O'BRIEN. Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing. 2008. Pp. xxviii, 240. $69.99.

VANNEUFVILLE, ERIC, editor and translator. *Heliand: L'Évangile de la Mer du Nord*. Foreword by MICHEL ROUCHE. (Miroir du Moyen Âge.) Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols. 2008. Pp. 487. €50.00.

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BUERGENTHAL, THOMAS. *Ein Glückskind: Wie ein kleiner Junge zwei Ghettos, Auschwitz und den Todesmarsch überlebte und ein neues Leben fand*. Translated by SUSANNE RÖCKEL. Frankfurt a.M.: Fischer Taschenbuch Verlag. 2007. Pp. 271. €8.95.

DARWIN, CHARLES. *The Correspondence of Charles Darwin: Volume 16, 1868*. Edited by FREDERICK BURKHARDT. et al. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2008. Pp. xliii, 1252. $320.00, the set.

DE GASPERI, ALCIDE. *Scritti e discorsi politici: Edizione critica*. Volume II, *Alcide De Gasperi dal Partito popolare italiano all'esilio interno, 1919–1942*. In three volumes. Edited by MARIAPIA BIGARAN and MAURIZIO CAU. Foreword by GIORGIO VECCHIO. Bologna: Il Mulino. 2007. Pp. 1015; 1022–2016; 2024–3025. €130.00 the set.

DE' MEDICI, LORENZO. *Lettere*. Volume 11, *1487–1488*. Edited by MELISSA MERIAM BULLARD. Florence: Giunti-Barbèra, for the Istituto Nazionale di Studi Sul Rinascimento, Florence, with the Harvard University Center for Italian Renaissance Studies Villa I Tatti, Florence, the Renaissance Society of America, Philadelphia, and the Warburg Institute, London. 2004. Pp. xv, 684. €100.00.

DE' MEDICI, LORENZO. *Lettere*. Volume 12, *Febbraio-luglio 1488*. Edited by MARCO PELLEGRINI. Florence: Giunti-Barbèra, for the Istituto Nazionale di Studi Sul Rinascimento, Florence, with the Harvard University Center for Italian Renaissance Studies Villa I Tatti, Florence, the Renaissance Society of America, Philadelphia, and the Warburg Institute, London. 2007. Pp. xxix, 512. €100.00.

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MINASYAN, ARTAVAZD M. *How Did I Survive?* Foreword, edited, and translated by ALEKSANDR V. GEVORKYAN. Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing. 2008. Pp. x, 179. $49.99.

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ZARNOWITZ, VICTOR. *Fleeing the Nazis, Surviving the Gulag, and Arriving in the Free World: My Life and Times*. Westport, Conn.: Praeger. 2008. Pp. xiv, 180. $39.95.

MIDDLE EAST AND NORTHERN AFRICA

VAMBÉRY, ARMINIUS. *Travels in Central Asia*. Foreword by RUDOLF ABRAHAM. Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing. 2003. Pp. xxiii, 295. $49.99.

YATE, C. E. *Northern Afghanistan*. Foreword by RUDOLF ABRAHAM. Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing. 2003. Pp. xv, 320. $34.99.

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Other Books Received

The following books were recently received in the *AHR* office. Books listed here do not include works scheduled for review.

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ARNOLD, ELAINE, and BERNADETTE HAWKES, editors. *Internalising the Historical Past: Issues for Separation and Moving On*. Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing. 2008. Pp. viii, 77. $49.99.

BATRA, NANDITA, and VARTAN P. MESSIER, editors. *Narrating the Past: (Re)Constructing Memory, (Re)Negotiating History*. Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing. 2007. Pp. vi, 159. $69.99.

BROWN, ALYSON, editor. *Historical Perspectives on Social Identities*. Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing. 2006. Pp. ix, 170. $59.99.

BROWN, MELISSA J., editor. *Explaining Culture Scientifically*. Seattle: University of Washington Press. 2008. Pp. ix, 387. $30.00.

CROMBEZ, THOMAS, and KATRIEN VLOEBERGHS, editors. *On the Outlook: Figures of the Messianic*. Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing. 2007. Pp. viii, 165. $59.99.

DOBSON, MIRIAM, and BENJAMIN ZIEMANN., editors. *Reading Primary Sources: The Interpretation of Texts from Nineteenth- and Twentieth-Century History*. (Routledge Guides to Using Historical Sources.) New York: Routledge. 2009. Pp. vi, 259. $39.95.

HADDOCK, BRUCE. *A History of Political Thought: From Antiquity to the Present*. Cambridge: Polity. 2008. Pp. xii, 330. Cloth $69.95, paper $26.95.

NEGRI, ANTONIO. *Reflections on* Empire. Assisted by MICHAEL HARDT and DANILO ZOLO. Translated by ED EMERY. Cambridge: Polity. 2008. Pp. viii, 202. Cloth $64.95, paper $22.95.

NOCKS, LISA. *The Robot: The Life Story of a Technology*. Paperback edition. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2008. Pp. xxx, 192. $19.95.

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ADUT, ARI. *On Scandal: Moral Disturbances in Society, Politics, and Art*. (Structural Analysis in the Social Sciences.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 2008. Pp. xvi, 356. $28.00.

ALI, S. MAHMUD. *U.S.-China Relations in the "Asia-Pacific" Century*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan. 2008. Pp. xvi, 268. £42.50.

BACKHAUS, GARY, and JOHN MURUNGI, editors. *Colonial and Global Interfacings: Imperial Hegemonies and Democratizing Resistances*. Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing. 2007. Pp. xxix, 280. $79.99.

BEST, ANTONY, et al. *International History of the Twentieth Century and Beyond*. 2d ed. New York: Routledge. 2008. Pp. xxiii, 613. $44.95.

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BIRCHWOOD, MATTHEW, and MATTHEW DIMMOCK, editors. *Cultural Encounters between East and West, 1453–1699*. Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing. 2005. Pp. xi, 234. $79.99.

BRACKEN, PAUL, IAN BREMMER, and DAVID GORDON, editors. *Managing Strategic Surprise: Lessons from Risk Management and Risk Assessment*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2008. Pp. xvii, 318. Cloth $90.00, paper $29.99.

BRENNER, REUVEN, GABRIELLE A. BRENNER, and AARON BROWN. *A World of Chance: Betting on Religion, Games, Wall Street*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2008. Pp. xviii, 339. Cloth $90.00, paper $29.99.

CASSIS, YOUSSEF. *Capitals of Capital: A History of International Financial Centres, 1780–2005*. Translated by JAQUELINE COLLIER. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2006. Pp. xiv, 385. $44.00.

DAVIS, LENNARD J. *Obsession: A History*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2008. Pp. v, 290. $27.50.

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DELANTY, GERARD, RUTH WODAK, and PAUL JONES, editors. *Identity, Belonging and Migration*. (Studies in Social and Political Thought, number 17.) Liverpool: Liverpool University Press. 2008. Pp. xii, 329. $85.00.

EBURNE, JONATHAN P. *Surrealism and the Art of Crime*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 2008. Pp. xi, 324. $35.00.

ELLICKSON, ROBERT C. *The Household: Informal Order around the Hearth*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 2008. Pp. xv, 251. $24.95.

FAIR, C. CHRISTINE and SUMIT GANGULY., editors. *Treading on Hallowed Ground: Counterinsurgency Operations in Sacred Spaces*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2008. Pp. xii, 227. Cloth $99.00, paper $24.95.

FERNANDES-DIAS, MARIA SUZETTE, editor. *Legacies of Slavery: Comparative Perspectives*. Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing. 2007. Pp. vi, 238. $79.99.

FLETT, KEITH., editor. *1956 and All That*. Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing. 2007. Pp. viii, 237. $69.99.

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lours and Identity. Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing. 2007. Pp. vi, 233. $69.99.

HANHIMÄKI, JUSSI M. *The United Nations: A Very Short Introduction*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2008. Pp. 171. $11.95.

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HILDENBRAND, KARINE, and GÉRARD HUGUES., editors. *Images of War and War of Images*. Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing. 2008. Pp. ix, 252. $79.99.

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LOCKHART, CLARE, and ASHRAF GHANI. *Fixing Failed States: A Framework for Rebuilding a Fractured World*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2008. Pp. x, 254. $24.95.

LOCKWOOD, JEFFREY A. *Six-Legged Soldiers: Using Insects as Weapons of War*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2009. Pp. xx, 377. $27.95.

MACLEAN, FITROY. *Nine Lives: True Spy Stories from Mata Hari to Kim Philby*. Foreword by RICHARD BEESTON. Paperback edition. London: Tauris Parke. 2008. Pp. xi, 341. $16.95.

MILLER, CAROLINE, and MICHAEL ROCHE, editors. *Past Matters: Heritage and Planning History—Case Studies from the Pacific Rim*. Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing. 2007. Pp. viii, 307. $79.99.

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PAULK, JULIA C., editor. *Dominant Culture and the Education of Women*. Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing. 2008. Pp. vii, 262. $69.99.

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ROSS, ROBERT. *Clothing: A Global History; Or, The Imperialists' New Clothes*. Cambridge: Polity. 2008. Pp. 221. Cloth $64.95, paper $24.95.

SARMENTO, CLARA, editor. *Women in the Portuguese Colonial Empire: The Theatre of Shadows*. Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing. 2008. Pp. xxi, 304. $79.99.

SEARS, DAVID. *At War with the Wind: The Epic Struggle with Japan's World War II Suicide Bombers*. New York: Citadel Press. 2008. Pp. viii, 502. $24.95.

SEIDMAN, STEVEN A. *Posters, Propaganda, and Persuasion in Election Campaigns around the World and throughout History*. New York: Peter Lang Publishing. 2008. Pp. xxviii, 327. $33.95.

SENESE, PAUL D., and JOHN A. VASQUEZ. *The Steps to War: An Empirical Study*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 2008. Pp. xvii, 314. Cloth $60.00, paper $26.95.

SPALDING, ROGER, and ALYSON BROWN, editors. *Entertainment, Leisure and Identities*. Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing. 2007. Pp. vi, 141. $59.99.

SPIERENBURG, PIETER. *A History of Murder: Personal Violence in Europe from the Middle Ages to the Present*. Cambridge: Polity. 2008. Pp. 274. Cloth $69.95, paper $24.95.

VAN LIEBURG, FRED, and DANIEL LINDMARK, editors. *Pietism, Revivalism and Modernity, 1650–1850*. Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing. 2008. Pp. xiv, 287. $79.99.

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BHAGAVAN, MANU, and ANNE FELDHAUS, editors. *Claiming Power from Below: Dalits and the Subaltern Question in India*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2008. Pp. x, 222. $25.00.

DAYAL, SAMIR. *Resisting Modernity: Counternarratives of Nation and Masculinity in Pre-Independence India*. Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing. 2007. Pp. 172. $59.99.

FEWSMITH, JOSEPH. *China since Tiananmen: From Deng Xiaoping to Hu Jintao*. (Cambridge Modern China Series.) 2d ed. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2008. Pp. xix, 336. Cloth $75.00, paper $24.99.

HUTTENBACK, ROBERT A. *British Relations with Sind 1799–1843: An Anatomy of Imperialism*. Foreword by MATTHEW A. COOK. Reprint. New York: Oxford University Press. 2007. Pp. xvii, 153. $21.95.

MOON, FARZANA. *Holocaust of the East*. Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing. 2008. Pp. viii, 211. $69.99.

NAGASWAMY, R. *Mahabalipuram (Mamallapuram)*. (Monumental Legacy.) New York: Oxford University Press. 2008. Pp. xiv, 94. $37.00.

PETERSON, INDIRA VISWANATHAN, and DAVESH SONEJI, editors. *Performing Pasts: Reinventing the Arts in Modern South India*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2008. Pp. xi, 356. $50.00.

STARR, KENNETH. *Black Tigers: A Grammar of Chinese Rubbings*. (A China Program Book.) Seattle: University of Washington Press. 2008. Pp. xi, 280. Cloth $80.00, paper $40.00.

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ABBOTT, CARL. *How Cities Won the West: Four Centuries of Urban Change in Western North America*. (Histories of the American Frontier.) Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press. 2008. Pp. x, 347. $34.95.

ALBACETE, M. J. *Clyde Singer's America*. With an essay by NANNETTE V. MACIEJUNES and CHRISTOPHER S. DUCKWORTH. Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press, in cooperation with the Canton Museum of Art. 2008. Pp. xiii, 185. $55.00.

ARRINGTON, RICHARD. *There's Hope for the World: The Memoir of Birmingham, Alabama's First African American Mayor*. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press. 2008. Pp. vi, 263. $29.95.

BAER, FRANCES LISA. *Resistance to Public School Desegregation: Little Rock, Arkansas, and Beyond*. (Law and Society: Recent Scholarship.) New York: LFB Scholarly Publishing LLC. 2008. Pp. vii, 328. $80.00.

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BANDELE, RAMLA M. *Black Star: African American Activism in the International Political Economy*. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press. 2008. Pp. xiv, 230. $40.00.

BAUMLER, ELLEN. *Dark Spaces: Montana's Historic Penitentiary at Deer Lodge*. Photographs by J. M. COOPER. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press. 2008. Pp. ix, 117. $24.95.

BEAL, CLIFFORD. *Quelch's Gold: Piracy, Greed, and Betrayal in Colonial New England*. Paperback edition. Dulles, Va.: Potomac Books, Inc. 2008. Pp. xv, 242. $16.95.

BILLY, GEORGE J., and CHRISTINE M. BILLY. *Merchant Mariners at War: An Oral History of World War II*. Foreword by JAMES C. BRADFORD and GENE ALLEN SMITH. (New Perspectives on Maritime History and Nautical Archaeology.) Gainesville: University Press of Florida. 2008. Pp. viii, 322. $30.00.

BIRCH, EUGENIE L., and SUSAN M. WACHTER, editors. *Growing Greener Cities: Urban Sustainability in the Twenty-First Century*. (The City in the Twenty-First Century.) Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 2008. Pp. xii, 392. $34.95.

BLITZ, JOHN H. *Moundville*. (Alabama: The Forge of History.) Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press. 2008. Pp. ix, 116. $19.95.

BOOKMAN, JOHN T. *The Mythology of American Politics: A Critical Response to Fundamental Questions*. Dulles, Va.: Potomac Books, Inc. 2008. Pp. x, 209. Cloth $60.00, paper $25.95.

BOWLES, MARK D. *Chains of Opportunity: The University of Akron and the Emergence of the Polymer Age, 1909–2007*. Akron, Ohio: University of Akron Press. 2008. Pp. xvi, 357. $45.95.

BROADNAX, SAMUEL L. *Blue Skies, Black Wings: African American Pioneers of Aviation*. Foreword by ALAN M. OSUR. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 2008. Pp. xiv, 180. $17.95.

BROWN, MEREDITH MASON. *Frontiersman: Daniel Boone and the Making of America*. (Southern Biography Series.) Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 2008. Pp. xxii, 375. $34.95.

BRUNO, ROBERT ANTHONY. *Justified by Work: Identity and the Meaning of Faith in Chicago's Working-Class Churches*. Columbus: Ohio State University Press. 2008. Pp. x, 273. Cloth $54.95, paper $24.95.

BUHITE, RUSSELL D. *Douglas MacArthur: Statecraft and Stagecraft in America's East Asian Policy*. (Biographies in American Foreign Policy.) Lanham, Md.: Rowman and Littlefield. 2008. Pp. xiii, 189. Cloth $70.00, paper $26.95.

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REVIEWS

To the Editors:

I came across Yukiko Koshiro's review of my *Culture Shock and Japanese-American Relations: Historical Essays* (*AHR*, June 2008, 798–799). A reviewer is expected to present and evaluate the book under review as a whole. Instead, Koshiro devotes more than two-thirds of her review to discussing the kind of book *she* would have (but has not) written.

As the subtitle of my book suggests, it is a not a comprehensive survey of Japanese-American relations until the end of the twentieth century but essentially a collection of monographic essays on various subjects dealing with the period 1890–1945. What the "reviewer" presents is Koshiro's own summary and views of Japanese-American relations from 1945 to the 1970s, which have nothing to do with the body of my book.

Koshiro repeatedly tells the reader that "The Cold War period is absent from his scholarly focus. This is unfortunate." She also chides me for not presenting my views on the Vietnam War as well as "postwar Japanese culture." But these are far beyond the scope of the work, and it would have taken at least a few volumes to cover these subjects. She is asking for the moon and in the process distorts my whole book.

Beyond the fact that she has reviewed a book that wasn't written, Koshiro's specific charges against *Culture Shock and Japanese-American Relations* pale in comparison with her cavalier and blanket criticism of a whole generation of Japanese scholarship in the field of Japanese-American relations from the late 1960s through the 1980s. "During the Cold War era," she says, "scholars of Japanese-American relations were inclined to cultural studies and studies of decision-making processes all in search of bureaucratic and subliminal prerequisites for the 'right' relationship between the two countries . . . These essays in this [Asada's] book sit well along this line." I am at a loss how to understand this obscurantist statement. Koshiro does not seem to know that most important studies in the history of Japanese-American relations were presented at several binational conferences where equal numbers of Japanese and American historians worked together honestly and often painfully retracing the past. The first product of such exciting joint ventures was the now-historic *Pearl Harbor as History* edited by Borg and Okamoto. Three of the essays contained in *Culture Shock and Japanese-American Relations* were initially presented at these conferences.

To come back to my book, at least four of the essays it contains are based on solid archival research in Japan and/or the United States There is one essay on Japanese-American perceptions of the atomic bomb decision (1945–2006) that traces, on the basis of various public opinion surveys (1945–2006) and in-depth surveys I conducted among students at Doshisha University (1976–2006), shifting perceptions in both countries. As my "message," Koshiro chose to quote one unimportant passage totally out of context. Even here we are dealing with an event that took place in 1945.

I never stated, as she claims, that the atomic bomb came to Japan as a "culture shock"; it was vastly more than that, as is shown by my essay "The Shock of the Atomic Bomb and Japan's Decision to Surrender: A Reconsideration." What Koshiro did was to lift from my Preface a general sociological definition of "culture shock" and disingenuously connect it with the atomic bomb issue, which results in a gross distortion.

The initial chapter, a brief autobiographical sketch, contains an intimate sketch of my life at Carleton College (1954–1958) and Yale Graduate School (1958–1963). By basing my story on letters I wrote home, I was making myself personally vulnerable, but never did I imagine that anybody could ridicule me by applying the standard and perspective of the twenty-first century. However naïve it may sound today, an eighteen-year-

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old lad may be forgiven for his "happy and pleasant" encounter with American life in 1954. I expanded this chapter into a book and recently published it as a memoir titled *Riberaru Aa-tsu eno Michi* [Path to the Liberal Arts: My Student Days in America and After]. In this book, also I chose not to dwell on the course of Japanese-American relations, and nobody has complained.

In short, I find Koshiro's review totally irrelevant, misleading, and unprofessional.

SADAO ASADA
Professor Emeritus,
Doshisha University

TO THE EDITORS:

Yukiko Koshiro's commentary on *Culture Shock and Japanese-American Relations: Historical Essays* by Sadao Asada (*AHR*, June 2008, 798–799) deprives the *AHR* readership of what it has the right to expect from a book review and does an injustice to Professor Asada. Rather than properly reviewing the book in question, Professor Koshiro focuses on a book she apparently hopes to write and, adding insult to injury, then criticizes Professor Asada for not writing that book. I trust and hope that when Professor Koshiro gets around to writing her book, the *AHR* editors will assign it to a reviewer who does not do to her what she has done to Professor Asada. We all deserve better.

MICHAEL KORT
Boston University

YUKIKO KOSHIRO RESPONDS:

Professor Asada's contribution to postwar studies of a history of U.S.-Japanese relations is immeasurable, particularly for his coverage of a wide range of subjects. I began reading his early works on the Japanese immigration dispute and cultural perceptions across the Pacific when I was a graduate student at the University of Tokyo majoring in American studies and U.S.-Japanese relations. His award-winning article on the atomic bomb and Japan's decision to surrender and works on the Japanese Navy and the road to Pearl Harbor remain required readings in history courses I have taught in both Japan and the United States.

When I reviewed his book *Culture Shock and Japanese-American Relations: Historical Essays*, I found the task to be challenging. A collection of disparate essays usually makes effective reviews difficult. I decided not to make separate assessments of individual essays, previously published in either the same or slightly different forms between 1960s and 1990s. Rather, I attempted to find a leitmotif that binds these essays together into a coherent whole. I believe this approach was legitimate. According to the *AHR* guidelines, the editors review only those collections that have a consistent approach throughout the essays: the intent is to "provide reviewers with books in which they can assess a common attempt to look at something from a variety of angles and not simply a set of disparate essays tied loosely under a shared title" ("Book Reviewing in the *AHR*," http://www.indiana.edu/~ahr/guidebkrv.html).

With such assumption in mind, I argued that the book presented an encompassing interpretative framework of "culture shock" through which we could reassess the military impacts of Alfred T. Mahan, the Washington and London systems, the Japanese Navy, and even the atomic bomb. I felt such methodology to be successful and convincing. Today no one questions the legitimacy of seeing omnipresent cultural conflicts between the two nations precisely due to the binational contribution of scholars like Professor Asada. These essays were written between the 1960s and 1990s, during which period the field of cultural studies in U.S.-Japanese relations came into full bloom Thus without doubt the collection well reflects the historiographical trend of the time.

Because I wanted my review to encourage further dialogue in the field, I ventured to point out the void in the historiography of culture studies of U.S.-Japanese relations, if not in Professor Asada's scholarly record. The scope of analysis of culture for the scholars in this field of study remains largely fixated on the pre-1945 period and the U.S. Occupation of Japan. The period beyond that stands pristine. This should not mean that the culture shock ceased to exist between the two peoples because of the ideological value the two governments agreed to share. Yet the presumed solidarity and harmony under the U.S.-Japanese security alliance has not yet been questioned or challenged by the methodology of culture studies.

I took particular note of Professor Asada's essay in the book titled "Reverse Culture Shock: A Personal Note" because I considered that as an origin story of his scholarship, a narrative of how his world of U.S.-Japanese relations began, how the notion of "culture shock" came into existence, and why it has special qualities in his cosmos. As I attempted to explore his world in such light, I became more interested in, as much as intrigued by, the fact that the concept of the Cold War was somewhat absent in his personal narrative, too.

I did not criticize that as a shortcoming of the book. Neither did I slight Professor Asada's scholarly accomplishments. Rather, I was purely curious and wondered why the period in question remained looking like a kind of black box, a theoretical construct with known performance but unknown constituents and means of operation. Historians see the past through contemporary issues. We also use the past to illuminate contemporary issues. There is no reason why we should not begin including the Cold War period in our investigation to better understand all the preceding periods. After I finished reading this book, I yearned to know all the more how the pioneering generation of trans-Pacific scholars of U.S.-Japanese relations such as Professor Asada observed and experienced the culture shock of a new kind emerging as they matured into independent scholars in that difficult time. I also wanted to know how or whether they compared the two different culture

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shocks—one that was ongoing in the actual world they lived in, and the other of the past, which they perhaps assumed to have been settled and solved one way or the other. Such narrative could serve as an invaluable guiding light for the next generation of scholars when they set about examining this little-explored period. I intended my review to be an open request for Professor Asada to consider writing about these issues and help the younger generation of scholars better understand the transitional period from World War II to the twenty-first century.

YUKIKO KOSHIRO
Nihon University

TO THE EDITORS:

Thank you for publishing Stephen Wheatcroft's generous review of my book *The Unknown Gulag: The Lost World of Stalin's Special Settlements* (*AHR*, October 2008, 1270–1272). In the interests of accuracy, I would like to point out several problems in the review. (1) Professor Wheatcroft takes issue with a quotation that is incorrectly attributed to *The Unknown Gulag*. The quotation in question is, in fact, from another book of mine, one not under review: *The War against the Peasantry* (Yale University Press, 2005). This forum is *not* the place to discuss the merits of Professor Wheatcroft's surely accurate conclusions on harvest levels in the 1920s; nor will I detail the ways in which this quotation from a book not under review is taken out of context. I cannot help but wonder, however, what this particular quote is doing in this particular review. (2) Professor Wheatcroft claims that the term "GULag" refers only to labor camps. This is incorrect. The system of special (later labor) settlements developed explicitly under the jurisdiction of GULag (Glavnoe upravlenie lagerei, or Main Administration of Camps). On 1 July 1931, the special settlements were formally placed under the administration of OGPU's GULag bureaucracy, within its Otdel spetspereselenii (Department of Special Settlements). On 20 April 1933, the nomenclature of GULag was changed to Glavnoe upravlenie lagerei i trudovykh poselenii (Main Administration of Camps and Labor Settlements), with S. G. Firin appointed as head of the Department of Labor Settlements (*Unknown Gulag*, 232 n. 80), to reflect this change.

LYNNE VIOLA
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STEPHEN G. WHEATCROFT RESPONDS:

Professor Viola is correct in noting that the quotation that I cited came from one of her other books, *The War against the Peasantry*. I read both of her recent books on the peasantry for this review. In the review I stated that I thought that one of the problems with the new book was that it "continues to employ the concept that was developed in her earlier book that Stalin's relationship with the peasantry was unnecessarily confrontational and warlike." It seemed to me that this resulted from a failure to understand the scale of the complexities faced in grain supplies in the mid-1920s. It may have been inappropriate to cite where exactly I thought that the error lay. And I apologise for not making it more clear that I was still talking about this concept that was most clearly laid out in her earlier book.

On the second point there is a more general problem. Of course the special exiles and labour exiles were for a while administered by the Camps administration. I do not deny that. But this does not mean that they should be treated as though they were the same thing as the Camps. For most readers, "Gulag" means Camps or the administration for the Camps that was dealing with the Camps. If we are referring to the exile system or that part of the administration for the Camps that is dealing with the exile system, it seems to me to be best not to use the word "Gulag." In the past there was considerable lack of clarity over the different parts of the Stalinist penal system, which operated in different ways at different times. Now, thanks to the work of a large number of scholars, including Viola and Wirth, we have a much better understanding of the different histories of mass killings, of sentences to the labour camps, of sentences to internal exile in special exile and labour exile zones, of shorter-term sentences to imprisonment, and to deportation etc. But it does not help improve this clarity to play on earlier looser terminology in which Gulag refers to all forms of State repression.

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ERRATUM

In her review of *Household Accounts* by Susan Porter Benson, Becky Nicolaides neglected to mention two persons who also contributed to the final completion of Benson's manuscript—David Roediger and Jean Allman. She regrets the oversight.

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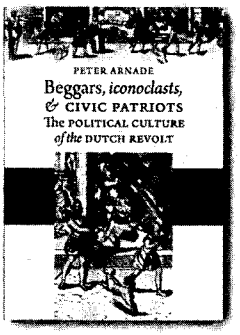
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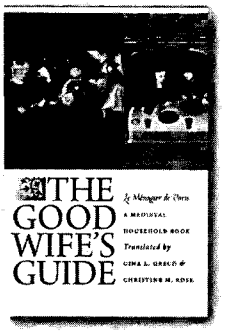
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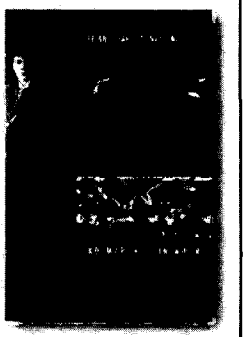
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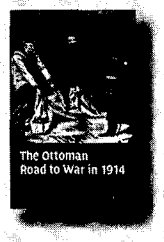
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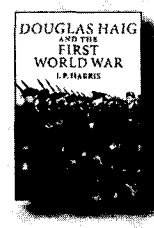
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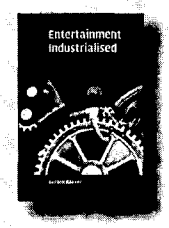
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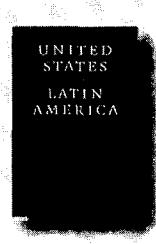


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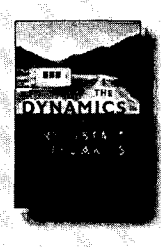
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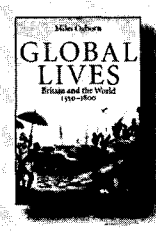


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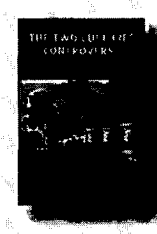


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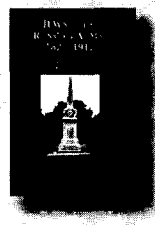
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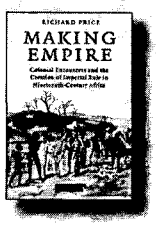
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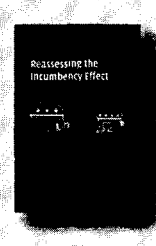


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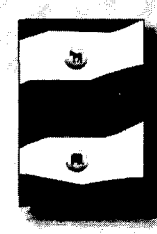


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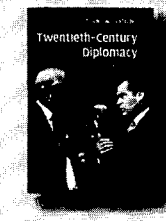


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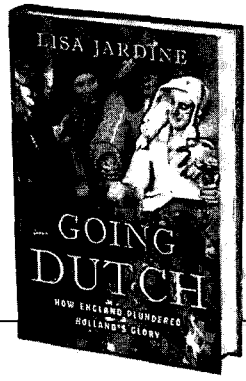
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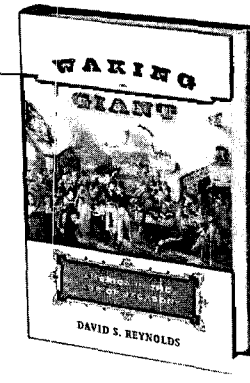
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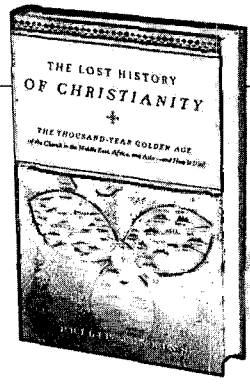
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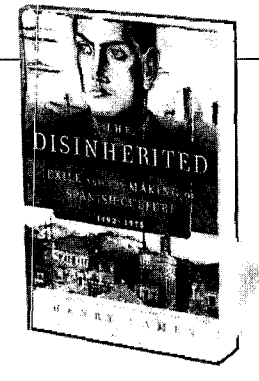
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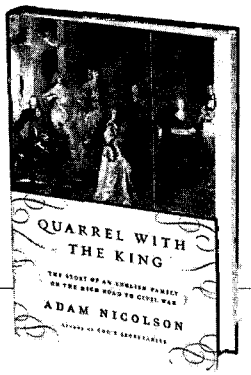
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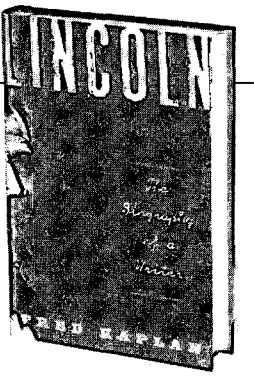
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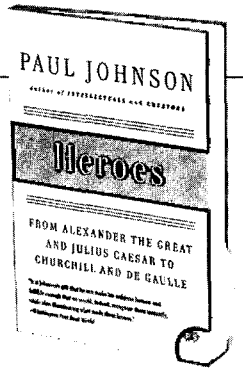
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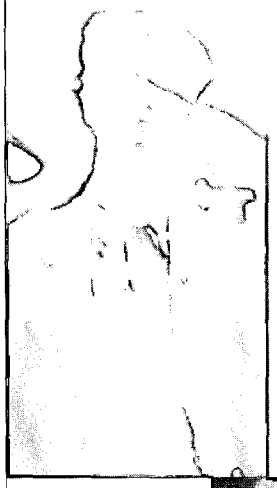
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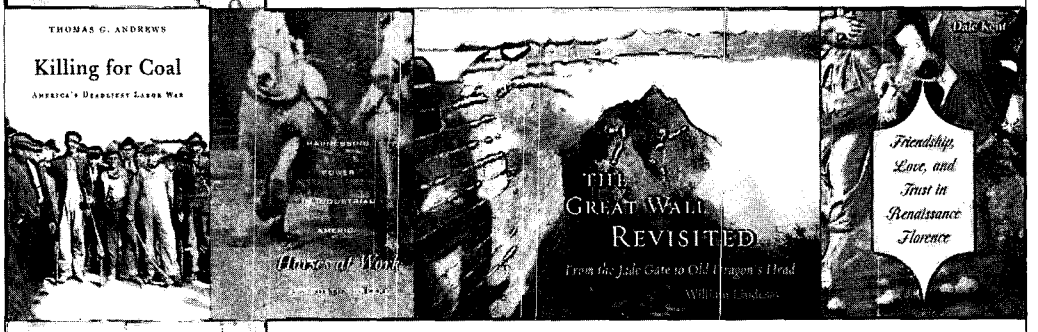
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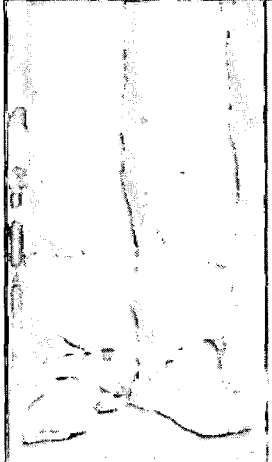
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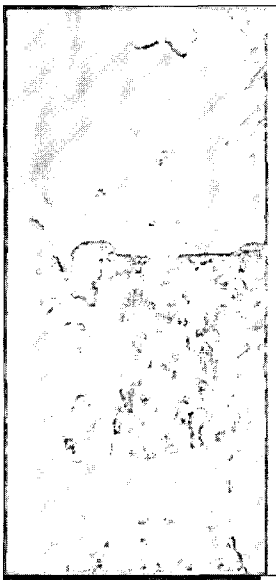
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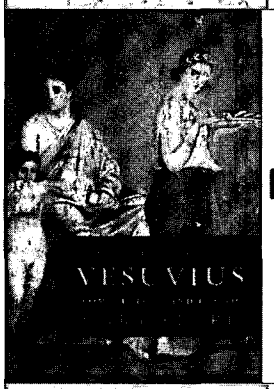
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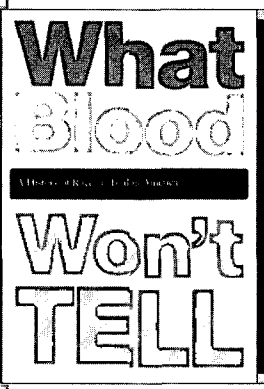
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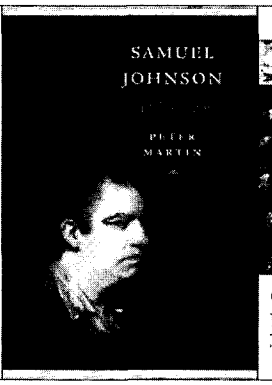
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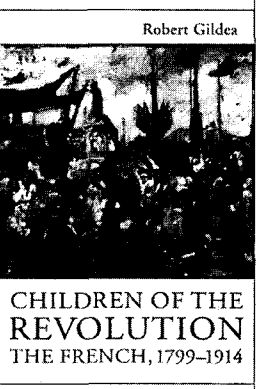
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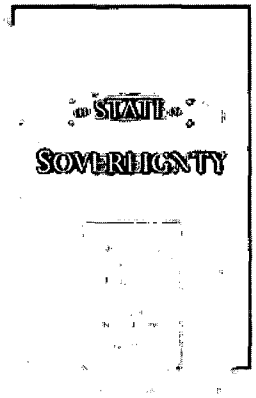
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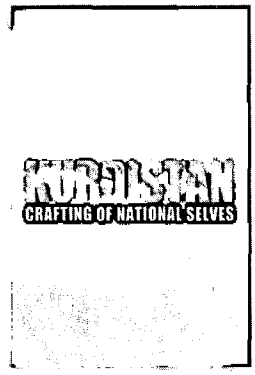
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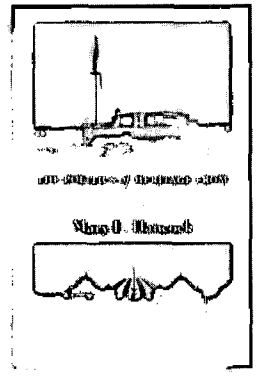
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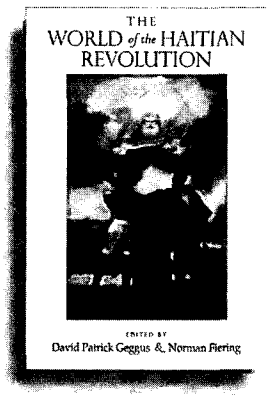
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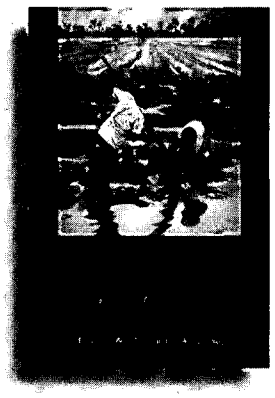
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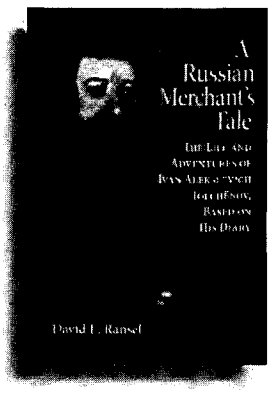
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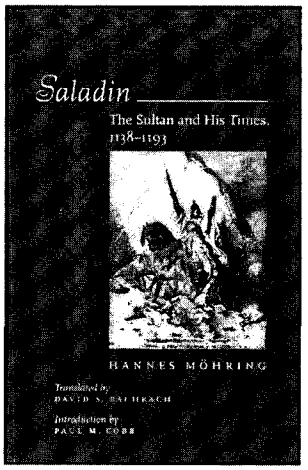
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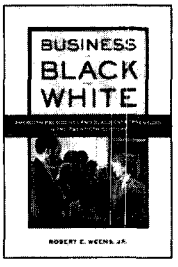
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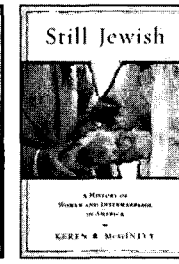
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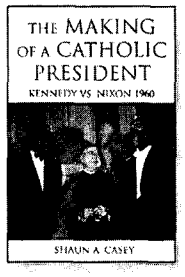
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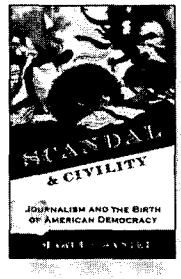
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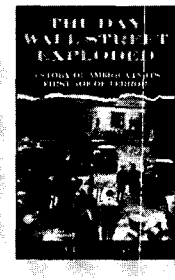
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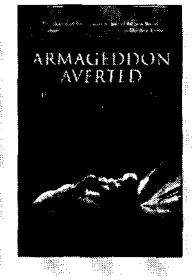
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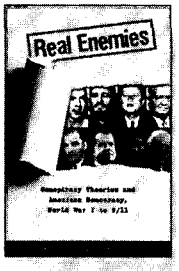
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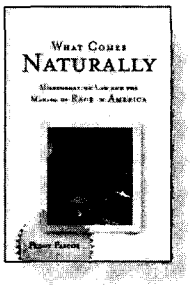
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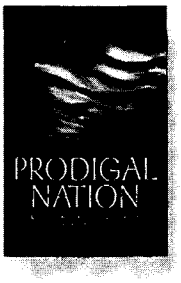
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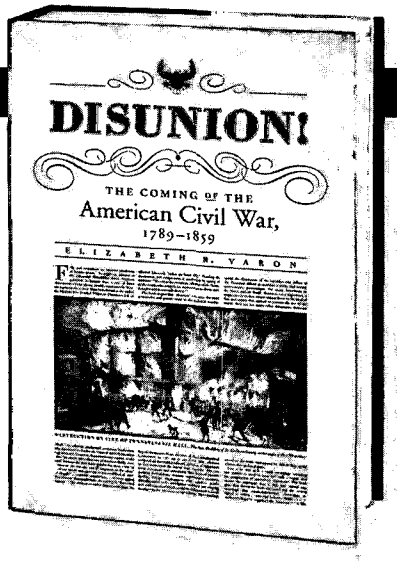
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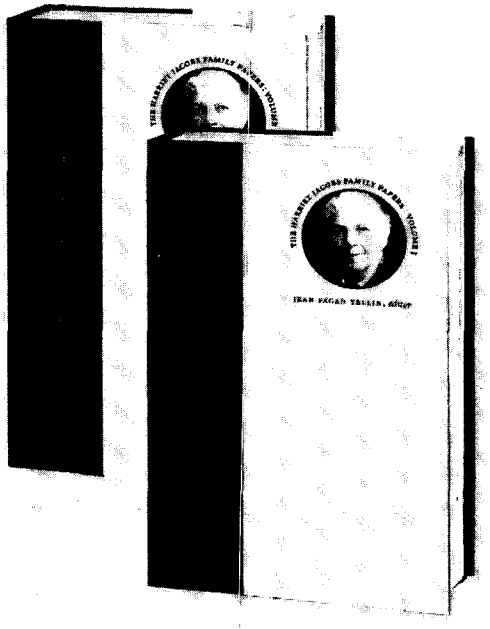
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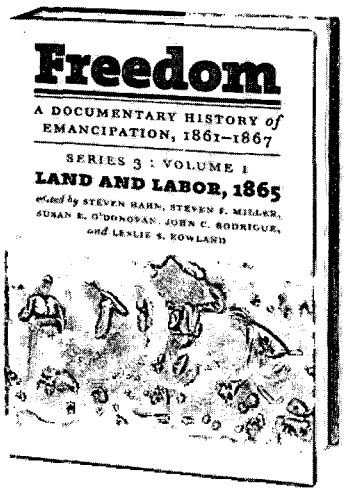


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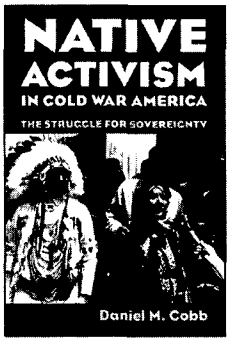
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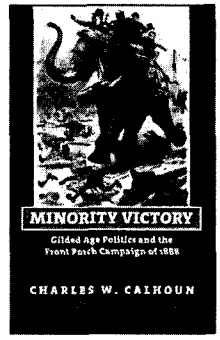
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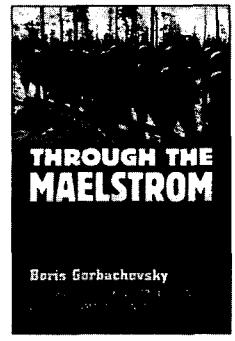
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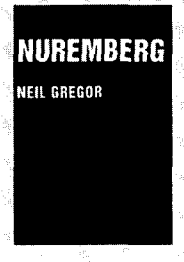
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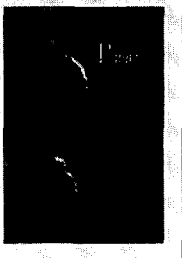
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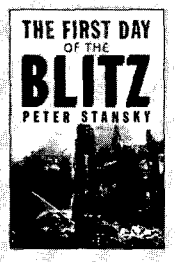
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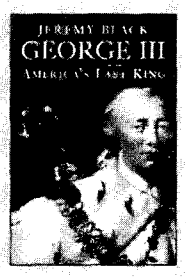
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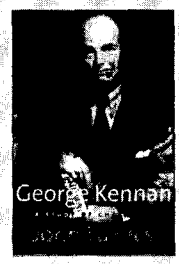
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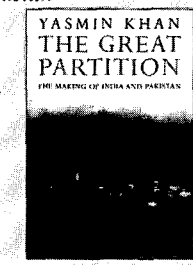
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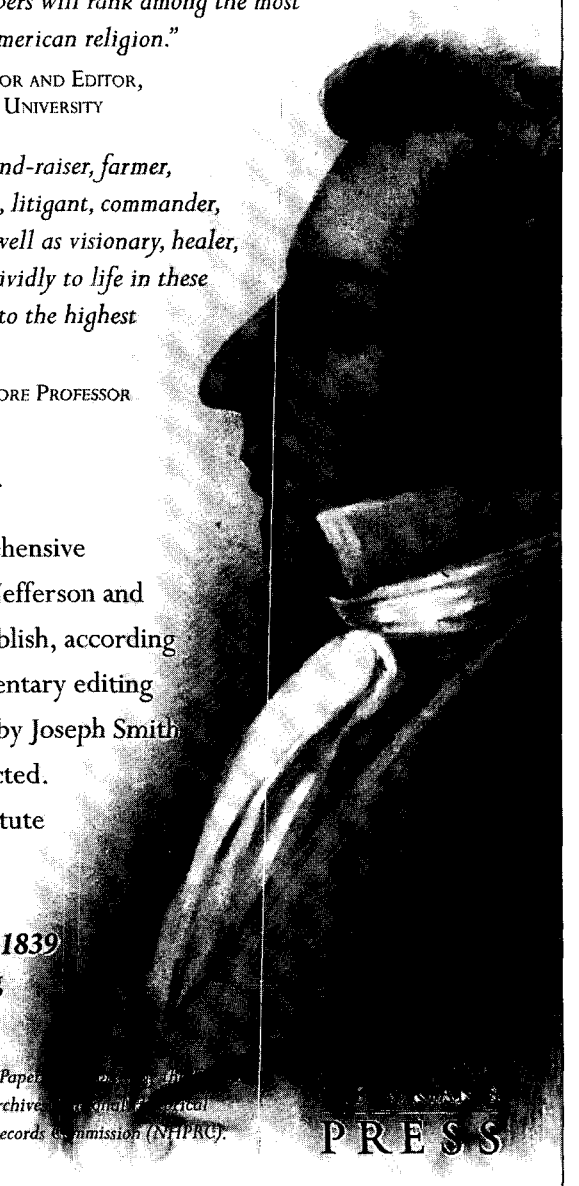
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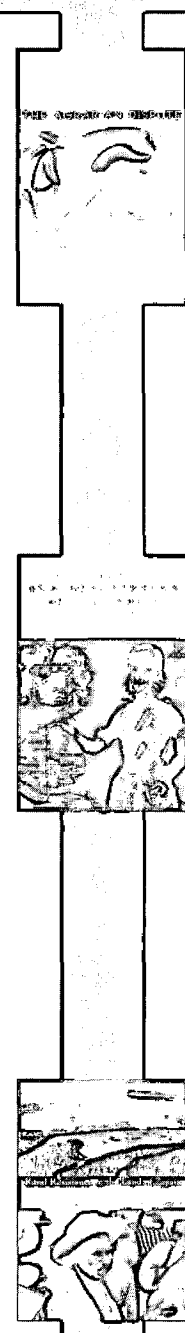
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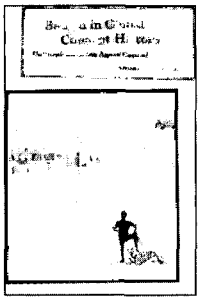
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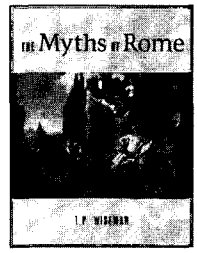
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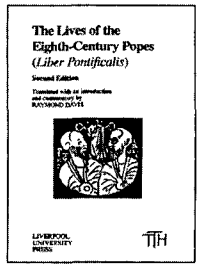
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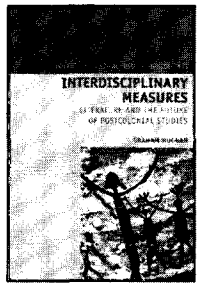
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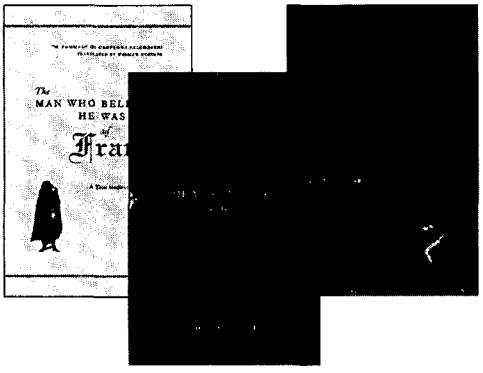
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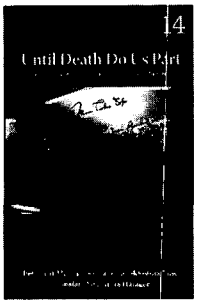
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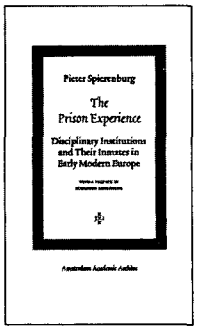
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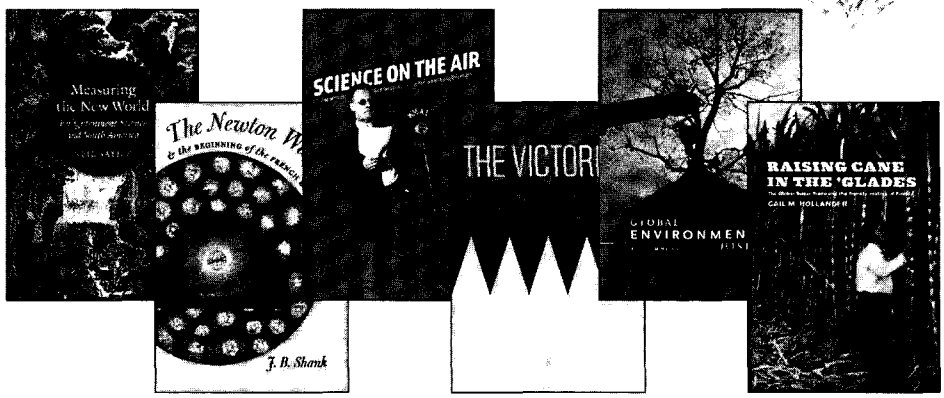
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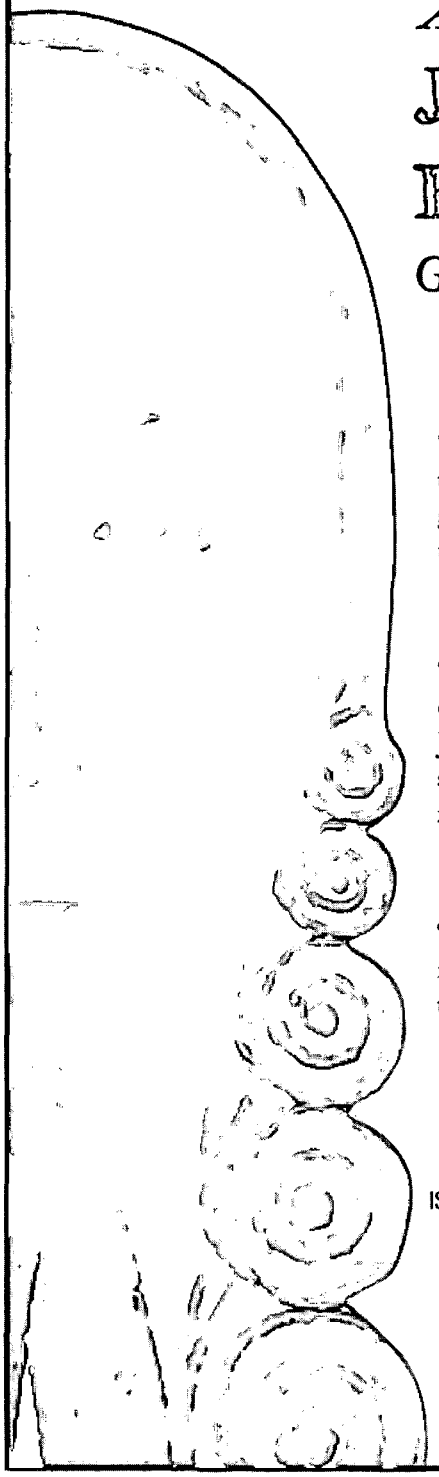
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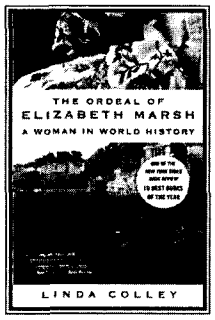
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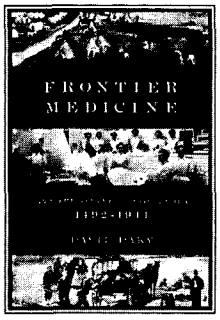
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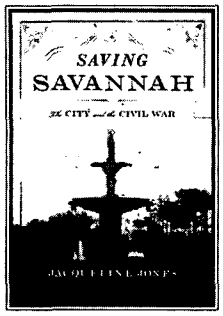
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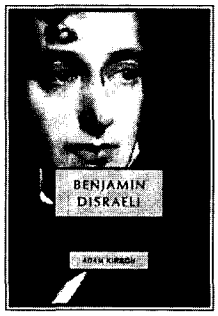
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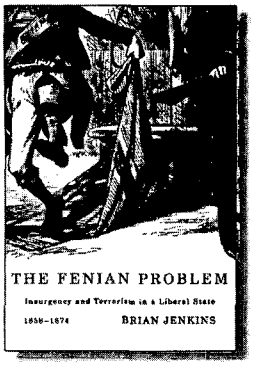
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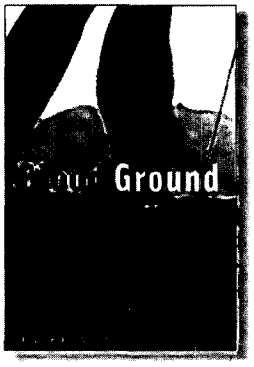
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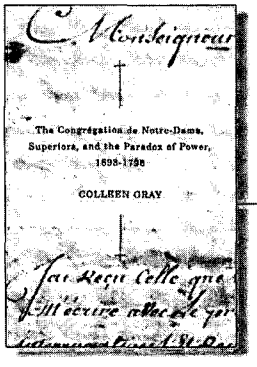
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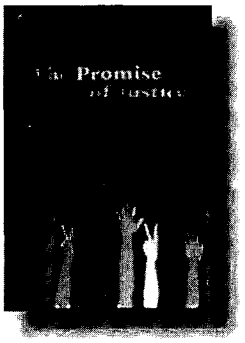
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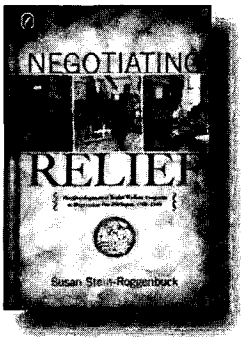


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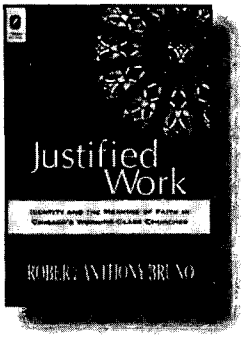


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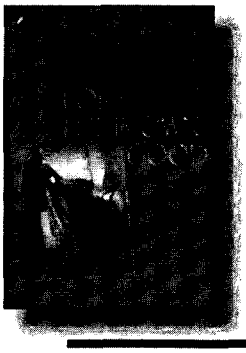


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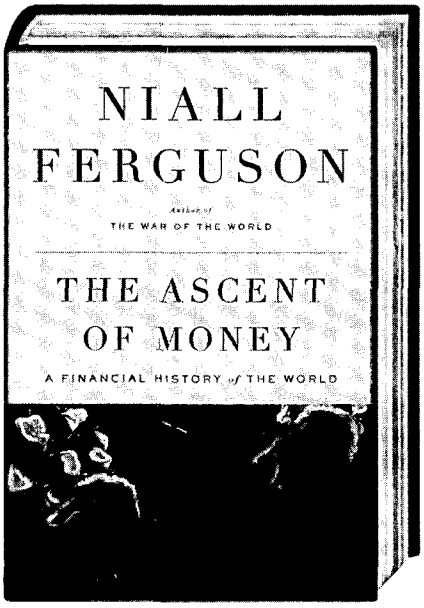
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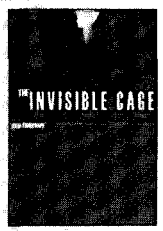
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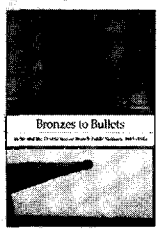
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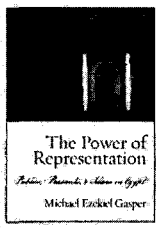


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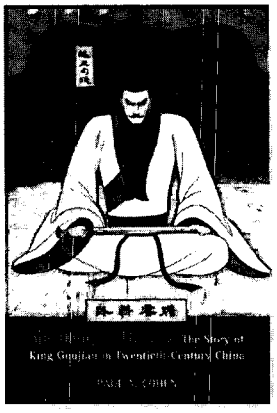
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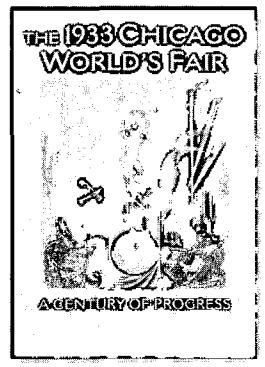
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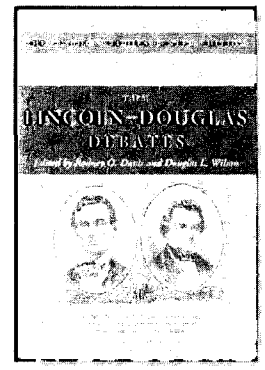
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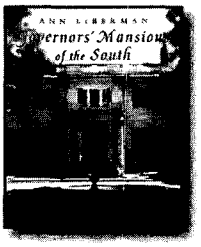
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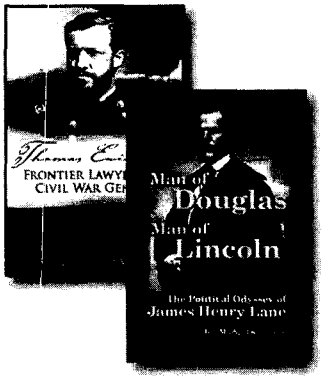
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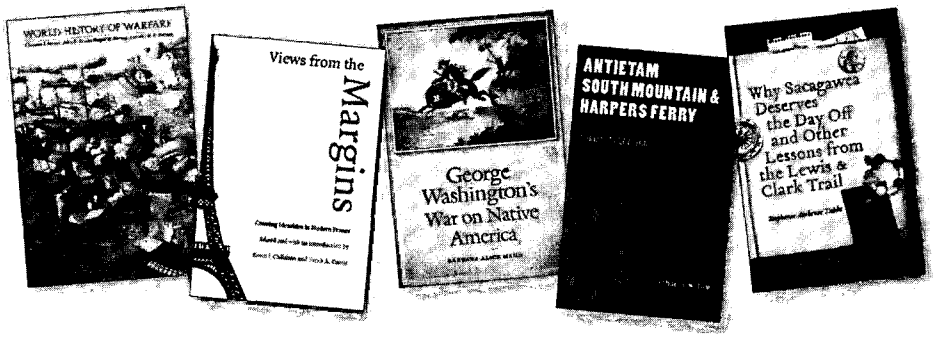
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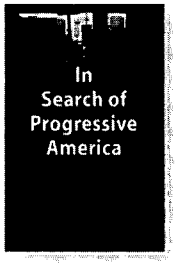
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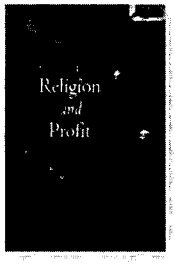
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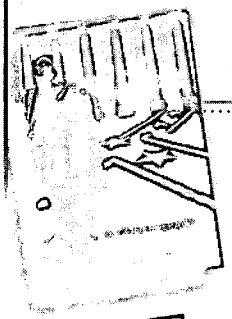
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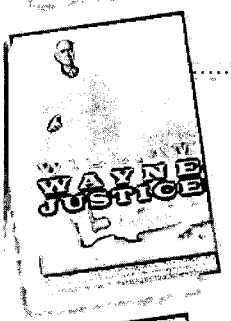
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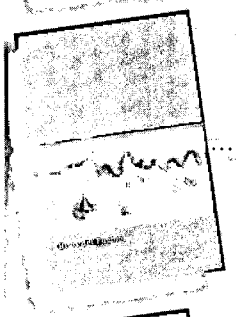
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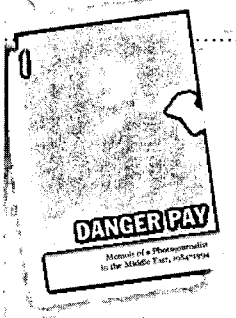
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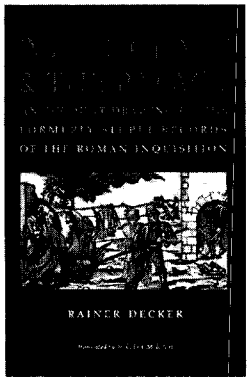
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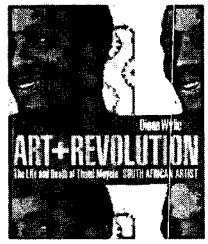
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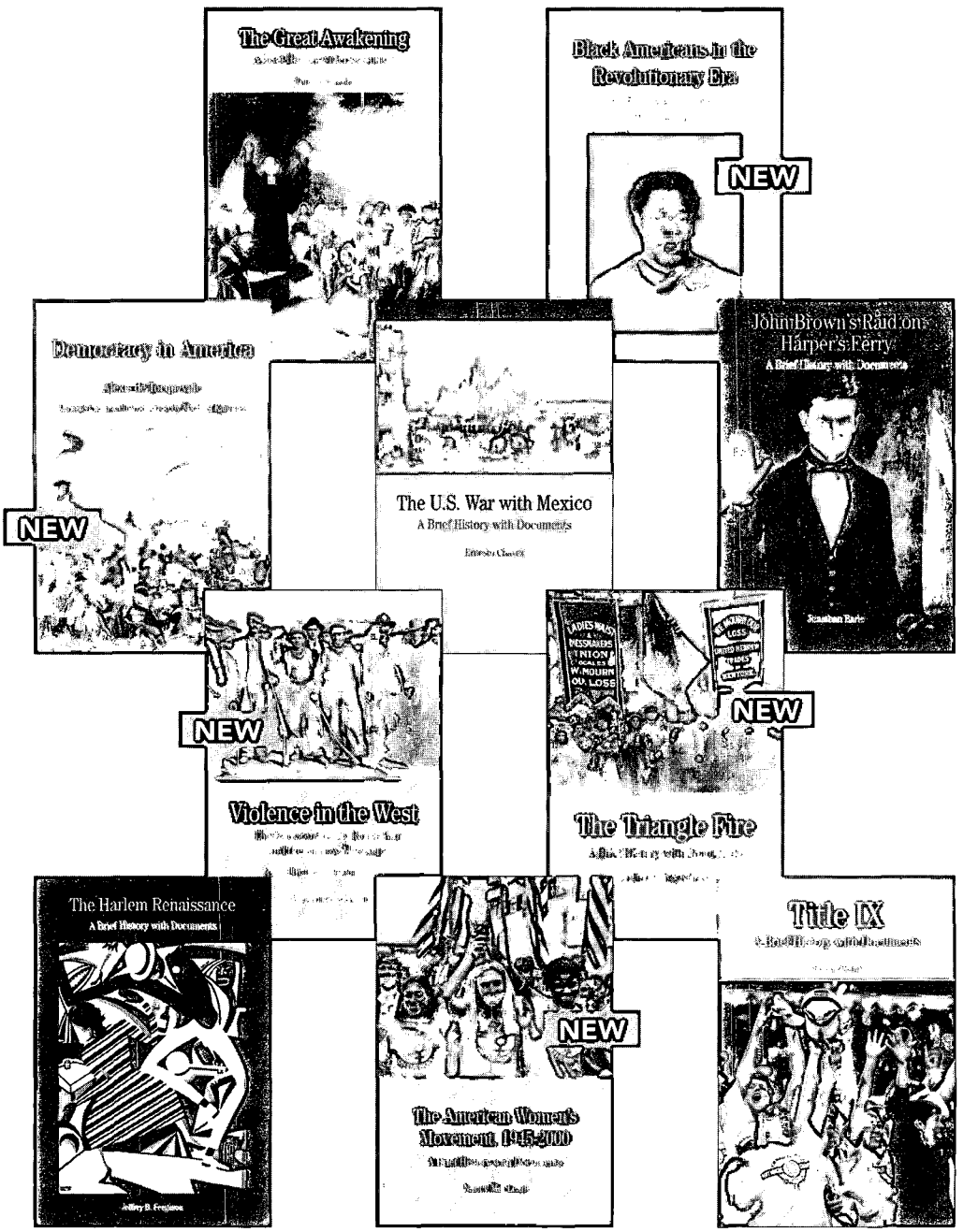
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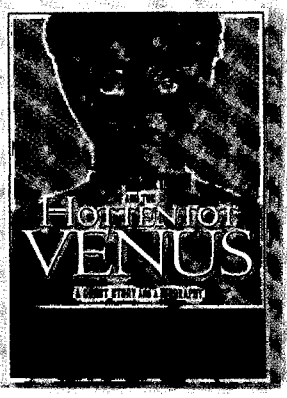
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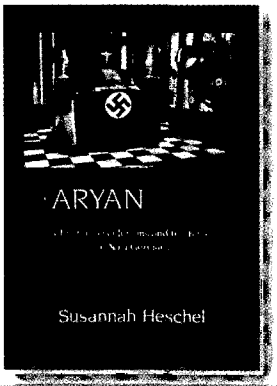
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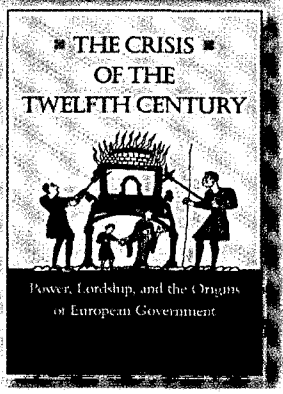
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